

Selected Writings of I. J. Gelb

Ignace J. Gelb published these 22 studies in a variety of journals between 1937 and 1982. Gelb (1907-1985) was a renowned historian of the ancient Near East and an Assyriologist, who "is widely regarded as the first scientific practitioner of the study of scripts, and coined the term *grammatology* to refer to the study of writing systems...He became editor of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* in 1947 and continued work on the project until his death. His other important works include works on Mesopotamian land tenure and sales, metrology, and other aspects of economic and social history" (Wikipedia entry "Ignace Gelb").

[Queen Pudu-Hepa](#), from *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1937), pp. 289-291, in 4 pdf pages.

[Shanhar](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Jul., 1937), pp. 253-255, in 4 pdf pages.

[Studies in the Topography of Western Asia](#), from *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Jan., 1938), pp. 66-85, in 21 pdf pages.

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Available at Internet Archive are other works by Gelb, especially *Nuzi Personal Names* (Chicago, 1943), *Hurrians and Subarians* (Chicago, 1944), and his three volumes of Hittite [Luwian] Hieroglyphs (1931-1942): [I. J. Gelb's studies](#), at archive.org

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Queen Pudu-Hepa

Author(s): I. J. Gelb

Source: *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1937), pp. 289-291

Published by: [Archaeological Institute of America](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/498418>

Accessed: 20/10/2014 21:15

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QUEEN PUDU-HEPA

THE well-known Fraktin monument in Central Anatolia ¹ contains two scenes, of which the one on the left records in Hittite pictographic writing the name of the Hittite king, Hattušili III, the one on the right the name of his wife, Queen Pudu-hepa. Of the four syllabic signs with which the name Pudu-hepa is written there, only the last three signs could clearly be read as *-tu-ha-pa*, while the first sign, which should contain the syllable *pu*, was too blurred on the stone to enable scholars to identify it with any other sign in the Hittite pictographic syllabary.² The difficulty is naturally connected with the fact that the sign *pu* has not yet been identified in the Hittite syllabary.

During my visit to Fraktin in the summer of 1935, I took great pains to try to identify the first sign in the writing of the name of Pudu-hepa. Although at that

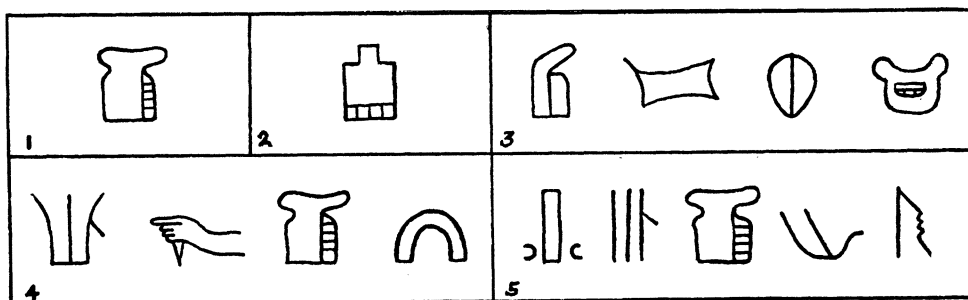


FIG. 1.

time I could not see clearly the correspondence of this sign with any other sign in the Hittite syllabary, the rectangular base of the form of this sign led me to suppose that the sign on the Fraktin monument might be identical with the sign No. 1, still unread in the syllabary (the signs are here uniformly depicted as facing the right side). This supposition became a fact as soon as I was able to view the bulla with the seal impression of Pudu-hepa excavated by Miss Goldman at Tarsus in 1936 (cf. p. 280).³ This seal impression contains at the top the remains of the sun-disk, on the left and right sides the ideograms for "great queen," and in the center the four syllables reading *Pu-tu-ha-pa* (No. 3).

This sign (No. 1), to which Hrozný, *Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques*, p.

¹ The best copy of the Fraktin monument is in Messerschmidt, *Corpus inscriptionum Hittitarum*, Pl. XXX. Various photographs have been published by Ramsay and Hogarth in *Recueil de travaux* XIV, 1893, Pl. VI; Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, p. 126 and Pl. XXIII; Grothe, *Meine Vorderasiens-Expedition I*, Pl. X; and in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients VII*, 1909, Pl. VI; Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor and the Assyro-Babylonian Orient. . . . *Travels and Studies in the Nearer East*, p. 30; Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, Pl. XLI.

² Cf. Bossert in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXXVI, 1933, p. 86.

³ I take this opportunity to thank Miss Goldman for her kindness in placing at my disposal the photograph and a copy of this bulla before its publication.

110, assigned the value *lā* by identifying it with, in my opinion, an entirely different sign (here No. 2), Meriggi, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft* XXXIX, Part 1, pp. 3, 9 f., that of *ū*, was left unread in my *Hittite Hieroglyphs*, II, because I did not consider the arguments given by either Hrozný or Meriggi as sufficiently well founded. The same doubts concerning the reading of this sign were expressed by Bossert in *Archiv für Orientforschung* X, 1935–36, p. 286, note 6. Hrozný's identification of the first sign in the *Pu-tu-ha-pa* legend on the Fraktin monument with a sign with a pointed bottom, representing a vase, in the Emirğazi inscriptions (*Archiv orientální* VIII, 1936, pp. 193 and 202) was impossible from the very beginning, because whatever can clearly be seen of this sign on all available photographs, published and unpublished, is always its rectangular base.

The reading of the sign *pu* is further corroborated by the two following examples taken from the Hittite pictographic inscriptions:

The name of the chief king of the Karadağ inscriptions ¹ is spelled according to my transliteration *He+r(a)-tā-pu-s(a)* (No. 4), which finds its exact correspondence in ^m*Har-ti-pu-u*, or ^m*Her-ti-pu-u*, the name of a slave in a New Assyrian document.² The first cuneiform sign has the values *har*, *her*, *hir*, or *hur*, and we therefore gain from this comparison no further proofs for the reading of the corresponding pictographic sign as *ha* or *he*. My doubts concerning the reading of the sign "hand plus dirk" as *ta*, against all other scholars (see *Hittite Hieroglyphs*, II, pp. 32 f.), were well founded, inasmuch as these examples also suggest for this sign rather the value *ti* or *te* than *ta*.

The word *X tra(ra)-pu-na-s(i)*, pronounced *trab/punas* (Woolley and Lawrence, *Carchemish*, Series A, Pl. 6:5, also in plural and other forms *ibid.*, Pl. 5a:2 and 3), is written with the ideogram represented by the picture of a log in a vertical position, here transcribed as *X*, plus the two half-circles serving as ideogram mark and with fully spelled phonetic complements, showing the pronunciation *trab/punas* ³ for this ideogram (No. 5). Meriggi (*op. cit.*, Vol. XXXIX, Part 1, p. 158) read this ideogram as *tar-ū-nu-š* and translated it "hoch(?)"; Hrozný (*Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques*, II, p. 187) read it as *ve^(r)-lā-nā-s* and translated it as "tribune(?) de bois," basing his translation partly on the form of the ideographic sign and partly on an impossible Indo-European etymology. Ever since I first began to consider the value *pu* for sign No. 1, I have also seen the possibility of reading the word No. 5 as *trab/punas* and of identifying it with the late Latin *tribuna* and English "tribune." It was therefore a pleasant surprise to see that Hrozný (*Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques*, II, p. 187) though reading the ideogram in an entirely different way, translated it also as "tribune(?) de bois." The Hittite pictographic *trab/punas* seemingly should also be connected etymologically with the Latin *tribuna* (there are also forms beginning with *tra-* and *tre-* in some Romance dialects) and *trabs*. Also the connection of these words meaning "stem," "log" with Latin *tribus*, *tribunus*, etc.

¹ Last discussed by Hrozný, *Archiv orientální*, VIII, 1936, pp. 205–9.

² Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, II, No. 763:6, III, p. 537, and Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. 87. The name is therefore not Egyptian as suggested by some scholars.

³ There is no distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants in the Hittite pictographic writing (cf. *Hittite Hieroglyphs*, II, 8 f.). Incidentally, I may add that the reading of the first phonetic sign as *tra(ra)* is my own against Meriggi's *tar* (see *ibid.*, p. 33).

(cf. the parallels in other languages, as in German *Stamm*, Polish *szczep*, Hebrew *matṭē*, *šebet*, etc.) seems plausible. But after having consulted various etymological dictionaries, I realize that there are some phonetic difficulties which I cannot discuss authoritatively. May the Indo-European “lautgesetzliche Polizei” (cf. Schott in Hirt’s *Festschrift*, II, p. 48) decide this problem!

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CHICAGO JOURNALS

Shanhar

Author(s): I. J. Gelb

Source: *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Jul., 1937), pp. 253-255

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](http://www.press.uchicago.edu)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/529274>

Accessed: 20/10/2014 21:19

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31; 53:2; 55:13] thereon; they shall not be found [51:3; 55:6], but the redeemed [only in 51:10] shall walk there.

Of the 109 words in these nine verses, all but 14 are found in recognized portions of II Isaiah. Naturally a fair proportion are common to all writers and are cited only to mass the evidence; on the other hand, an actual majority are more or less unusual and in a number of cases are almost or quite peculiar to chapters 35 and 40-55. "Glowing sand" is found only in chapter 35 and in 49:10; "springs of water" only once besides here and in 49:10; the form "redeemed" only in 51:10; a whole group is rare elsewhere but characteristic of II Isaiah. Mr. Scott says: "The evidence of vocabulary is indecisive." There is no other case of which I know where 87 per cent of the words found in nine verses of the Bible are found in the admitted writings of an author; if chapter 35 was not written by II Isaiah, then vocabulary tests are a snare and a delusion!

Had we included verse 10, the evidence would have been even more overwhelming, for here we find the whole verse exactly repeated in 51:11. At first sight we might argue that one was copied from the other. But the extremely close connection of chapter 51 with chapter 35 is not confined to verse 11: verse 3 has four words—"wilderness," "desert," "joy," "gladness"—in common with chapter 35; verse 10 three words—"a way for the redeemed to pass over"; "redeemed" is only here and in chapter 35; verse 12 has "grass."

In neither passage is the verse superfluous. That verse 10 is needed to make the connection between chapter 35 and chapter 40 may be seen by the translation, made without indication of break, in my *History of Palestine and Syria*. To sum up, nowhere in the Hebrew Bible do we have such overwhelming evidence for unity of vocabulary and phraseology as in the case of chapter 35 and chapters 40-55; unity of thought is equally obvious; best of all, when the "First Chapter of Second Isaiah" is united to the remaining portions, the join is seamless.

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SHANHAR

When the country Shanhar first became known from an El-Amarna letter (No. 35), it was identified by Weber and others with the biblical Shinar, i.e., Babylonia.¹ Soon afterward, under the influence of a supplementary note with reference to Assur, Babylon, and Shanhara side by side in a Bogazköy tablet² furnished by Winckler, Weber was forced to give up his identification of Shanhar with Babylonia and was then inclined to look for it in the region

¹ J. A. Knudtzon, *EA*, pp. 1080 ff.

² Now published in *KUB*, XV, 34:57 and 38:5.

of Sinjar (Greek Singara), near Jebel Sinjar (Greek Singaras) west of Mosul.³ Friedrich⁴ accepted this last supposition, notwithstanding the fact that he himself transliterates and translates another Bogazköy text which mentions side by side the lands Egypt, Shanhar, Hanigalbat, and Assur. But since Hanigalbat in that period occupied Northern Mesopotamia, including the region of Sinjar, Shanhar could not be situated in Hanigalbat, which is mentioned simultaneously with Shanhar in the Bogazköy tablet.⁵

Another difficulty in equating Shanhar with Sinjar arises from the fact that the name of the Sinjar region is known from the Assyrian sources. It is the land *Sin-gar*⁶ or *Si-in-ga-ra*.⁷ Singar, however, could not have been developed out of Shanhar because, in Assyria proper, *h* never changes to *g*.

In my opinion Shanhar cannot be looked for east of the Euphrates for many important reasons. The king of Alashia (Cyprus) warns the king of Egypt not to join common cause with the kings of Hatti and of Shanhar.⁸ Only if Shanhar is situated in North Syria near Alashia in a position of potential danger to Alashia is this warning easily understood.

The frequent mention of Sngr⁹ in Egyptian texts¹⁰ fits better its localization in North Syria than in the distant region of Sinjar near Mosul. Whenever the cities mentioned together with Sngr in the Egyptian sources can be localized, they are found to be cities in North Syria.¹¹ Furthermore, Shanhar is mentioned five times in the cuneiform inscriptions: twice in the El-Amarna letters and thrice in the Bogazköy texts, but not once in the Assyrian or Babylonian sources. Contrast this with the fourteen occurrences of Sngr in the Egyptian sources. Would anyone presume that a country alleged to have been situated in the region of Jebel Sinjar at the very threshold of Assyria should never be mentioned in the inscriptions of Assyria? Only the localization of Sngr in Syria would justify the silence of the Mesopotamian sources and the very frequent occurrence of this country in the Egyptian ones.

The localization of Shanhar in the region of Sinjar was based solely on the similarity of the sounds. On this same basis alone it might even have been possible to place Shanhar in the region of the Sangarius River in the north-western part of Asia Minor. But if in addition to other proofs we take into consideration the similarity of sounds, then we find many geographical names

³ Knudtzon, *op. cit.*, pp. 1082 f.

⁴ *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches*, II, 96 f.

⁵ On the extent of the kingdom of the Hanigalbat in the El-Amarna period cf. F. Schachermeyer in C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's *Festschrift*, pp. 188-93, esp. p. 192.

⁶ II R 53 i 24; cf. also Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 53.

⁷ Johns, *ADD*, No. 444:4.

⁸ *EA*, No. 35:49 f., and p. 1081.

⁹ Egyptian Sngr: cuneiform Shanhar = Egyptian Nwgs: cuneiform Nuhashshi.

¹⁰ W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 279; M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte*, II, 41; H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, V, 6. Professor John A. Wilson has been kind enough to help me find the Egyptian references.

¹¹ Cf. esp. *LD*, III, 88a and 140a.

based on the root *sangar*, *sangur*, coming from North Syria. There we find not only the river Sagur (modern Sajur), affluent of the Euphrates (*LAR*, II, § 479), and the river Sangura near Orontes (*LAR*, I, § 478), but also a city Sangarite (on) the Euphrates.¹² Even in modern times we find a city Sinjar situated halfway between Aleppo and Hamath.¹³

The most important proof for the localization of Shanhar in North Syria is the fact that it cannot be placed anywhere else. In the El-Amarna period and afterward, on the line Latakiya-Euphrates are situated the countries Niya and Nuhashshi; along the Euphrates lies Ashtati; to the east of the Euphrates lies Mitanni-Hanigalbat; on the north, above Ayntab, begins the Hittite Empire. Thus there remains only the region around Kilis, Aleppo, as corresponding to Shanhar. But probable as it appears that Shanhar corresponds directly to the kingdom of Halpa, I still prefer to leave this question open. The localization of Shanhar in North Syria, however, seems to be proved beyond any reasonable doubt.¹⁴

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¹² Thus *LAR*, I, § 391, and Budge-King, *Annals*, p. 137; III R 4, 1:23 spells out the name of this city *Sa-an-gil-ri-te*. Cf. also the Egyptian Sngrt in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Egypte: Notices descriptives*, II, 109, No. 25.

¹³ Cf. also Sangara, Sagara, the name of a king of Carchemish (*LAR*, II, §§ 479 f.).

¹⁴ Another argument for the localization of Shanhar in North Syria might be obtained if it could be proved that the occurrence of the biblical Calneh in Shinar (Gen. 10:10) is due to a confusion of Calneh (Kullania) of North Syria (Shanhar) with an original Canneh (cf. *AJSL*, LI [1934-35], 189).



Studies in the Topography of Western Asia

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Source: *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Jan., 1938), pp. 66-85

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](http://www.uchicago.edu)

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STUDIES IN THE TOPOGRAPHY OF WESTERN ASIA

I. J. GELB

The economic documents of the period of the third dynasty of Ur, about the twenty-third century B.C., form by far the most numerous group of cuneiform tablets ever excavated anywhere in the Assyro-Babylonian cultural area. No other class of documents of any other period in the long Assyro-Babylonian history even approaches in number the group of economic documents of the third dynasty of Ur. The quantity of the excavated material is matched only partly by the numerous publications of this material scattered in countless books and periodicals. The majority of the excavated tablets from the third dynasty of Ur remain unpublished, buried in the various museums of the Old and the New World.

The present study is dedicated to the discussion of a group of geographical names in the tablets of the Ur III period. In spite of the quantity and importance of the material at hand, these names have been almost entirely neglected in the studies on the historical geography of ancient Babylonia and neighboring countries. The geographical names discussed in the present study lack any geographical unity. They come from practically all regions of western Asia under the cultural sway of Babylonia in the period of the third dynasty of Ur. Babylonia and Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria, alike are represented. The only guiding spirit in my selection of the various geographical names for discussion was search for new facts. I have discussed a geographical name whenever I felt able to offer a new interpretation, to correct an old reading, or to direct attention to new and perhaps important references neglected in previous studies.

ABARNIUM

T. Fish in his *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, p. 52, No. 468, transliterates part of an Ur III tablet as *..gi-zi l ú k i n - g i₄ - a PA.TE.SI A-ba-ar-ni-ra(? um)^{K1}*, “.. gizi, the messenger of the *iššakku* of Abarnium.” On p. 4 Fish transliterates this geographical name as *A-ba-ar-zal-um(?)^{K1}*. The transliteration with *lum* in *A-ba-ar-zal-lum^{K1}* (p. 11, under *Gi-zi*) evidently is simply a *lapsus calami*.

Inasmuch as the tablet is given only in transliteration, not in copy, it is impossible to ascertain fully the reading of the last sign as *-um* or as *-ra*, but in view of Cappadocian parallels there can obtain hardly any doubt that it is the sign *-um*. In Cappadocian tablets such examples as 10 ^{subāt} *A-bar-ni-ú* (Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia* [BIN, IV] 4:4), 1 ^{subāt} *A-bar-ni-am* (*ibid.*, 65:33), 1 *A-bar-ni-a-am* (*ibid.*, 94:12), *ši-im A-bar-ni-im* (*ibid.*,

160:4), etc., show that Abarnium is a gentile formation denoting a certain kind of clothing or garments.

Since Abarnium occurs in the Cappadocian tablets only as a gentile adjective qualifying garments, the underlying geographical name, *Abarn-*, cannot in any way be geographically localized. On the basis of similarity of sound only, I suggested the identification of this Cappadocian geographical name with the classical Abarne, modern Çermük, lying halfway between Malatya and Amida (*Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* [OIP, XXVII], p. 11, n. 134). This localization, lying as it does halfway between Cappadocia and Babylonia, fits in a general way both in the Cappadocian and in the Ur III tablets.

ABIḪ

Thureau-Dangin in a short note entitled "EbiḪ" in *RA*, XXXI (1934), 84-86, on the basis of a hitherto overlooked passage in a syllabary of the series *di-ri:DIRI:si-ia-a-ku:wa-at-ru* proved the reading *e-bi-iḪ* for the ideogram *EN.TI*^{K1}. On this EbiḪ, identified by Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 86, with the mountain chain Gebel Ḥamrīn on the left bank of the Tigris, cf. also Unger and Ebeling in *RLA*, II, 264 f. Weidner published in *ZA*, XLIII (1936), 114-23, a duplicate of an important historical inscription of Iluṣuma, an early king of Assyria, reading in 11. 30-34: *2 e-ni-en i-na A-bi-iḪ ṣa-du-im* ^d*A-ṣur ip-ti-a-ma*, "the god Assur opened for me 2 springs on the mountain AbiḪ." AbiḪ in this text is a variant spelling of EbiḪ. With the form *i-na A-bi-iḪ ṣa-du-im*, "on the mountain AbiḪ," cf. *Ti-ba-ar sa.TU-im*, "(on) the mountain Tibar," in an inscription of Narām-Sin (Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, VIII [1911], 199 f.). Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n. 2, calls this reference to AbiḪ in the inscription of Iluṣuma the oldest reference to this mountain. Inasmuch as he, like some other scholars, neglects many older references to this mountain from the pre-Sargonic, Old Akkadian, and Ur III periods and from the somewhat later Cappadocian tablets, I consider it advisable to give here a short discussion of these earlier references.

The oldest references to AbiḪ known to me are in the personal name *EN.TI-il* on a statue from Tell el-Ḥarīrī of the first half of the third millennium B.C. (Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XXXI, 143) and in the personal names of the Old Akkadian period: *Ḫr-e-^dEN.TI* in the Old Akkadian tablets from Nuzi (Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi* [HSS, X], 35:11, 161:6, 172:11, 174:2 reads it as *Ḫr-e-^debiḪ*) and the Sumerian name *UR-^dEN.TI* (Barton, *Sumerian Business and Administrative Documents from the Earliest Times to the Dynasty of Agade* [PBS, IX, 1], No. 9:7, quoted by Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*).

More numerous are the examples in the personal names from the Ur III period: *A-bi-A-bi-iḪ* (Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, No. 329; Schneider, *Orientalia*, Nos. 47-49 [1930], 138:15; De Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dreheim* [TCL, II], 5552:7; interpreted by Ungnad,

Materialien zur altakkadischen Sprache [MVAG, XX, 2], p. 39, under the root 'ph); *A-bi-A-bi-iḥ* (unpublished; quoted in De Genouillac, *La trouvaille de Drehem*, p. 4); *A-bi-A-pi-iḥ* (Hackman, *Temple Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur from Umma* [BIN, V] 31:14); *Puzur-A-bi-iḥ* (CT, XXXII, 19 ii 3); *erim EN.TI^{KI}* (Barton, *The Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets or Documents from the Temple of Telloh*, I, 7 (301), 2, and II, 52 ii 13; Legrain, *RA*, X [1913], 65, No. 76:2; De Genouillac, *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée impérial ottoman*, V, 8233:4); *erim EN.TI^{KI}-me* (Hussey, *Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum* [HSS, IV], 26, obv. 7; Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh*, 111 xi 8), *EN.TI^{KI}-ta* (*ibid.*, 160 ii 4 and 16).

In the Cappadocian tablets the element *Abiḥ* appears only in the theophorous personal names, such as *Puzur-A-bi-iḥ* (EL, 185, A 16, and 185, B 1) or *Puzur-A-bi-iḥ* (Thureau-Dangin, *TC*, II, 71:15). The West Semitic etymology of *Abiḥ* given by Lewy in *ZA*, XXXVIII [1929], 272, lacks conviction in view of the occurrences of this geographical name in periods preceding by many centuries the period of Cappadocian tablets.

Since this geographical name wherever it is spelled out phonetically in the Ur III and Old Assyrian sources begins with *a-* and not *e-*, it is safe to assume that *Abiḥ* is the name used in the older sources, while *Ebiḥ* is used in the younger ones. In the course of time the mountain *Abiḥ* was deified and as such it could have been commonly used in theophorous personal names. What a great part this mountain played in Babylonian mythology can easily be gathered from the fact that the great geographical list published in IV R 36, No. 1, starts with 'EN.TI^{KI} followed by Nippur. This is certainly not due to any extraordinary geographical importance of the *Abiḥ* Mountain. Other similar geographical lists (such as Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts* [OIP, XI], 212, 216, 235, or Jean, *RA*, XXXII [1935], 161-74) start with Nippur and other important geographical centers of Babylonia and neglect *Abiḥ* almost entirely. In Jean's text e.g., EN.TI^{KI} is not mentioned until col. v, 1. 43.

AGIŠ

A geographical name *A-gi-ši^{KI}* mentioned in Ur III tablets published by Reisner in his *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh*, 154 ii 6 and 160 vi 20, was tentatively connected by Ebeling, *RLA*, I, 42, and Meissner in *ZA*, XXXVIII (1929), 206, with a city °*A-gi^{KI}* mentioned in a New Babylonian economic document published in *CT*, IV, 41b:14.

Since Professor Poebel proved recently in *JAOS*, LVII (1937), 326, of the sign šID as āk in the geographical name šID.TAB^{KI} of the Old Akkadian and Ur III periods, it is plausible to assume that also in such a geographical name as šID.GIŠ^{KI} (De Genouillac, *Textes économiques d'Oumma* [TCL, V], 5672 ii 3, rev. i 1, iii 13; Schneider in *Orientalia*, Nos. 47-49 [1930] 379:2 and 7, 382:64, 408:3; Hackman, *op. cit.*, 117:6), the first sign can be read as āg, and the whole name, read *Āg-gi^{KI}*, could be identified with the previously mentioned geographical names *A-gi-ši^{KI}* and °*A-gi^{KI}*.

With ŠID.GIŠ^{KI} is doubtlessly related or identical the geographical name BÁRA.ŠID.GIŠ^{KI} often mentioned in the Ur III tablets: Schneider, *Orientalia*, No. 18 (1925), Pl. XIV, 38:8; Nos. 47–49 (1930), 344:10; Jean, *Šumer et Akkad*, No. CLIX:2; Keiser, *Cuneiform Bullae of the Third Millennium B.C. (BRLM, III)*, 23:9, 44:20, 45:21; Keiser, *Selected Temple Documents of the Ur Dynasty (YOS, IV)*, 207:71, 260:22, 271:1. Boson in *Aegyptus*, X (1929), 279, No. 44, transliterates as *bár.šid.giš^{KI}* this geographical name, which occurs also in his *Tavolette cuneiformi sumere degli archivi di Drehem e di Djoha, dell'ultima dinastia di Ur*, 157:2 and 343:7. However, in the tablet 293:2 Boson copied this geographical name as *B a r - r a - g i š^{KI}* and on p. 22 explained it as a personal name. It can almost surely be taken for granted that the original tablet had in this case the sign BÁR(A) not BAR, and the misleading copy of this sign by Boson falls in the same category of errors as his copies of the geographical names *Ši-me-núm^{KI}* (308:13) for *Ši-ma-núm^{KI}*; *Gu-duš-a^{KI}* (221:7) for *Gú-duš-a^{KI}*; *Ni-ib-ra-bi-um^{KI}* (360:7) for *Bí-tum-ra-bi-um^{KI}*; *A-KA-ENGUR(?)^{KI}* (339:4) for *A-KA-šal*; *Ur-bi-lum* (304:16) for *Ur-bí-lum*; *Gán-ḫar^{KI}* (177:11) for *Gan-ḫar^{KI}*, etc. For other corrections cf. Schneider in *Orientalia*, N.S., VI (1937), 277–79.

A.LAL.RIN

In an Ur III tablet transliterated by T. Fish in his *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, pp. 31 and 127, No. 193, there appears, besides other men from Šimanum, a certain *Za-ri-iq l ú A.LAL.RIN^{KI}*, “Zariq from a country or city A.LAL.RIN.” The tablet is dated in the 45th year of Šulgi. Fish, *op. cit.*, p. 4, refers to Sidney Smith’s *Early History of Assyria*, pp. 131 and 378, for the discussion of the problem.

According to Smith this Drehem tablet “records the issue of certain animals as rations to Zariqu, the *iššaku* of the city A-usar, that is, the city of Ashur, and to another *iššaku*.” This Zariqu of the Drehem tablet would according to him be the same Zariqu who under Búr-Sin, the successor of Šulgi, was the governor of Aššur (cf. Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner, *IAK*, pp. 2 f.). But there seems to be some misunderstanding in this statement. Unless Smith has some additional information not available to me, it is not the ideogram A.LAL.RIN that stands for Aššur, but A.LÁL.ŠAR, usually read *A-ušar* or, better, *A-šur*₄ (cf. e.g. Thureau-Dangin, *Les homophones sumériens*, p. 49).

The ideogram A.LAL.RIN occurs in the following combinations in the instances known to me, all from the Ur III tablets: [e r i m A].LAL.RIN^{KI} (De Genouillac, *La trouvaille de Dréhem*, 54 iv x+5), *Puzur-A.LAL.RIN l ú k i n - g i₄ - a Bu-ša-am PA.TE.SI Ši-ma-núm^{KI}* (*ibid.*, 84:2; De Genouillac, p. 5, reads the personal name as *Bá-ša-a-lál*, omitting for reasons unknown to me the sign RIN), *La-gi-ip d u m u I-ti-A.LAL.RIN^{KI}* (in an unpublished tablet, A 5169, from the collections of the Oriental Institute, Chicago). The last-cited personal name, *I-ti-A.LAL.RIN^{KI}*, can be interpreted in a different way by dividing it into two parts, *I-ti* and A.LAL.RIN^{KI}, and explaining it as *I-ti*

from A.LAL.RIN^{KI}. For the personal name *I-ti* cf. e.g. De Genouillac, *op. cit.*, 60:9.

In my opinion the fact that Zariqum is known to be the governor of Aššur, and that Zariq (a shortened form of Zariqum) is mentioned in the tablet made known by Fish as the man from A.LAL.RIN^{KI} is not sufficient proof for the identification of Aššur with A.LAL.RIN^{KI}. Against this identification can be adduced the argument that the personal names Puzur-A.LAL.RIN and perhaps *I-ti*-A.LAL.RIN^{KI} (cf. above) would have to be read as Puzur-Aššur and Iddi(n)-Aššur, respectively, while on the other hand the divine element Aššur is entirely unknown in the personal names of the Ur III tablets.

For lack of any other proofs from syllabaries for the reading of the ideogram A.LAL.RIN, any further discussion of the various possibilities is fruitless. For completeness' sake it should be mentioned that Zariq is known also to be an *iššakku* of Susa under the Ur III kings Bûr-Sin and Šû-Sin (cf. Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 3, n. 8, and Keiser, *Patesis of the Ur Dynasty*, p. 24) and perhaps also of A.ĜA^{KI} on the basis of an unpublished Yale tablet (Keiser, *op. cit.*, p. 25). Would it be permissible at least to take in consideration the reading Šušan for the ideogram A.LAL.RIN? This ideogram in the above-mentioned personal names could then be read as Šušinak or Inšušinak.

APIŠAL

The city Apišal, usually read as Apirak, is often mentioned in reports concerning military expeditions of Narâm-Sin of Akkad. Thus in a chronicle of early kings Narâm-Sin's expedition against a certain Riš-Adad, king of °A-pi-šAL^{KI} is reported (L. W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, II, 9 f.); the same is mentioned also in a liver omen with the city's name spelled °A-pi-šAL (*ibid.*, pp. 37 f. = IV R 34, 1 rev. 11-14). Other omens also mention the same city: °A-pi-šAL (Clay, *Epics, Hymns, Omens, and Other Texts* [BRLM, IV], 13:18), A-pi-šAL (Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres du temple d'Anu au temps des Séleucides* [TCL, VI], 1 rev. 3, and King, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 f.), A-bi-šAL^{KI} (Ebeling, *KAR*, 453:10). In a coalition of kings who rebelled against Narâm-Sin, the same Riš-Adad, king of A-bi-šAL^{KI}, is mentioned between the lands Mât-Namar and Mari (Boissier, *RA*, XVI [1919], 163:37). Outside of these occurrences, all probably more or less linked to Narâm-Sin, the city Apišal occurs only in a geographical text with the spelling A-pi-šAL^{KI} (Schröder, *KAV*, 90 rev. 15) and probably A-pi-šâl^{KI} (*ibid.*, 1. 13). The reading A-pi-šâl^{KI}, tentatively proposed by myself in a letter to Ehelolf for 1. 14 of the same geographical text, was not confirmed by Ehelolf after a collation of the sign in question. He would prefer to read 1. 14 as A-pi-SAL^{KI} (cf. Gelb, *AJSL*, LIII [1936-37], 39).

Although no proofs have ever been offered for the reading of A-pi-šAL as A-pi-rak, this reading is universally accepted (cf. among others Friedrich Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, p. 231; King, *loc. cit.*; Unger and Ebeling, *RLA*, I, 119; Weidner, *MAOG*, IV, 232 f.; Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p.

43). The spelling $[A-pi]-ra-ak$ from I R 3, No. VII:6, adduced by Delitzsch, *loc. cit.*, and quoted in *RLA*, I, 119, is wrong; on the basis of this text and other variant texts the reading is clearly $na-m-ra-ag$. The inclination of scholars to favor the spelling *Apirak* can probably be explained by their tendency to see in *Apirak* the same *-ak* ending occurring in such Babylonian geographical names as *Akšak*, *Ašnunnak*, *Larak*, *Šuruppak*, etc.

The simple reading *Apišal* instead of *Apirak* was first proposed by me on the basis of comparison of the geographical names $\bar{U}-ru-mu-um^{KI}$ and $A-bi-šAL^{KI}$ in the legend of *Narâm-Sin* published by Boissier, *op. cit.*, on the one hand and of the peoples $^1\bar{U}-ru-ma-a-ia^{PI}$ and $^1A-bi-eš-la-a-ia^{PI}$ side by side in inscriptions of *Tiglath-pileser I* on the other (*Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* [OIP, XXVII], p. 6).

One of the most commonly mentioned geographical names in the *Ur III* tablets is the name usually spelled $A.KA.QA^{KI}$. Only once to my knowledge is it spelled thus outside of the *Ur III* tablets and that is in a tablet from the *Akkad* period partly transliterated in H. de Genouillac, *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello*, II, Part 2, No. 2932. According to Nikolski, *Drevnosti*, V, 326:7, it is the seat of an *iššakku*. The usual way in which the city $A.KA.QA^{KI}$ is transliterated in the Assyriological literature is *Aduḡga* (Keiser, *Patesis of the Ur Dynasty*, p. 15; Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, p. 1019; Ebeling in *RLA*, I, 39). In spite of the frequent occurrence of this geographical name in the *Ur III* tablets—I have forty-seven references to it in my collection—this name has been totally neglected in the topographical studies on ancient Babylonia.

Apart from the common spelling $A.KA.QA^{KI}$, the spelling with *sal*, *šal* occurs once also (Schneider, *Analecta orientalia*, I [1931], 23:3), which proves the reading *šál* for the third sign, *qa* (cf. Gelb, *AJSL*, LIII, 39). Also the spellings $A.KA.QA.LA^{KI}$ (Keiser, *Cuneiform Bullae of the Third Millennium B.C.* [BRLM, III], 180:8) and $A.KA.SAL.LA^{KI}$ (Deimel, *Orientalia*, VI [1923], 58, No. 6) point in the same direction. Incomprehensible and most probably based on a copyist's error is the spelling $A.KA.ENGUR(?)^{KI}$ in Boson, *Tavolette cuneiformi sumere*, No. 339:4, as against the usual $A.KA.QA^{KI}$ (26:3, 28:3, 372:12; cf. also p. 69).

The geographical position of *Apišal* of *Narâm-Sin*'s military expeditions is entirely unknown. If the connection of *Apišal* with $^1A-bi-eš-la-a-ia^{PI}$ is right, then the position of *Apišal* can be approximately settled in the region between the *Tigris* and *Lake Van*. As it is known that *Narâm-Sin*'s military exploits carried him still farther west, even into the heart of *Anatolia*, the location of *Apišal* in the region between the *Tigris* and *Van* is not beyond his sphere of expansion.

The problem is now to investigate the possible connections between *Apišal* and the geographical name spelled predominantly $A.KA.ŠAL^{KI}$ in the *Ur III* tablets. Phonetically the connection is established if we can assume the value pi_4 for *KA*, reading the name $A.KA.ŠAL^{KI}$ as $A-pi_4-šál^{KI}$. But the assumption of

a value pi_4 for KA in so early a period as Ur III has its difficulties (cf. Gelb, *AJSL*, LIII, 39).

Judging from the frequent mention of this city in connection with Umma (cf. e.g. Schneider, *loc. cit.*, Deimel, *Orientalia*, XX [1926], 84, No. 149, and De Genouillac, *Textes économiques d'Oumma de l'époque d'Our* [*TCL*, V], 5665:27), it is possible to assume that it was situated in close proximity to the latter. Therefore there could be no geographical connection between A.KA.ŠÁL^{KI} near Umma and Apišal near Lake Van if Apišal actually should be placed there because of its connection with ¹A-bi-eš-la-a-ia^{PI}.

By way of summary I may say the following:

1. There is a city in Babylonia commonly spelled A.KA.QA^{KI} in the Ur III tablets. The value šal for the sign QA is proved by variants; the value pi_4 for the sign KA is possible but not proved. Thus the reading of this geographical name is Akašal or Apišal. Its position near Umma is evident from the documents.

2. Between Lake Van and the Tigris live the people ¹A-bi-eš-la-a-ia^{PI} mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I.

3. The city A-pi-šAL or A-bi-šAL read up to now Ab/pirak is commonly mentioned in reports concerning military expeditions of Narâm-Sin of Akkad. Its geographical position is entirely unknown. Whether it is to be connected with the ¹A-bi-eš-la-a-ia^{PI} near Lake Van or with the city A-KA-šal near Umma in the Ur III documents, the reading of A-pi-šAL of Narâm-Sin's expeditions with šAL instead of rak is evident. The problems are many and in part complicated, but I hope to have at least brought them nearer solution by placing them here under discussion.

BABAZ

In an article entitled "A Sumerian Wage-List of the Ur Dynasty" T. Fish published in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, IX (1925), 241-47 (republished in his *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, Pls. XLVII f.), a long Ur III economic tablet mentioning three geographical names: (1) Ba-ba-az^{KI} (ix 15, x 12, xii 35; cf. also the personal name Puzur-Ba-ba-az, *ibid.*, vi 2, x 16); (2) BÍ.ZI.BÁD^{KI} (vi 16); (3) Gu-ni-na^{KI} (ix 24), referred to by Fish, *op. cit.*, p. 246, and (4) BÍ-ga^{KI} (i 10), read as Bi-GA-Ki and considered a personal name by Fish, *op. cit.*, p. 242. Since Fish (*op. cit.*) states that the three geographical names to which he refers are new to him, it would be well to give the references relating to these geographical names from tablets which have become known since Fish's publication.

1. The geographical name Babaz occurs also in Schneider, *Orientalia*, Nos. 47-49 (1930), 134:14. *RLA* under "Babaz" neglects to cite this reference.

2. The name BÍ.ZI.BÁD^{KI} is unknown to me from other sources.

3. The name Gu-ni-na^{KI} finds its correspondence in Ku-ni-na^{KI} in A 5049, an unpublished Ur III tablet in the collections of the Oriental Institute.

4. The name BÍ-ga^{KI} occurs also in an Ur III tablet published in Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, 33:7.

BAŠAR

In an Ur III tablet published by Dhorme in *RA*, IX (1912), 57, SA 3:3, in connection with ⁴MAR.TU is mentioned HUR.SAG *Ba-ša-ar*. This mountain Bašar, as was observed by Dhorme (*ibid.*, p. 41), corresponds to *Ba-ša₁₀-ar*, where the Old Akkadian king Šar-kalê-šarrê gained a victory over Amurru (Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, No. 124; *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 225b).

Identical with this mountain Bašar is also *Ba_x-šal-la*, the mountain of Amurru, mentioned in the inscription of Gudea (Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 70 vi 5 f.), and the ^{šad}*Bi-eš-ri* and ^{šad}*Bi-su-ru* of the later Assyrian sources (Unger, *RLA*, I, 430; Honigmann, *RLA*, II, 18). It corresponds to modern Ġebel el-Bišrī, a low mountain range extending between Palmyra and the Euphrates.

BAŠIME

Outside of the spellings *Ba-šim-e^{ki}* and *Ba-ši-me^{ki}* quoted by E. Forrer in *RLA*, I, 430, this geographical name occurs in the Old Akkadian and Ur III periods also in other spellings, namely, in l ú *Ba-ši-me^{ki}* (Frank, *Strassburger Keilschrifttexte*, 43:11, and Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, 248:8) and in NIM *Hu-ḫu-nu-ri^{ki}* ù *Pa-šim-e^{ki}*-m e (De Genouillac, *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello*, V, 8212:5). Perhaps the Old Akkadian l ú *Mi-ši-me^{ki}* (Nikolski, *Drevnosti*, V, 35 ii 12) and, from an Ur III tablet, PA.TE.SI *Mi-šim-e^{ki}* (Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie antérieure*, 179:2) belong here also. *Mi-ši-me^{ki}* occurs also in an inscription of Eannatum (Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 20 iv 16, 24 v 1, 26h v 6).

BIGA

Cf. Babaz.

BINA

In l. 7 of an unpublished Ur III tablet, A 5153, in the collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, is mentioned a geographical name in the phrase š à *Bi-na^{ki}*. This Bina is evidently the same geographical name as Binâ, quoted by Ebeling in *RLA*, II, 30, from two Old Babylonian texts.

In l. 3 of the same text the phrase š à *Mâ-ga-an^{ki}* refers to a geographical name Magan in Babylonia. Because of the spelling with *mâ* (not *má*) and *ga-an* instead of *gan* this name Magan of the Oriental Institute tablet has to be distinguished from the famous country Magan often mentioned in connection with Meluḫḫa. This Magan is always spelled *Má-gan* or *Má-gan^{ki}*.

BÍ.ZI.BÁD

Cf. Babaz.

DABRUM

Cf. Iabru.

DABURUM

Cf. Iabru.

DAGARA

Schneider, *Orientalia*, No. 55 (1930), p. 5, reads as *Da-ur₄-ra^{KI}* a geographical name occurring in l. 18 of an Ur III tablet published by him in *Orientalia*, Nos. 47–49 (1930), p. 108. Inasmuch as the second sign is clearly the sign *ga*, the whole geographical name has to be read *Da-ga-ra^{KI}* and is probably to be identified with Dagara of the land Zamua, discussed by Unger in *RLA*, II, 101.

*DAQALA

Cf. Madašalla.

DUBRUM

Cf. ĩabru.

DUDUBI

Just as the pronunciation of GAB.GAB.NI^{KI} proves to be *Du₈-du₈-li^{KI}* because of the occurrence of the form *Du-du-ul^{KI}* (cf. the discussion of the following geographical name), so the geographical name GAB.GAB.NE^{KI} has to be read *Du₈-du₈-bi^{KI}* because of the occurrence of the form *Tu-tu-ub^{KI}*. Thus NIM *Du₈-du₈-bi^{KI}* *m e* occurs in Barton, *The Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, III, 108 (218):6, and Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie antérieure des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*, 90:24; *Du₈-du₈-bi^{KI}* *š è* in Barton, *op. cit.*, l. 8, and Speleers, *op. cit.*, l. 26, while *Tu-tu-ub^{KI}* occurs in *CT*, XXXII, 19–22 i 15, v 30, vi 9. Dr. T. Jacobsen calls my attention to several occurrences of this geographical name in unpublished tablets from the Diyala region; he intends to discuss it in a forthcoming publication.

DUDULI

The geographical name GAB.GAB.NI^{KI} and its *iššakku* Ĥulibar appear often in the economic documents of the third dynasty of Ur. Many references to it are quoted by Landsberger in *ZA*, XXXV (1924), 233, n. 6. The exact pronunciation of the name GAB.GAB.NI^{KI} was unknown to Landsberger, *op. cit.*, but is given in Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes* 250:4, where a man from *Du-du-ul^{KI}* is mentioned directly after a man from *Ši-mu-ru-um^{KI}* in l. 3. Therefore the reading of GAB.GAB.NI^{KI} as *Du₈-du₈-li^{KI}* is assured. Outside of these two spellings the same geographical name appears apparently also in De Genouillac, *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello*, V, 9526 and 9682, in the form *Du₈-du₈-ĥu-li^{KI}*.

In a late copy of a bilingual inscription of Sargon of Agade published by Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts* [PBS, V], 34, and supplemented by Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon* (PBS, XV), 41, in col. vi, l. 22, of the fragment published by Legrain is mentioned a geographical name *Tu-tu-li^{KI}* (the Sumerian part of this inscription has *Du₈-du₈-li^{KI}*) in connection with Mari and other geographical names definitely localized south and west of Mesopotamia. In the Hammurabi Code similarly *Me-ra^{KI}* (=evidently Mari) is mentioned together with *Tu-tu-ul^{KI}* (iv 30 f.). Important is the observation made by Landsberger, *op. cit.* (see below) that

in a geographical list published in IV R 36, 1, *Du₈-du₈-li^{ki}* is mentioned in l. 20 following directly upon *Elam^{ki}*, while clearly another geographical name is mentioned in col. ii, l. 11, in the form *Tu-tul^{ki}*.

In KAV 183:23 the geographical name [*Tu*]-*ul-tu-ul^{ki}* is equated with °*I-i*[*t*], glossed *I-tù* (Landsberger, *op. cit.*). Nothing of geographical value can be gained from the occurrence of *Tu-ul-tu-ul^{ki}* in a geographical list published in II R 52, 2, l. 22. °*Du-ud-du-ul* in connection with the Aḫlamû of the Syrian desert is mentioned in a letter discovered at Boğazköy (*KBo*, I, 10:42); *Tu-ut-tu-ul^{ki}* together with *Ma-ri^{ki}* in an inscription from Tell el-Ḥariri (Thureau-Dangin in *RA*, XXXIII [1936], 49:4).

Because of the frequent occurrence in the Ur III documents of the geographical name Duduli in connection with NIM and because of the occurrence of both *Du₈-du₈-li^{ki}* and *Tu-tul^{ki}* in the geographical list published in IV R 36, 1 (cf. above), Landsberger, *op. cit.*, drew the right conclusion, that it is necessary to distinguish here two different geographical names: (1) *Tu-tu-li^{ki}* (also *Du₈-du₈-li^{ki}*, *Tu-tu-ul^{ki}*, *Tu-tul^{ki}*, *Tu-ul-tu-ul^{ki}*, *Tu-ut-tu-ul^{ki}*, and °*Du-ud-du-ul*) equated with the city Īt (KAV, 183:23), modern Hīt on the Euphrates. (2) GAB.GAB.NI^{ki} (also *Du-du-ul^{ki}* and *Du₈-du₈-ḫu-li^{ki}*), east of Tigris which, as shown above on the basis of Thureau-Dangin's *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, 250:4, has to be read *Du₈-du₈-li^{ki}*.

Landsberger's conclusion that this second geographical name because of the frequent occurrence of NIM GAB.GAB.NI^{ki} belongs to Elam is not strictly correct. The NIM (i.e., Elamites) are mentioned not only in connection with geographical names belonging to Elam proper but can occur with all names of places lying in the regions stretching to the north and east of the Valley of the Two Rivers. In my opinion, therefore, no conclusion can be drawn concerning the exact localization of Duduli from its occurrence in connection with NIM.

EBIḪ

Cf. Abiḫ.

GUNINA

Cf. Babaz.

ḪAḪḪUM

In a tablet dated by Thureau-Dangin between the end of the Agade period and the beginning of the Ur III dynasty and published in his *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, 232:x+5, among other garments are mentioned [x] TÚG.ŪŠUM *Ḫa-ḫu-um^{ki}*, "[number lost] u š u m -garments from Ḫaḫḫum." This Ḫaḫḫum is evidently the same geographical name as the one mentioned in the Gudea inscription with the reference to the gold from the mountains of Ḫaḫḫum (Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 70 vi 33 f.). In a later period Ḫaḫḫum is commonly mentioned in the Cappadocian tablets. As the seat of a *kārum* (S. Smith, *CCT*, II, 49a 6; Stephens, *JSOR*, XI [1911], 121, No. 17:1; Lewy, *KTS*, 47b:4 and 13 f.; Thureau-Dangin, *TC*, II, 74:17; *EL*, 243:18 f.) and of an *ešertum* (S. Smith,

CCT, IV, 30a 4), 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍 was one of the most important commercial centers in this period. Just as garments from 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍 are mentioned in the Telloh tablet published by Thureau-Dangin (cf. above), thus also some Cappadocian tablets refer to garments from 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍 (Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia* [BIN, IV], 7:11 f.; *EL*, 332:20 and 33) or wool (Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* [OIP, XXVII], 7:6).

The exact position of 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍 is unknown. Because of its mention in connection with Uršu and Ibla it is usually localized in northern Syria (Lewy, *OLZ*, XXIX [1926], 966 and n. 4; *idem*, *ZA*, XXXVIII [1929], 262 f., n. 5; Gelb, *op. cit.*, map at end of book). Landsberger's localization of 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍 in Mesopotamia (*ZA*, XXXV [1924], 235 f.) is decidedly less convincing. Neither can the suggestion of Honigmann to connect the name 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍 with the later 𐤂𐤁𐤕 and similar names in Armenia Minor (*ZA*, XXXIX [1930], 302, and *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, pp. 60 and 225) be right. Lewy in the two articles cited above compared the 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍 of the Babylonian and Cappadocian sources with the city 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍𐤍 mentioned in the Hittite tablets from Boğazköy. The reference to Götze, *Hattušiliš*, p. 16, does not offer any important points for the localization of 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍𐤍. So much more important is the tablet Bo 9058 referred to in the second of the above-cited articles of Lewy. This text (now published in *KUB*, XXVI, 71; transliterated in Forrer, *BoTU*, 30 rev. 14 ff.) clearly refers to 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍𐤍 in connection with the "Sea," in this case the Mediterranean Sea. This localization of 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍𐤍 furnishes us with further proofs for the localization of 𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍-𐤂𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍𐤍 near Uršu, classical Rhodus, modern ʿArsüz on the Mediterranean coast.

𐤁𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤍

Cf. 𐤁𐤁𐤕.

𐤁𐤁𐤕𐤕

Ungnad in *RLA*, II, 144, quotes a geographical name *da(?)*-*ab-ru*^{K1} in the date of the seventh year of Bûr-Sin following *CT*, XXXII, 29 viii 18. In this text the first badly preserved sign was evidently read by Ungnad as 𐤕𐤁𐤕 with the value *dâ* (the diacritical mark was accidentally omitted by Ungnad). But other occurrences of the same date in Schneider, *Orientalia*, Nos. 47-49 (1930), 133:12, or De Genouillac, *La trouvaille de Dréhem*, 88:9, have clearly the sign 𐤍𐤁 not 𐤕𐤁𐤕 in the name 𐤍𐤁-*ab-ru*^{K1}. The reading *iâ* of the first 𐤍𐤁 as accepted approximately by Scheil in *RT*, XXXVII (1915), 136, and Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, p. 53, is the only plausible one. Related in origin to *Iâ-ab-ru*^{K1} are the divine names ^d*Ia-ab-ru* (Zimmern, *Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu*, II, 163, quoted in the above-mentioned article of Scheil) and ^d*Ia-ab-ri-tû* (III R 66 rev. 19d; read as ^d*Ia-ab-ri-û* by Deimel, *Pantheon*, No. 1490). Evidently also the geographical name *Iâ-ab-ra-at*^{K1} (Jean, *Šumer et Akkad*, No. LXXI iv 1; Virolleaud, *ZA*, XIX [1905/06], 383:2; De Genouillac, *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello*, V, 9667) and the personal name *Iâ-ab-ra-at* (cf. the discussion under *su*) belong here.

In the following I give the occurrences of some geographical names which doubtlessly have nothing in common with *ni-ab-ru*^{ki} but which are discussed here solely to avoid possible future confusion with this particular name.

1. *Da-ab-ru-um-ta* EN.LÍL^{ki}-š è (De Genouillac, *Textes économiques d'Oumma* [TCL, V], 5675 rev. v 37).

2. *Lú-bal-ša-ga* PA.TE.SI *Da-bu-ru-um*^{ki} (Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh*, 104 rev. 6 f. and 127 i x+19). Perhaps identical is the Old Akkadian geographical name [T]a(?)*-ab-bu-r[u(?)]-um*^{ki} in the date of Narâm-Sin (Pohl, *Vorsargonische und sargonische Wirtschaftstexte* [TMH, V], 37 rev. x+3). Doubtlessly different is the geographical name *Sa-bu-ru-um*^{ki} in an Ur III tablet published by Jean in *RA*, XIX (1922), 42, No. LX:4.

3. *Dub-ru-um*^{ki} (Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, IX [1912] 113 iv 14, 15, 24, and De Genouillac, *op. cit.*, 6041 rev. i 13 and 15). The reference to Thureau-Dangin I owe to Dr. T. Jacobsen.

IBLA

The limited space in this article dedicated to the Ur III names prevents discussion of all the many references and articles dealing with Ibla. This geographical name is often mentioned in connection with Uršu, Ḫaḫḫum (*q.v.*), and other cities of North Syria, which makes its localization in North Syria near the Mediterranean coast practically certain.

From the Ur III tablets the following references to Ibla mentioning personal names are known to me:

1. *Gu-la(?)*-a l ú *Ib-la*^{ki} (Weidner, *RSO*, IX [1921-23], 474:2). Cf. also Uršu.

2. *Ī-lí-^dDa-gan* l ú *Ib-la*^{ki} (Dhorme, *RA*, IX [1912], 56 and 59, Sa 79:4; Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, 254 and 468; Legrain, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, 305:10 and 344:16).

3. *Me-me-šu-ra(?)* l ú *Ib-la*^{ki} (Contenau, *Umma sous la dynastie d'Ur*, 27:3).

These personal names from Ibla together with the personal names from Uršu (Gulaa, Kurbilag, Nanau) and Mukiš (Gababa) attested in the Ur III tablets are exceedingly important for the understanding of the ethnic situation of North Syria in the period of the third dynasty of Ur. Although it is not difficult to see that all these personal names, with the exception of *Ī-lí-^dDagan*, are non-Semitic, it is impossible as yet to assign them to any other ethnic group. They are certainly not Hurrian, just as the personal names belonging to the *su*-population are certainly not Hurrian (cf. the discussion under *su*). From the comparison of the personal names from the three geographical places mentioned above with those from the region of Mari (*q.v.*) we can see that there is an ethnic difference between Mari on the one hand and Ibla, Uršu and Mukiš on the other; while in the period of the third dynasty of Ur Mari is populated exclusively by Semites, the North Syrian region around Aleppo has an almost exclusively non-Semitic population.

ISIN

The earliest references to the famous city Isin in Babylonia known to me are found in the Ur III documents. There this city appears in the following spellings:

1. ^d*Nin-din-ug₅-ga* NI-si-in^{KI}-t a (De Genouillac, *La trouvaille de Dréhem*, 80:2); *kiri é-gal ma-da* NI-si-in-na^{KI} (Keiser, *YOS*, IV, 238:7); *u t u l* NI-si-in^{KI}-m e (De Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem* [TCL, II], 5483:7); *e r i m* (resp. PA.TE.SI) NI-si-in- n a^{KI}-š è (Nakahara, *The Sumerian Tablets in the Imperial University of Kyoto*, 15:20).

2. *M u n í (g) - š á m - m a* *In-si-in^{KI}-š è* (Legrain in *RA*, XXX [1933], 124 rev. 9); *š à In-si^{KI}- n a* (Myhrmann, *Sumerian Administrative Documents* [BE, III], 120:13); *Zi-da-ku-a In-si- n a^{KI}* (CT, VII, 47 [17775] rev. 11); *Zi-da-ku-a In-si- n a* (Legrain, *RA*, X [1913], 56, No. 100 rev. 3); *m a - d a In-si^{KI}* (Schneider, *Analecta orientalia*, VII [1932], 132:7); *In-si^{KI}-š è* (De Genouillac, *Babyloniaca*, VIII [1924], Pl. VI, No. 20:2; Schneider, *Orientalia*, No. 18 [1925], Pl. II, No. 4:5); *s i b a In-si^{KI}- m e* (Pohl, *Analecta orientalia*, XII [1935], 278 v 8); *s i b a In-si^{KI}- g é - n e* (Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, 421); *i š i b* ^d*Nin-In-si* (CT, XXXII, 34 ii 11).

The above-listed spellings of the city Isin show clearly that in the Ur III period the name of this city began with a vocalic *n*, which could be represented in the writing both by the sign NI and by the sign IN. Cf. for similar examples Poebel's *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, § 47. The dropping of the final *n* is common in Sumerian (cf. Poebel, *op. cit.*, § 39). From the Hammurabi period on is attested the spelling *I-si-in^{KI}* (Grice, *Records from Ur and Larsa Dated in the Larsa Dynasty* [YOS, V], 3 v 10).

KISMAR

In several copies of an inscription of Ilušuma published by Ebeling, Meissner, and Weidner, *IAK*, pp. 6 ff., No. 2, and by Weidner in *ZA*, XLIII (1936), 114-23, there appears a city name spelled *Ki-is-ma-ar^{KI}* or *Ki-is-mar^{KI}* in the list of cities, Ur, Nippur, Awal, Kismar, and Dêr of the divinity KA.DI. Meissner, *op. cit.*, p. 9, n. 10, wrote the following remark on this city: "Die Stadt Kismar (das erste Zeichen *ki* ist nicht ganz sicher) kann ich anderweitig nicht nachweisen."

Outside of the inscriptions of Ilušuma the city Kismar is mentioned also in the Ur III documents: ^d*Mes-lam-ta-è-a Ki-is-mar^{KI}* (Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, 91:336 f.); *n í (g) - g a* MAŠ.EN.DÙ l ú *Ki-is-mar^{KI}* ù *Maš-kán-šar-ru-um^{KI}- g é - n e* (Legrain, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, 144:11); *u d u Ki-is-mar^{KI}* (Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, No. 428).

KUNINA

Cf. Babaz.

MADAŠALLA

Ebeling in *RLA*, II, 120, discusses under one geographical name various occurrences, some of which in my opinion have to be kept separate. He quotes the following place names: (1) °*Da-ga-lá* in an Old Babylonian contract (Jean, *Contrats de Larsa*, 2. série [*TCL*, XI], 156 rev. 6), (2) °*Da-qa-la* in Bit Amukkani in an inscription of Sennacherib (Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* [*OIP*, II], p. 53:46 = Ebeling, *Ein Bericht Sanheribs über seinen 1. Feldzug* [*BBK*, I, 2], p. 6:46), and (3) an alleged geographical name *Da-qa-la*^{KI} in an Ur III tablet published by Nies in his *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, 58:90.

In reality, while nothing stands in the way of identifying with each other the geographical names under 1 and 2, the geographical name under 3 has to be read in a different way and therefore cannot be identified with the geographical names under 1 and 2. It occurs in the following Ur III tablets known to me:

1. é °*PA.SAG* g i š *Ma-da-QA-la*^{KI} (Nies, *loc. cit.*). Nies, *op. cit.*, p. 100 and nn. 3 and 4, explains it as a temple name and translates it "Pa-sag, the weapon of Daqala." Nies evidently sees the word "weapon" in the signs g i š. *KU* by reading *ku* for *ma*. In my transliteration the word g i š alone is regarded as having the meaning "weapon" (cf. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*, 296, 12, 86).

2. k i *Ma-da-QA-la*^{KI}- š è (Delaporte, *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello*, IV, 7072:5). Delaporte, p. 7, reads it as *ki Ku-da-qa-la-ki-šú*.

3. š à k i *Ma-da-QA-la*^{KI} (Hussey, *Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum* [*HSS*, IV], 3 obv. iv x+19). Hussey, p. 46, reads it as *Ki-ku-da-qa-la*^{KI}.

4. k i *Ma-da-QA-la*^{KI}- t a (Barton, *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, I, 30 [246] rev. x+6).

5. *Gir-su*(!)^{KI}- t a k i *Ma-da-<QA>-la*^{KI}- š è (Barton, *op. cit.*, III, 148 [389] rev. 8 f.).

6. *Gú-ab-ba*^{KI}- t a k [i *Ma*]-*da-QA-la*^{KI}- t [a] (Barton, *loc. cit.*, 11 f.).

7. *NI.DUB* k i *Ma-da-QA-la*^{KI} (Lau, *Old Babylonian Temple Records*, 252 iii 9).

The sign *ma* is not clear in any of the publications. Inasmuch, however, as this sign is often almost identical in form with the sign *ku* in the Ur III tablets and the reading *Ma-da-* is more plausible than *Ku-da-* I prefer to read this sign as *ma* in opposition to some scholars who have been reading it as *ku*. The reading of the sign *QA* with its value *qa* is impossible in the Ur III tablets. If we accept that k i *Ma-da-QA-la*^{KI} means "the place (k i) of the land (m a - d a) of *QA-la*," then *QA-la* is evidently identical with *íd QA-la* or *íd QA-la*^{KI}, the name of a river often mentioned in the Ur III tablets (cf. e.g. Nikolski, *Drevnosti*, V, 110:9; 111:6; 118:2; 149:4; 236 rev. i 27). The pronunciation of the name of this river is *íd Šál-la* because of the later spelling *íd Šál-l[a]* (II R 51, 2:37 and in other texts) with the simple sign *šal*. On this value *šál* of the sign *QA* cf. also above, p. 71, and Gelb, *AJSL*, LIII (1936-37), 39. The same element occurs also in the geographical name *Ugār-Sallu/i/a*, to which Dr. Cameron kindly drew my attention. Cf. also *Kišalla* in Nies, *op. cit.*, 57:41 and 58:187.

MAGAN

Cf. Bina.

MARI

The following personal names from the region of Mari around the mouth of the Ḥabur River are known to me from the Ur III documents:

1. *A(!)-bu-tāb l ú Ma-rí^{KI}* (De Genouillac, *La trouvaille de Dréhem*, 18:5).
2. *ENGAR-ba-ni l ú Ma-rí^{KI}* (De Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem* [TCL, II], 5508 rev. iii 9; Deimel, *Orientalia*, No. 4 [1924], p. 60, corrected after Schneider, *Orientalia*, Nos. 23–24 [1927], p. 20; Schneider, *Orientalia*, No. 18 [1925], Pl. VI, No. 17:28; CT, XXXII, 23 rev. 4). Only the copy in CT, XXXII, shows clearly enough the sign *ENGAR*. De Genouillac's and Schneider's copies show rather the sign *AG*, as it is also transliterated by Schneider in *Orientalia*, Nos. 23–24 (1927), p. 20. Cf. below.
3. *A-mur-^dŠul-gi*, one of the *l ú Ma-rí^{KI}-m e* (CT, XXXII, 23 rev. 1); *A-mi-ir-^dŠul-gi* (Schneider, *Orientalia*, No. 18, Pl. VI, No. 17:22).
4. *Ga-ba-lum UD.DA.KU l ú Ma-rí^{KI}* (De Genouillac, *Textes économiques d'Oumma* [TCL, V], 6036 x 33).
5. *Ī-lí-iš-ti-kál*, one of the *l ú Ma-rí^{KI}-m e* (Schneider, *Orientalia*, No. 18, Pl. VI, No. 17:31).
6. *Ī-lum-a-ḫi l ú Ma-rí^{KI}* (Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, 107); *Ilum-a-ḫi* in one of the Ur III tablets in the collection of the Oriental Institute.
7. *Puzur-Ma-ma l ú Ma-rí^{KI}* (Dhorme, *RA*, IX [1912], 56 and 59, SA 79:2; Legrain, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, 305:7; Fish, *op. cit.*, 254:5).
8. *Šu-^dDa-gan l ú Ma-rí^{KI}* (Jean, *Šumer et Akkad*, No. VI:4).
9. *Šu-^dḫa-iš-ra* (= *Šu-^dĪš-ḫa-ra*) *l ú Ma-rí^{KI}* (Legrain, *op. cit.*, 344:20); *Šu-^dĪš-ḫa* (transliterated *a*)-*ra l ú Ma-rí^{KI}* (Fish, *op. cit.*, 468).
10. *^dŠul-gi-pa-lí-il*, one of the *l ú Ma-rí^{KI}-m e* (Fish, *op. cit.*, 190; CT, XXXII, 23 rev. 3).

The importance of this list of personal names lies in the fact that it clearly shows that the population of the region of Mari in the period of the third dynasty of Ur was Semitic and more especially Babylonian. All these names could have just as well appeared in any of the regions of Babylonia proper. This conclusion about the Babylonian population of Mari in the period of the third dynasty of Ur makes a priori improbable the supposition of Landsberger (*ZA*, XXXV [1924], 234, n. 5) that the name discussed above under 2 is perhaps Subarean (= Hurrian). Landsberger reads this name as Agbani and derives it from a presupposed Subarean *Aga-b-ani*. Against this supposition can be adduced many arguments, such as that a personal name Agabani is unknown among the Hurrian personal names and that the first element *agab-* (or *akap-*), although good Hurrian, appears never to be shortened to *agb-* (or *akp-*) in the known Hurrian dialects. There remains also the great difficulty with the occurrence of a Hurrian personal name in the region of Mari

so far away from the known centers of distribution of Hurrians in the Ur III period. In all probability the personal name *ag-ba-ni*, or, as I intend to read it, *ENGAR-ba-ni* should be explained as a Babylonian name in conformity with other Babylonian names from Mari. Although the occurrence of heterogeneous names is everywhere admissible, the occurrence of a Hurrian personal name offers too many difficulties in this particular case. My explanation of this personal name as *ENGAR-ba-ni*, although not supported directly by parallel examples is in itself plausible enough. ^dENGAR is attested in Deimel's *Pantheon*, No. 1008.

MAŠKAN

The geographical name Maškan or the word *maškan* as a compound in geographical names appears in the following Ur III tablets known to me:

1. *Maš-kán*^{KT} (Nikolski, *Drevnosti*, V, 236 ii 17; Contenau, *Contribution à l'histoire économique d'Umma*, 100 ii 2; Allotte de la Fuÿe in *RA*, XXV (1928), 21 v 13; Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie antérieure des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*, 124:3; Legrain, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, 159:3).

2. *Maš-kán-a-bí*^{KT} (*CT*, XXXII, 19 iii 1, 20 i 16, 21 vi 13, 22 vi 22).

3. *Maš-kán-GA.ÛL.ŠAR*^{KT} (De Genouillac, *La trouvaille de Dréhem*, 54 iii x+8).

4. *Maš-kán-šabra*(*PA.AL*)^{KT} (De Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem* [*TCL*, II], 5506, x+2; Pohl, *Analecta orientalia*, XII (1935), 278 iv 19).

5. *Maš-kán-šar-ru-um*^{KT} (Legrain, *op. cit.*, 144:12; Szachno-Romanowicz in *Rocznik orientalistyczny*, XI [1935], 96, No. 2:3; Keiser, *Cuneiform Bullae of the Third Millennium B.C.* [*BRLM*, III] 37, seal; Schneider, *Orientalia*, Nos. 47-49 [1930], 9:7).

6. *Maš-kán-du-du*^{KT} (Pohl, *Analecta orientalia*, XII [1935], 277 iii 31; De Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem* [*TCL*, II], 5506, x+1).

7. *Maš-kán-ú-šu-ri*^{KT} (*CT*, XXXII, 20 iv 22).

Maškan (and similar forms) as an independent geographical name and as a compound in geographical names appears often also in other periods (cf. e.g. in Old Akkadian, Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi* [*HSS*, X], pp. xlii f.). It is evidently the Akkadian word *maškanum*, "place," "dwelling," from the root *škn*, which gave rise to the Sumerian *m a š - g á n*, an old loan-word from Semitic.

MIŠIME

Cf. Bašime.

MUKIŠ

In an Ur III tablet published in Boson's *Tavolette cuneiformi sumere*, No. 203:8 f., besides *Ki-ri-ib-ul-me l ú Ši-mu-ru-um*^{KT} is mentioned a certain *Ga-ba-ba l ú Mu-ki*-. . .]. On p. 22 Boson reads *Ba-ba l ú Mu-ki-ra-ki*, neglecting the first sign *ga*-; on p. 33 he reads *Ba-ba l ú Mu-ki*. The exact reading

of this geographical name can be obtained from a parallel Ur III tablet, A 2852 in the collections of the Oriental Institute. There besides *Ki-ri-ib-ul-me* l ú *Ši-mu-ru-um*^{K1} is mentioned clearly *Ga-ba-ba* l ú *Mu-ki-iš*^{K1}. A reading *ur* instead of *mu* in the name *Mu-ki-iš*^{K1} in order to obtain the reading of Urkiš, the well-known geographical name in the Ur III tablets, is impossible in both the Manchester and the Chicago tablets.

Neither is it necessary to search for Urkiš in these tablets, because the geographical name Mukiš is also known from other cuneiform sources. In the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Mattiwaza, *mât* °*Mu-kiš-ḫi* (var. *ḫe*) is mentioned in connection with Aleppo (Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, p. 10:30 f.). *Mât Mu-kiš* and Aleppo are mentioned also in the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Tette (*ibid.*, p. 60:14). Similarly to northern Syria points the occurrence of *mât Mu-kiš* in VAT 13008 discussed by Forrer in his *Forschungen*, II, 1, pp. 48 ff. (now published in *KUB*, XIX, 27:x+7). On the basis of these occurrences both Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 10, n. 2, and Forrer, *op. cit.*, p. 50, and map on p. 58, localized Mukiš in the region lying south of Aleppo.

SABURUM

Cf. *İabru*.

SAG.ÛB

A common geographical name in the Ur III documents is SAG.ÛB^{K1} (Chiera, *Selected Temple Accounts from Telloh, Yokha, and Drehem*, 10 xi 16; Barton, *The Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, I, 13 [200]:2; III, 127 [282]:15; *CT*, I, 13 ii 8; V, 19 iii 35; 22 vi 35; VII 45 [17766] rev. 1, etc.). Often this geographical name forms part of a personal name, as in U r -SAG.ÛB^{K1} (Barton, *op. cit.*, III, 25, under Ur-sag-Kiš^{K1}; Chiera, *op. cit.*, 25 i 15; 26 ii 12, etc.) or in U r -^dSAG.ÛB.BA^{K1} (Schollmeyer, *MAOG*, IV [1928-29], 191 rev. 12). Also in the periods preceding Ur III this geographical name is mentioned in the form SAG.UB.URÚ^{K1} (Pohl, *Vorsargonische und sargonische Wirtschaftstexte* [*TMH*, V], 58:4), SAG.UB^{K1} (Thureau-Dangin, *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello*, I, 1096:7), and SAG.ÛB^{K1} (*ibid.*, 1464:12).

This geographical name SAG.ÛB^{K1} means in my opinion "the SAG of ÛB," "the 'head' of ÛB," in parallel development to *Sag-Da-na*^{K1} or *Sag-Da-na*, *passim* in the Ur III tablets, meaning "the 'head' of Dana." Identical with SAG.ÛB^{K1} is the geographical name SAG.LI in the phrase *in pu-ti Upîm*^{K1} ù SAG.LI, "in front of Opis and SAG.LI," in a date of Šar-kalê-šarrê (Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 225a). SAG.LI in this date should in my opinion be read as *Sag-gûb* and identified with the SAG.ÛB^{K1} of the Ur III tablets.

SU

In addition to the personal names with the designation l ú su, l ú su^{K1}, or l ú su.A^{K1} listed by Landsberger in *ZA*, XXXV (1923), 230 f., n. 3, and

Ungnad in his *Subartu*, p. 106, the following references from the Ur III tablets are known to me:

1. *Bu-ul-ba-at*, one of the l ú su - m e (De Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem* [TCL, II], 5508 ii 11).

2. *Du-li-a* l ú k i n - g i₄ - a *Ià-ab-ra-at* l ú su^{KI} (Boson, *Tavolette cuneiformi sumere*, No. 229:2 ff.).

3. *Ià-ab-ra-at* (cf. 2, 7, and 8).

4. *Lu-lu* l ú su.A^{KI} (Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, 44:3 = Mercer, *JSOR*, XIV [1930], 48, No. 59:3).

5. *Ni-ù-ša-na-ak* l ú su (Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, No. 415).

6. *Šu-ŕšu(?)*-uk š e š . . . -at l ú su.A^{KI}- m e - š è (De Genouillac, *op. cit.*, 5515:4 f.).

7. *Zu-bu-uš* l ú - k i n - g i₄ - a *Ià-ab-ra-at* l ú su^{KI} (Fish, *op. cit.*, 466; De Genouillac, *op. cit.*, 5559:9).

8. *[X]-ab-du-ša* l ú k i n - g i₄ - a *[Ià]-ab-ra-at* l ú su^{KI} (De Genouillac, *Babyloniaca*, VIII [1924], Pl. VII, No. 30:2).

9. . . . -at (cf. 6).

Summing up, in the lists of Landsberger, Ungnad, and my own as given above, we have the following personal names belonging to the su population: Addabuni, Barbaragi, Bulbat, Bušut, Dašuk, Dulia, Garadadu(?). Ībrat, Kimani, Kuzuzu, Lulu, Madatina, Niušanak, Raši, Sinini, Šebi, Šušuk(?), Zubuš, and two partly preserved names, *[X]-ab-du-ša* and . . . -at. If any conclusion may be drawn from these twenty personal names, one is clear and definite: If under the term of Hurrian personal names we understand the great majority of the names in the Nuzi tablets, then none of the personal names with the appellation su is Hurrian. The casual resemblances pointed out by Ungnad, *Subartu*, pp. 105 and 137, are in my opinion insufficient to prove the ethnic unity of su and Nuzi personal names.

ŠUŠAN

Cf. A.LAL.RIN.

TABE JRUM(?)

Cf. Ībrū.

TIRQA

In an Ur III tablet published by De Genouillac in *La trouvaille de Dréhem*, 54:3, is mentioned a geographical name which he read as *Ti-ni-ga*^{KI} (p. 14). Inasmuch as the second sign in this name has some shading in the center, marking it as an imperfectly preserved sign, the emendation of the sign *ní* to *ir* is not only plausible but most probable. The geographical name Tiniga is unknown to me, while Tirqa (*ga* stands for *qá* in the Ur III tablets) is the well-known city identified with modern Tell ʿAshārah near the mouth of the Ĥabur River. On this city cf. Thureau-Dangin, *OLZ*, XI (1908), 193 f., and

Syria, V (1924), 265–93; Herzfeld, *RA*, XI (1914), 134–39; Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (BKS, No. 8), p. 24, n. 1; Ebeling, Meissner, and Weidner, *IAK*, p. 27, n. 11. This Ur III example seems to be the earliest reference to the city Tirqa.

TUTUB

Cf. Dudubi.

TUTULI

Cf. Duduli.

URŠU

The city Uršu in the mountains of Ibla, from which Gudea imported trees for the construction of his temples (Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 70 v 53 f.), is also commonly mentioned in the Cappadocian tablets. There it is the seat of a *kārum* (CCT, I, 46a:22f.; 46b+47a:16; Sayce, *Babyloniaca*, VI [1921], 191, No. 7:3). It is almost certainly to be identified with classical Rhosus, modern ʿArsūz, in North Syria on the Mediterranean coast.

From the Ur III tablets the following examples referring to Uršu are known to me:

1. *Gu-la-a l ú Ur-šu*^{ki} (Schneider in *Analecta orientalia*, VII [1932], 99:17). Cf. also Ibla.
2. *Kur-bi-la-ag l ú Ur-šu*^{ki} (Contenau, *Umma sous la dynastie d'Ur*, 27:6 f.).
3. *Na-na-ù l ú Ur-šu*^{ki} (Dhorme, *RA*, IX [1912], 59, SA 79:6).
4. *1 g e m e l ú Ur-šu*^{ki}, “one slave-girl from Uršu” (Nesbit, *Sumerian Records from Drehem*, 3:1 f.).

In later periods the only sure reference to Uršu in cuneiform sources is to be found in an Akkadian legend published in *KBo*, I, 11, with the spellings ʿ*Ur-ši* (l. 19) and ʿ*Ur-šu*^{ki} (rev. 22 in connection with ʿ*Luhuzzandiya* and ʿ*Karkamis*, both North Syrian cities).

UZAR

In an Ur III economic tablet published by De Genouillac in his *Textes économiques d'Oumma* [*TCL*, V], 6041, the following three geographical names with the element *ú-za-ar* are mentioned:

1. *Ú-za-ar-Ba-ba-ti*^{ki} (ii 5).
2. *Ú-za-ar-Da(?)gi*^{ki} (rev. i x+3). The sign *da* is clearly copied as such in this text. But should we not rather emend *da* to *šul* and by reading this geographical name as *Ú-za-ar-Šul(!)-gi*^{ki} compare it with *A-za-ar-Šul-gi*^{ki} discussed below?
3. *Ú-za-ar-I-mi-ilim*^{ki} (i 7).

Arad-Nanna(r), the *iššakku* of Lagash, among his many titles lists also the title of governor of *Ú-za-ar-Gar-ša-na*^{ki} (Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 148 f., No. 22:16). The geographical

name *Gar-ša-na*^{K1} occurs in Boson, *Tavolette cuneiformi sumere*, 359:3; Nikolski, *Drevnosti*, V, 106:3; Contenau, *Umma sous la dynastie d'Ur*, 32:3 (Nergal of Garšana^{K1}); Schneider, *Orientalia*, Nos. 47–49 (1930), 382:86, 88, 97.

In an Ur III economic tablet, published by Allotte de la Fuÿe in *RA*, XXV (1928), 20 f. iii 12, vi 4, appears a place name *A-za-ar-dŠul-gi*^{K1} similar in its structure to the place name °*A-za-ar-ili* mentioned by Assurbanipal (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II, § 818; V R 7 vii 108).

The city *Ū-zar-pa-ra*^{K1} and its variants, *Ū-za-ar-pa-ra* and *Ū-za-ar-bar-ra*, occur in the date of the 18th year of Rīm-Sin (Ungnad, *RLA*, II, 162).

Two copies of the great geographical text from Nippur published by Chiera in his *Sumerian Lexical Texts* (*OIP*, XI), 213 vi x+6–8 and 216 ii x+19–21 have the following geographical names:

Ū-za-ar-pa-ra^{K1}
Ū-za-ar-zu-ḫu(?)-*ur(?)*^{K1}
Ū-za-ar-I-a-ú^{K1}

A similar geographical text published by Jean in *RA*, XXXII (1935), 161–74, has in col. iv, ll. 34–36, the following names:

Ū-za-ar^{K1}
Ū-za-ar-pa(!)-*ra*^{K1}
Ū-za-ar-zu(?)-*ḫu(?)*-*ur*^{<K1>}

In the geographical text published by Schroeder in *KAV*, 92, the name *Ū-zar-I-lu-lu* appears in the following connections in ll. 22 f.: *ištu*(TA) *Tir-ga-an šá Gu-ti-um adî*(EN) *Ū-zar-I-lu-lu* ¹*E-da-ma-ru-uš*^{K1} *ištu*(TA) *Ū-zar-I-lu-lu*^{K1} *adî*(EN) *Bit*-^dEN.ZU.NA ¹*Ma-ri-i*^{K1} (i.e., Mari on the Tigris).

The elements *ú-ša-ar* (constr. st. of *ušrum*) and *a-ša-ar* (constr. st. of *ašrum*) in these geographical names evidently express words since lost in Akkadian but preserved in Hebrew and other Semitic languages. Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*, 14th ed., under *ḥāšēr* gives the following explanation: “eigentlich das umhegte Lager, wie es Hirten- und Wanderstämme errichten Dann aber auch jede Ortschaft ohne Mauer, im Gegensatz zu befestigten Orten oder grösseren Städten.” Observe also the numerous geographical names occurring in the Bible with the compound *ḥāšēr* in parallel development to the usage in Akkadian and other Semitic languages.

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The Dogs of Nikarawas

Author(s): I. J. Gelb

Source: *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Apr., 1938), pp. 200-203

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](http://www.uchicago.edu)

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The translation verbatim is: "him (acc.) of Nikarawas the dogs (nom.) his head (acc.) away may eat"; in English word order: "may the dogs of Nikarawas eat away his head." Hrozný in *Les Inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques*, I, 190, translated this phrase as follows: "à cet (homme), que les chiens du dieu Nakarus(?) mangent sa personne(?)." Meriggi never published his translation of this text, but from the translation of respective words in his Hittite pictographic glossary published in *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*, XXXIX, 1, I gather he would have translated the phrase in question as follows: "Diesem, die Hunde des Gottes Nagarwas mögen seinen Kopf abfressen."

The translation of this phrase offers practically no difficulties of interpretation. The first word, *ᵛa-pa-pa-wa-e*, can be divided into three parts, of which the first, *ᵛa-pa-*, expresses the accusative singular *apan*, "him," with the consonant *n*, as usual in the Hittite pictographic language, assimilated to the next consonant or omitted; the second part, *-pawa-*, corresponds to the Greek *δέ* left untranslated in English; the function of the very common enclitic *-e* is still obscure. Syntactically the construction observed in this phrase, "him, his head . . . ," is very interesting inasmuch as it corresponds to the *σχήμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος* commonly used in Hittite cuneiform writing (cf. J. Friedrich in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXXV [1924], 175, and *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache*, I, 43 ff.). Hrozný's and Meriggi's translation with the dative is therefore unnecessary. The word *ᵛa-pa-za-n(a)*, "*sum, eius*," is the accusative of a possessive pronoun formed from a demonstrative pronoun *apas*, "*is*."

Every phonetic sign in this phrase is transcribed in accordance with the values assigned to them by myself in my *Hittite Hieroglyphs*, Volume II, with the exception of the sign *za*, which I read formerly as *sá* (cf., however, *ibid.*, p. 30, n. 7, where it was already suggested that some syllables with the consonant *s* may express rather the consonant *z*). In a projected study I expect to justify my new reading. It may be permissible to state here at this time that the values of the signs *ni* and *ra* as assigned to them in my *Hittite Hieroglyphs*, II, 23 f. and 25-28, find further corroboration in the connection of the divinity Nikarawas in the Hittite pictographic inscription with the Sumerian divinity Ninkarrak (cf. later).

The most interesting problem in the interpretation of this curse formula pertains to the "dogs of Nikarawas." Who is the god or goddess Nikarawas who has the power to send the dogs in order that they may "eat away the head" of an impious man who harms an inscription? In my opinion the divinity Nikarawas is none other than the old Sumerian goddess Ninkarrak, well known also in the later Babylonian pantheon. The phonetic correspondence of the Hittite pictographic Nikarawas with the Sumerian Ninkarrak does not offer great difficulties. The usual form in which the name of this divinity occurs in cuneiform texts is ^a*Nin-kar-ra-ak* (Deimel, *Pantheon babylonicum*,

No. 2611; cf. perhaps also ^d*Nin-ka-rak* [*ibid.*, No. 2604, read as ^d*Nin-ka-sal* by Deimel]; in Cappadocian *Ni-kà-ra-ak* [Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes cappadociennes*, II, 54 rev. x+8]; in Old Akkadian ^d*Nin-kar-ak* [Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations. I. Royal Inscriptions*, 276 ii 3]). The only other reference to Nikarawas in the Hittite pictographic inscriptions outside of the above-mentioned Carchemish inscription is found on the Bulğarmaden inscription (*The Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor and the Assyro-Babylonian Orient. . . . Travels and Studies in the Nearer East*, XII, 5) in the form ^d*Ni-ka-ru-ḫa-s(a)*.

The interchange of the forms Nikarawas and Nikaruḫas was explained by myself in *Hittite Hieroglyphs*, II, 16, through the development Nikarawas > *Nikaruwas > *Nikaru^was > *Nikaru^as > Nikaruḫas, paralleled by another example, *Tuwana > *Tu^wana > *Tu^aana > Tuḫana. In view of the new evidence linking Hittite pictographic Nikarawas and Nikaruḫas with cuneiform Ninkarrak, it would be well also to bear in mind the possibility that the ḫ in Nikaruḫas could be developed directly from the *k* in Ninkarrak of the cuneiform sources. However, the manifold nature of the ḫ consonant in Hittite pictographic and also in Hittite cuneiform inscriptions is still too obscure to allow us to draw any definite conclusions on this question. The assimilation of *n* of *Nin-* to the following *k* in the Hittite pictographic name can be observed in the above-quoted Cappadocian example and in the name of another Sumerian divinity, ^d*Nin-gal*, which occurs in the Boğazköy cuneiform texts in the form ^d*Ni-ik-kal* or ^d*Ni-kal* (cf. Güterbock in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 74 [1936], p. 70). Since double consonants are never expressed in the Hittite pictographic writing, it is impossible to say whether the Sumerian divine name Ninkarrak was pronounced with doubled *k* or doubled *r* in the language of the Hittite pictographs.

Outside of the phonetic evidence linking Hittite pictographic Nikarawas with Sumerian Ninkarrak, there is still other important evidence for the connection between these two divine names. Not only does Nikarawas correspond to Ninkarrak, but also the dogs of Nikarawas find their exact counterpart in the dogs of Ninkarrak, who are often mentioned in the Babylonian cuneiform sources. Cf., e.g., ^d[*Nin*]-*kar-ra-ak ṣu-bi-ti mi-ra-ni-ki ina pi kalbê^{pl}-ki dan-nu-te i-di-i ḫar-gul-lu*, "O [Nin]karrak, hold fast your young dogs, put a muzzle on the jaws of your mighty dogs" (Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (71:5 f.). Some inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar mention the inscribed name of Ninkarrak on dogs of clay (Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 110:38 ff. and 144:18), which shows that the dog is the emblem of Ninkarrak. It is also the symbol of the goddess Gula, with whom Ninkarrak is often identified in the cuneiform inscriptions (cf. on this problem J. Nikel, *Ein neuer Ninkarrak-Text*, p. 57 and also pp. 17, 21, 23, 32).

There is nothing strange in finding an old Sumerian divinity worshiped in the pantheon of the Hittite pictographs. Years ago the Semitic goddess Ba'lat

was discovered in the Hittite pictographic pantheon by Hrozný (*Les Inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques*, p. 26, n. 1); and later, in my *Hittite Hieroglyphs*, II, 30, I myself proved the connection between the Hittite pictographic Marutakas and the Babylonian Marduk. The occurrence of Sumerian and Babylonian divinities in the pantheon of the cuneiform Hittite inscriptions is very common.

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A Tablet of Unusual Type from Tell Asmar

Author(s): I. J. Gelb

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Apr., 1942), pp. 219-226

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](http://www.jstor.org/stable/542128)

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A TABLET OF UNUSUAL TYPE FROM TELL ASMAR

I. J. GELB

Some time ago while examining the cuneiform tablets excavated by the Oriental Institute in the region of the Diyala River in Iraq I came across a strange tablet differing in appearance from all the rest of the tablets in the group. The well-preserved tablet bears the temporary number *TA* 1930/31, 501. Its color is tan mottled with gray, and its measurements are $63 \times 49 \times 22$ mm. The tablet was excavated at Tell Asmar "on February 5, 1931, at locus 7-0.30, a vertical pottery drain which contained a cache of tablets referring to contracts, etc. concluded by the royal family or its circle."¹ The exact date of the tablet is unknown. The date of the archive² in which our tablet was found as well as general epigraphic considerations permit assignment of this tablet to the Isin-Larsa period.

The transliteration and translation of the tablet (Pl. VI) follow:

¹ <i>Bur-Si-in</i>	Bûr-Sin asked
<i>Da-da-wa-qar</i>	Dada-waqar,
<i>Be-el-šu-nu</i>	Bêlšunu,
<i>ú Hu-ša-ša-am</i>	and Hušášum.
⁵ <i>š-a-al-ma um-ma</i>	Thus
<i>Bur-Si-in-ma</i>	(said) Bûr-Sin:
<i>i-pi-i Ƴ a-bi₄-ni</i>	"From the mouth of our father
<i>ta-áš-me-a Ƴ ki-ma</i>	did you hear that
<i>Za-ra-am-ba-ni</i>	Zaram-bânî
¹⁰ <i>DUMU Ki-tim um-ma</i>	is the son of Kittum?" Thus
<i>ni-nu-ma Ƴ ki-ma</i>	we (said): "That
<i>ma-ru</i>	he is the son
<i>Ki-tim</i>	of Kittum

¹ According to information obtained from Dr. T. Jacobsen, epigrapher of the expedition. I take this opportunity to thank Dr. Jacobsen for his kindness in placing at my disposal his copies and transliterations of the tablets from the Diyala region and in offering several valuable suggestions incorporated in the article.

² Cf. H. Frankfort, S. Lloyd, and T. Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar* ("Oriental Institute Publications," Vol. XLIII [Chicago, 1940]), p. 191, superseding H. Frankfort, T. Jacobsen, and C. Preusser, *Tell Asmar and Khafaje: The First Season's Work in Eshnunna, 1930/31* ("Oriental Institute Communications," No. 13 [Chicago, 1932]), p. 49.

<i>ú-lá ni-iš-me</i>	we did not hear;
¹⁵ <i>ki-ma</i> ṽ <i>wa-ar-du</i>	that he is a slave
<i>i-pì-i</i> ṽ <i>Ki-tim</i>	from the mouth of Kittum
<i>ni-iš-me</i>	we heard."

The tablet can be best explained as a declaration in court. Bûr-Sin brings his three brothers, Dada-waqar, Bêlsunu, and 𒍪ušâšum, to court and asks them whether their father has told them that Zaram-bânî³ is Kittum's son. They answer that they have not heard that Zaram-bânî is Kittum's son; they have heard, however, that he is Kittum's slave. The problem involved is simple: the clarification of Zaram-bânî's status as a slave.

There are, however, some minor difficulties involved in the interpretation of the details. My original explanation of DUMU *kittim* in lines 10 and 12 f. was not "the son of Kittum" but "the legitimate son" as opposed to *wardu*, "the slave," of line 15. But in following through with this explanation, in line 16 I encountered the difficulty of being forced to interpret *ippî kittim* as "truly," a translation for which I could find no parallels. Another interpretation of the text could be obtained by reading lines 15 ff. as ¹⁵*ki-ma wa-ar-du ki-tim* ¹⁶*i-pì-i* <*a-bi₄-ni*> ¹⁷*ni-iš-me* and translating ¹⁵"that he is a true slave (acquired by law) ¹⁶from <our father> ¹⁷we heard." The difficulty with this explanation lies not only in the necessity of connecting the word *ki-tim*, plainly written in the second part of line 16, with the word *wa-ar-du* of line 15, but also in the fact that we would be forced to reckon with an omission of the word *a-bi₄-ni* in line 16.

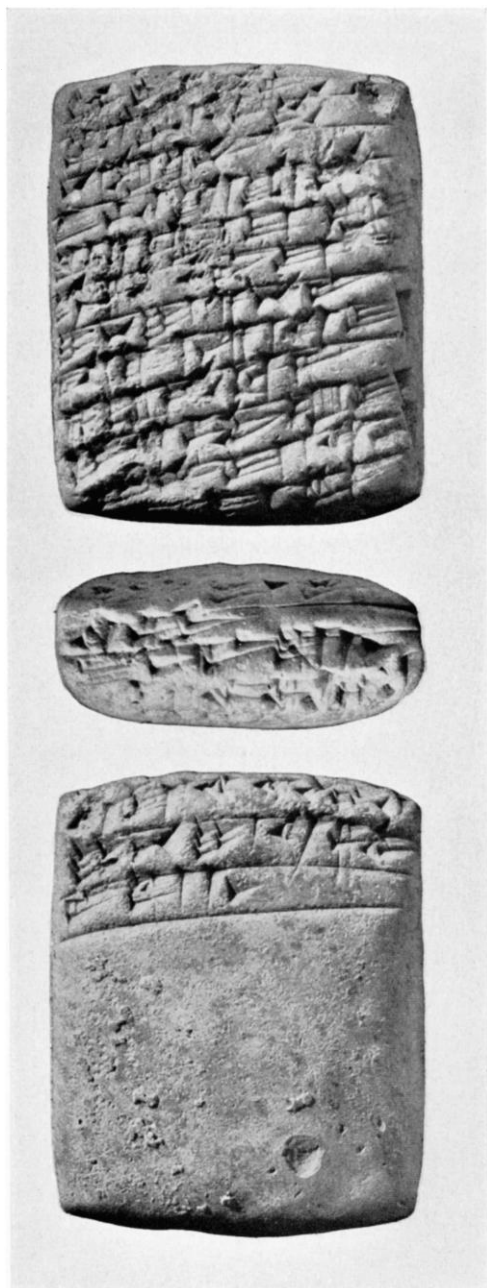
In accepting the explanation of Kittum as a personal name, I follow the advice of the late Professor A. Walther. With this simple explanation all the difficulties otherwise encountered are avoided. ^mKittum as a personal name is attested in the Neo-Babylonian period.⁴

So much for the details concerning the legal aspect of the tablet. Interesting as the tablet may seem from this point of view, its importance lies in quite another direction. The tablet, though found in the

³ The personal name *Za-ra-am-ba-ni* is unknown to me. Possibly the first sign, *za*, stands for *a*, as is often the case in tablets of the Ur III period. The personal name would then be pronounced Aram-bânî, with the first part, Aram, probably expressing the name of a god. Cf. the personal name *A-ra!-am!-?* in H. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names* (Philadelphia, 1905), p. 67. But see also ^a*Za-ar-mu* in A. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum* (Roma, 1914), No. 1295.

⁴ See K. L. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (Helsingfors, 1905), pp. 91 and 150.

PLATE VI



Diyala region, is not Babylonian in character. In its system of writing and dialect it exhibits many and various characteristics which connect it, not with Babylonia in the near south, but with Assyria and Asia Minor in the far north.

1. From the epigraphic point of view no difference between the form of the signs on the Tell Asmar tablet and on the normal Cappadocian (Old Assyrian) tablets can be observed. However, the signs do not show the slant to the right, so common in the signs in the Cappadocian inscriptions. The lines of writing are separated by rulings, as is normal in Cappadocian. The upward slant of the lines, so commonly found in the Cappadocian tablets, can be observed also on the Tell Asmar tablet.

2. The most unusual feature of the tablet is the occurrence of the division mark between various words in lines 7, 8, 11, 15, and 16. This is entirely unknown in Babylonian but is frequently used in the Cappadocian system of writing. The division mark occurs once also in an Old Assyrian historical inscription of Irišum I (O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, Vol. II ["Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft," Vol. XXXVII (Leipzig, 1922)], No. 11:39; E. Ebeling, B. Meissner, E. F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* ["Altorientalische Bibliothek," Vol. I (Leipzig, 1926)], p. 14).

3. In accordance with Cappadocian usage, the double consonants are not expressed in the words *i-pi-i* = *ippî* (ll. 7 and 16) and *Ki-tim* = *Kittim* (ll. 10, 13, 16; cf. I. J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* ["Oriental Institute Publications," Vol. XXVII (Chicago, 1935)], pp. 20 and 41). However, owing to the brevity of the inscription, it is impossible to decide whether these two examples reflect a system of writing in which such rendition of double consonants was as firmly established as in Cappadocian or whether they are to be taken simply as examples of defective writing, such as are found in all early stages of Akkadian. An exception is *um-ma*, which is written regularly with double consonants also in Cappadocian (cf. Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 20, n. 9).

4. The use of the sign LÁ instead of LA in line 14 follows the Cappadocian, not the Babylonian, system of writing. The same may be true also of the use of the sign ÁŠ for AŠ in line 8 and of BE for BI in lines 7 and 16. It should be noted, however, that the sign ÁŠ (besides AŠ) is

frequently used for AŠ in tablets of the same period from the Diyala district.

5. The use in line 4 of the sign \dot{u} instead of \ddot{u} for the copula meaning "and" is good Cappadocian. In Old Babylonian and in the Diyala region the sign \ddot{u} is normally used.

6. The form *ippî* from **in-pî* is clearly Cappadocian; the corresponding form in the Babylonian dialect is *ina pî*. Compare in the Cappadocian texts *i-pî Da-da-a*, "from the mouth of Dadaa" (Sidney Smith, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, Vol. IV [London, 1927], Pl. 6b:10 f.), and *i-pî um-mi-a-ni-a*, "from the mouth of our creditor" (F. Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes cappadociennes*, deuxième série ["Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre," Vol. XIV (Paris, 1928)], No. 7:33). Dr. Jacobsen calls my attention to the forms *a-ši-mi-im* < **an-šimim* (TA 1930/31, 230:5) and *i-li-bi-kà* < **in-libbika* (TA 1931/32, 298:31) in unpublished tablets of the same period from the Diyala region.

7. The spelling of the divine name Sin as *Sî-in* in lines 1 and 6 is neither Old Babylonian nor Cappadocian. However, it does occur twice in the latter tablets in the spelling of the personal name *Sî-in-iš-me-a-ni* (G. R. Driver, "Cappadocian Texts at Oxford," *Analecta Orientalia*, Vol. VI [1933], Pl. II, No. 5:5; J. Lewy, *Tablettes cappadociennes*, troisième série ["Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre," Vol. XIX (Paris, 1935)], No. 124:1). Important is the occurrence of *Sî-in-rabî* in the tablet from Yorgan Tepe (T. J. Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi* ["Harvard Semitic Series," Vol. X (Cambridge, 1935)], No. 224:8), discussed later (p. 225).

8. The personal-name determinative is not used on our tablet, in agreement with the usage in the Cappadocian tablets, but no constructive conclusion can be drawn from this fact, since this determinative is frequently omitted in the tablets of the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods.

9. The accusative form *Hu-ša-ša-am* in line 4 and the genitive *Ki-tim* in lines 10 and 17 show that certain types of personal names in our tablet are declinable, as in Cappadocian. In Old Babylonian they are normally undeclined. In the Diyala tablets both declined and undeclined forms are found.

10. The form *ma-ru Ki-tim* (ll. 12 f.) is not good Cappadocian. In Cappadocian, although the form *mar²um* occurs sporadically (see Gelb, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 f.), the usual form for "son" is *mer²um*.

11. The construct state *ma-ru* instead of the normal Cappadocian *me-ra* in the tablet from Tell Asmar finds its possible parallel in the forms *bu-un-tù i-li-im*, "the daughter of the god," and *ma-ar-tù A-ni-im*, "the daughter of Anum," in a unique incantation among the Cappadocian tablets published by A. T. Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia* ("Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies," Vol. IV [New Haven, Conn., 1927]), No. 126. Outside of Cappadocian the construct forms with *-u* are found predominantly in poetic texts and in archaistic historical inscriptions. For examples see W. von Soden, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XL (1931), 212 f. Important, because definitely localized around Isin, is the example *ma-ru* ^dEN.LÍL in the inscription of Lipit-Ištar of Isin (C. J. Gadd, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad* [London, 1921], Pl. 3 ii 5). In the Diyala region we find not only such forms as *ma-ru št-ip-r[i-a]*, "my messenger," in the accusative (TA 1931/32, 294:7), but also *a-na ma-ru ši-ip-ri-a*, "to my messenger," in the genitive (TA 1931/32, 600:10). Dr. Jacobsen would explain these forms as compounds of the type of Greek Neapolis, German Neustadt, etc., in which the first component remains unchanged throughout the declension.

12. The verbal form *ta-áš-me-a* in line 8 is good Cappadocian. The corresponding form in Old Babylonian would normally be *tešmá*, showing contraction and change of the first *a* to *e* under the influence of a laryngeal. The uncontracted forms occur often in the early phase of Old Babylonian and in the Diyala tablets. Among the latter I have found an uncontracted form *te-eš-te-me-a*, but this already shows the change from *a* to *e* (TA 1931/32, 221:26; similarly *te-še-me*, TA 1931/32, 296:5).

13. The phraseology *x y iš²alma umma x-ma*, "x has asked y, thus (said) x," is common in the Cappadocian documents (cf., e.g., Clay, *op. cit.*, No. 112; Smith, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, No. 47b; Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

The tablet discussed above was found at Tell Asmar, situated in the region of the Diyala River, so well represented in the Isin-Larsa period by tablets excavated at Tell Asmar, Khafaje, Ishchali, and certain

other neighboring sites. There is no room here for discussion of the characteristics of the Diyala dialect. This may be reserved for a future study to be written by Dr. Jacobsen after all the tablets from the Diyala region have been published. Suffice it to mention here that in spite of some links with the Assyrian dialect in the north, such as the occurrence of the pronoun *šût* instead of *šû*, the Diyala dialect is certainly Babylonian. It was made clear above that the Tell Asmar tablet is written in a dialect differing from that used in hundreds of tablets from the Diyala region. Especially the orthographic peculiarities, such as the occurrence of the division mark, discussed under (2), and the use of the signs *LÁ* and *Ú*, discussed under (3) and (4), make it impossible to assign our Tell Asmar tablet to the Diyala type. Furthermore, it is clear from numerous points discussed above that the Tell Asmar tablet does not follow the common Old Babylonian pattern as represented by tablets from Babylonia proper.

It follows, therefore, that if the Tell Asmar tablet is not Babylonian, we may legitimately ask whether it could not possibly be Assyrian. Unfortunately the tablet is not large enough and does not contain a sufficient number of characteristically Assyrian forms to allow of the positive conclusion that it is definitely Assyrian. On the other hand, there is nothing in the tablet that could speak against this conclusion. The lack of the substantive suffix *-ni* in the constructions with *ki-ma* in lines 10, 13, and 15 was at first troublesome. But this difficulty can be eliminated by the observation that, while the use of *-ni* is obligatory in subjunctive constructions in the Middle and New Assyrian periods, it is optional in the Old Assyrian period (see M. Bar-Am, "The Subjunctive in the Cappadocian Texts," *Orientalia*, N.S., VII [1938], 12-31). As examples proving this point it is enough to mention here *a-šar wa-aš-bu* (S. Smith, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, Vol. IV, Pl. 2b:25) and *a-šar wa-[aš-bu]-ni* (Gelb, *op. cit.*, No. 5:26).

We know of several thousand inscriptions written in the Old Assyrian writing and dialect and found in a wide area extending from the heart of Cappadocia down to the region of the East Tigris. It would seem that it may become necessary to regard this large area as comprising numerous smaller regions, each with its own local peculiarities in writing and language.

The Old Assyrian dialect is represented mainly by the so-called Cappadocian tablets found at Kültepe, Alishar, and Boğazköy in Asia Minor and by the Old Assyrian historical inscriptions excavated in the city of Assur. The characteristics of this dialect are well known. The main points in the system of writing have already been enumerated (Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 41, n. 7). This may perhaps be the official dialect of Assur.

Several years ago five tablets or fragments of tablets were discovered at the site of the modern village of Yorgan Tepe, called Gasur in the middle of the third millennium B.C. and Nuzi in the middle of the second millennium B.C. These tablets—published by T. J. Meek in "Harvard Semitic Series," Volume X, Nos. 223–27—are inscribed in a writing and dialect which can for all purposes be classified as Old Assyrian. In language and orthography there are hardly any observable differences between these tablets and the regular Cappadocian tablets. Nevertheless, one Yorgan Tepe tablet uses the expression *a-na a-ḥa-im ú me-er-e-im*, "to brother and son" (Meek, *op. cit.*, No. 223:4), in place of the normal Cappadocian *a-na a-ḥi-im ú me-er-e-im*. In the writing the spelling *Sí-in* for the moon-god Sin is used once in the personal name *Sí-in-rabî* (Meek, *op. cit.*, No. 224:8, and above, p. 222). Peculiar to the Yorgan Tepe tablets is the use of the sexagesimal system and the custom of measuring grain by homers. On all these peculiarities see the comments by J. Lewy in his "Notes on Pre-Hurrian Texts from Nuzi," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LVIII (1938), 450–61, especially pages 456 f. Meek observed that one of his tablets (No. 223) has the slant to the right, characteristic of the Cappadocian tablets, while others do not seem to have it (*op. cit.*, p. xxv). In view of the limited material it is, of course, impossible to say how much importance should be attributed to all these differences. We may perhaps be justified in suggesting that the Yorgan Tepe tablets form a local variety, slightly different from the standard Old Assyrian.

The Tell Asmar tablet has no distinct peculiarities of its own as opposed to the normal Cappadocian tablets. Nevertheless, there are some forms and spellings in the Tell Asmar tablet which occur very rarely in the Cappadocian tablets, such as the spelling of the name Sin as *Sí-in* (discussed under [7]), the form *mar^um* for "son," instead of

mer^uum (discussed under [10]), and the construct *ma-ru* instead of *me-ra* (discussed under [11]). It may be repeated here that the form *Sí-in* occurs also on a tablet from Yorgan Tepe, but, on the other hand, the form for "son" is there *mer^uum*, as in the normal Cappadocian tablets.

At the present time and to the best of my knowledge, our tablet from Tell Asmar is of unique type and interest. It is impossible, of course, to draw any definite conclusions based on just one tablet. However, there seems to be no doubt that the tablet is Old Assyrian. It may possibly represent another local variety of Old Assyrian, differing from the standard dialect used at Assur.

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Author(s): G. Bonfante and I. J. Gelb

Source: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1944), pp. 169-190

Published by: [American Oriental Society](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/594680>

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THE POSITION OF "HIEROGLYPHIC HITTITE" AMONG THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

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§ 1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In Hittite Hieroglyphs 3.21 Gelb proposed that hieroglyphic Hittite is not a *centum* language as generally assumed, but a *satəm* language. As it was difficult to treat in *HH* 3 the complicated problem of the position of hieroglyphic Hittite among the IE languages without the help of a trained Indo-Europeanist, it was decided to discuss fully the *satəm* theory in a separate article, which was to be written in cooperation with Julian H. Bonfante of Princeton. The present article fulfills this promise.

It is impossible to divide exactly the responsibility for the component parts of this article among its two authors. The whole article has been read and discussed several times by both in all its details. Roughly speaking, the first part up to p. 176 was written by Gelb, the rest by Bonfante. Some of the etymologies presented here will be illustrated and defended in other future publications.

In the reading of the hieroglyphic Hittite signs this article follows exactly *HH* 3. It is a sign indicative of the progress and stabilization reached in the reading of the hieroglyphic Hittite writing that no correction can be offered here to the readings proposed in *HH* 3. Contrast this happy state of affairs with the constant changes and improvements from *HH* 1 to *HH* 3.

The abbreviations used in this article are either those of *HH* 3 (if they pertain to hieroglyphic Hittite) or of any classical or IE periodical (if they pertain to these disciplines).

Some of the statements on hieroglyphic Hittite expressed in this article will be further demonstrated and amplified upon in the *Hieroglyphic Hittite Glossary* to be published soon.

§ 2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Our sources for Anatolian history and languages in the Hittite period come in the first place from the archives at Boğazköy in Central Anatolia where

thousands of cuneiform texts were uncovered in the excavations before and after the first World War. Among the IE languages there discovered were cuneiform Hittite, Luwian, some remnants of an Indo-Aryan language and hieroglyphic Hittite. Of no direct interest to us are other languages used at Boğazköy, such as Protohittite, Hurrian, Akkadian, Sumerian, etc., because they are all non-IE.

It must be noted at the very onset of our investigation that the relationship in terminology between Protohittite, cuneiform Hittite, and hieroglyphic Hittite is purely artificial and has no basis in real facts. Only Protohittite bears a name that can be justified by ancient use. We call "Protohittite" an old, autochthonous, non-IE, prefixal language which was actually called "Hittite" by the cuneiform Hittites themselves. The real names of the languages used by the cuneiform Hittites and the hieroglyphic Hittites are either not sure (Nasian, Nesian was proposed by Hrozný for cuneiform Hittite) or entirely unknown (in the case of hieroglyphic Hittite). Our terminology—by now established by tradition—is based on no other fact but on that both these IE languages were spoken and officially recognized in the Hittite Empire. This should be remembered by those scholars who, influenced by the kinship of terminology, would instinctively favor close relationship, if not even identity of cuneiform and hieroglyphic Hittite.

Chief among the Boğazköy languages is cuneiform Hittite, whose decipherment, initiated in 1915 by the Czech scholar B. Hrozný, has progressed so far in the following years through the concerted efforts of such scholars as Forrer, Friedrich, Goetze, Sommer, and Sturtevant—to name only the main ones—that the language is considered fully deciphered today. Cuneiform Hittite is an IE language of the *centum* group as best exemplified by the preservation of the velar in such words as *kartis* 'heart,' or *luk-* 'to kindle,' and

of the labiovelar in such words as *kwis* 'who,' or *kwen*, 'to strike.'¹

Cuneiform Hittite was the official language of the Hittite state, as can be gathered from the fact that in this language were written the historical annals, proclamations, laws, and treaties with foreign countries. It was also used very extensively in religious literature, as in rituals, oracles, prayers, incantations, omens. The fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic in cuneiform Hittite attests to the use of this language in mythology.

The use of cuneiform Hittite was restricted almost exclusively to Boğazköy. Outside of this city only a few letters and a document pertaining to a land grant from Tarsus have been found. Important is the fact that the excavations of Alishar near Boğazköy and of Kaniš near Kayseri yielded no cuneiform Hittite tablets whatsoever. This observation may be of importance when we come to the discussion of the official languages in the Hittite Empire.

The second IE language discovered on tablets from Boğazköy is Luwian. No complete texts in this language have as yet been found, only passages of varied length cited within cuneiform Hittite texts and described as spoken *luwili*, i. e., in Luwian language. The Luwian samples found with corresponding cuneiform Hittite translations show that the two languages are closely related to each other. Luwian is a *centum* IE language, as can be seen

from the relative or indefinite pronouns *kwis*, *kwisha*, or *kwishas*.

All the languages and remnants of languages discovered at Boğazköy used cuneiform writing and clay material as the means of expression. The only Boğazköy language which expressed itself in a form different from cuneiform was hieroglyphic Hittite. The Boğazköy archives yielded relatively few examples of hieroglyphic Hittite, but the ones found are of far-reaching importance.

In the first place we should mention the royal seals on clay bullae and on clay tablets. Some royal seals are dated to the time of Alluamnaš and Huzziiaš (II?). Considerably greater is the number of royal seals from the New Hittite period. Some of the seals are unilingual, either in Akkadian language and in cuneiform writing or in hieroglyphic Hittite; others are bilingual in the two languages and writings just mentioned. But no royal seals seem to be written in cuneiform Hittite language. The most interesting feature of the bilingual seals is that the royal names in the Akkadian are different from the royal names in hieroglyphic Hittite. Thus to *Šuppiluliumaš* in Akkadian correspond three hieroglyphic signs of which the first one is a logogram, the second *ha*, and the third *me*, to be interpreted together perhaps as *Piḫame*. Similarly to *Urḫi-Tešup*, the name of the Hittite king in Akkadian, corresponds *Umenali* in hieroglyphic. For an attempt at explaining this duality of names see next page.

¹ On the position of cuneiform Hittite among IE languages, cf. Bonfante, *IF* 52. 221 ff. (1935); 55. 131 ff. (1937); *RBPPh* 18. 381 ff. (1939); *Ve Congrès international des linguistes*, 1938, Bruges, Réponses au questionnaire (Suite), 45. The "Tocharo-Hittite" group of Petersen, *Lang.* 9. 12 ff. (1933) (accepted under another form by Cuny, *RHA* 2. 199 ff.), is now out of question: see Pedersen, *Tocharisch*, 5 ff.; 256 f. "Eine spezielle Verwandtschaft zwischen dem Tocharischen und dem Hittitischen gibt es nicht" (although he rather indulged formerly in this strange idea, *Group.*, 35 ff.). The coincidences between cuneiform Hittite and Tocharian, which of course exist, although they are not very characteristic, are merely preserved archaisms and prove no particular kinship between them, just like e.g. the coincidences between Latin and Indo-Aryan. Petersen renounced implicitly his theory in *Lang.* 10. 205 ff. (1934). Cf. also G. Bonfante, *Emerita* 1. 165 (1933) and J. Friedrich, *Tocharisch*, 26 with n. 1.

On the "Indo-Hittite theory, which has been rejected by almost all scholars, see now Bonfante, *Classical Philology* 39. 51 n. 3 (1944). Add there to the 14 authors who do not accept it the following 12 names: A. Debrunner, *Die Sprache der Hethiter* (Bern 1921), 17 ff.; A. Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients* (Munich 1933), 55 ff.; G. Herbig, *GGA* 1921, 194 ff.; 209 ff.;

Friedrich, *RLV*, 1, 133; *ZDMG* 76, 155 (1922); Leumann, *Lat. Gramm.* (Munich 1928), 39; Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* (Munich 1939), 50 ff.; Christian, *Reallex. der Assyr.*, 1, 83; Sommer, *OLZ* 1921, 315 ff.; *Hethitisches, Boghazköi-Studien* 4 Heft (Leipzig 1920), 1; W. Brandenstein, *PWRE*, Suppl. 6, 168; 177 f.; Alfonsina Braun, *Il lessico ittita nei suoi riflessi indoeuropei*, in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, 95, 2, 365 ff.; 377 (1935-6); Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, 2^a, 1, 20 ff. (1928); Fr. Bilabel, *Gesch. Vorderasiens und Ägyptens*, 136 (1927) ("eine [...] zweifellos indogermanische Sprache"). Add also Bártoli, *Mél. Belié*, 197 ff. This opinion was already expressed by Knudtzon, Bugge and Torp in 1902, e.g. p. 98 of their book *Die zwei Arzawa-briefe, die ältesten Urkunden in indogermanischer Sprache*.

A. Ungnad, *Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens*, Breslau (1923), 9 ff.; 17 calls the Hittites (Nesites) simply "Indo-Europeans" (*Indogermanen*); on p. 9 he writes: "die ihrem Wesen nach indogermanische Hauptsprache des Hethiterreichs des 2. Jahrtausends. [...] Von den sonst noch in Boghazköi-Texten begegnenden Sprachen dieses Gebietes bildet das Luwische nur eine Mundart des indogermanischen Hethitisch."

Many non-royal hieroglyphic seals have been discovered at Boğazköy as well as at the two neighboring sites of Alişar and Alaca, and even at Tarsus in Cilicia, but again none of these is in cuneiform Hittite. The popular use of hieroglyphic Hittite writing, already in the New Hittite period, is further illustrated by its occurrence on cuneiform tablets, pots, and various other objects of daily use.

Boğazköy itself yielded three hieroglyphic Hittite monumental inscriptions in stone in addition to the very long but badly damaged rock inscription at Nişantaş and to the famous Procession of Gods at Yazılıkaya, both situated within the Boğazköy area. Outside of Boğazköy hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions of the New Hittite period have been found throughout Anatolia: at Köylütolu Yayla, Emirgazi, and Kara Dağ (west and south of Tuz Gölü); Sirkeli in Cilicia; Fıraktın, Imamlu, Taşcı, Gezbeli, and Karakuyu in the vicinity of Kayseri. The occurrence of hieroglyphic inscriptions at Sipylos and Karabel on the west coast is still unexplained.

About 1200 B. C. the New Hittite Empire fell apart under the impact of the invasions of the various peoples from across the Aegean, among whom the Phrygians, close relatives of the Balkan Thracians, must have played the leading role. For a few centuries the history of Anatolia is covered by an almost total darkness. Out of it no great state emerged comparable in size and power with the New Hittite Empire. The whole area once occupied by the Hittites appears now divided in small kingdoms and principalities with the main centers around Kayseri, Tyana, and Malatya in Anatolia, and Carchemish, Aleppo, and Hamath in North Syria. These states soon came in contact with the Assyrians whose drive westward was continuously threatening their very existence. One by one they fell prey to the expanding power of Assyria. The year 717 B. C. in which Carchemish was conquered by the Assyrian king Sargon II marks the end of the independence of the last of the small Hittite states in North Syria.

With the exception of hieroglyphic Hittite none of the languages used at Boğazköy in the New Hittite period survived in written remains after 1200 B. C. In contrast, the hieroglyphic Hittite inscription now appear in large numbers throughout all of the territory of the older Hittite state. The main areas of distribution extend from the Halys River and the Taurus Mountains in Ana-

tolia in the north to the line between the Mediterranean and the wide bend of the Euphrates in North Syria in the South. Very sparse are the monuments in the area within the bend of the Halys River where one time was situated the capital and heart of the Hittite Empire. Hieroglyphic inscriptions disappear in the whole area about 700 B. C.

The main problem pertaining to hieroglyphic Hittite from the historical point of view is its relationship to cuneiform Hittite. How can we interpret the use of cuneiform Hittite as the state language of the New Hittite Empire side by side with the use of hieroglyphic Hittite as the language of the New Hittite kings? And why did these kings use names in hieroglyphic Hittite which were different from their names in cuneiform Hittite? One possible interpretation is suggested by Gelb in his *Elements of Hieroglyphic Hittite* (now in preparation). It is the following.

Cuneiform Hittite was the language of the Boğazköy area which was later conquered by kings of hieroglyphic Hittite origin. In spite of the conquest, the native cuneiform Hittite was able to assert itself as the state language of the New Hittite Empire; but hieroglyphic Hittite was used by the kings and perhaps by the nobility who came with them. The kings retained their true hieroglyphic Hittite names and used them on their seals as well as on the hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions scattered throughout Anatolia. At the same time they accepted second names traditional in the native Hittite state, which they used in cuneiform Hittite.

In favor of this thesis several factors can be adduced. Since hardly any cuneiform Hittite inscriptions were found outside of the Boğazköy archives, it seems likely that cuneiform Hittite was restricted in its use to the Boğazköy area only. On the other hand, we find hieroglyphic Hittite monuments of the New Hittite period scattered throughout Anatolia. Unfortunately, most of these inscriptions were erected by Hittite kings—a fact which in no way helps in the reconstruction of the area where hieroglyphic Hittite was spoken. So much more important, however, are the conclusions which can be drawn from the distribution of hieroglyphic Hittite monuments dated after 1200 B. C. With the breakdown of the New Hittite state, centered around Boğazköy, cuneiform Hittite disappears entirely and hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions, both royal and private, begin their flourishing

period. As it was remarked above, the main area of distribution of hieroglyphic Hittite monuments in this period lies south of the Halys River. The almost total lack of hieroglyphic Hittite monuments within the Halys bend could possibly be explained by a migration of hieroglyphic Hittite people from this area, but that does not seem likely. The assumption that the region of Boğazköy within the Halys bend never formed a real habitat of the hieroglyphic Hittite people seems to furnish a much more plausible solution.

As yet it is impossible to localize the original home of the people who wrote and spoke hieroglyphic Hittite. Several arguments mentioned above seem to point toward a large area situated somewhere south of the Halys River. Some weight can be lent to the theory of south Anatolian origin of hieroglyphic Hittite by the fact that the nearest linguistic relative of hieroglyphic Hittite seems to be Lycian, spoken in Lycia on the Anatolian south coast, and that the hieroglyphic Hittite writing is closely related to Cretan and Cypriote with which it forms one family of Aegean writings.

§ 3. HIEROGLYPHIC HITTITE IS AN IE LANGUAGE

In the earlier states of decipherment the saying, *quot capita, tot sententiae*, might have well been applied to the numerous opinions of scholars on the language hidden in the Hittite hieroglyphic writing. It is impossible as well as unnecessary to discuss all these various opinions within the short span of the present article. But it may be not without interest to mention that among the languages with which hieroglyphic Hittite had been compared were Aramaic, Armenian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Himyaritic, Peruvian, Turkish, and Urartian.

Upon the discovery of the cuneiform tablets at Boğazköy a number of languages came to light offering themselves as suitable material for comparison. R. C. Thompson² was the first scholar to make use of the new texts for comparison with hieroglyphic Hittite. He not only considered the language of the Hittite hieroglyphs to be identical with the one used on cuneiform tablets, but also IE—following in this respect J. Knudtzon, who was the first to suggest the IE affiliation of cuneiform Hittite.³

² *A New Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphics*; Oxford, 1913.

³ *Die zwei Arzawabriefe, die ältesten Urkunden in indogermanischer Sprache*; Leipzig, 1902.

In his first study on hieroglyphic Hittite, P. Meriggi refrained from trying to define the character and affiliation of our language, and only in some rare cases did he allude to comparisons with Luwian and cuneiform Hittite.⁴ However, later on, in reviewing the works of Bossert, Forrer, and Gelb, he accepted immediately the IE character of hieroglyphic Hittite.⁵

Gelb, in his first study, made frequent comparisons between cuneiform Hittite and Luwian on the one side and hieroglyphic Hittite on the other. He considered the language of Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions to be IE, possibly Luwian with foreign, non-IE admixtures.⁶

On the basis of similarity in the formation of the ethnic endings and of other considerations, H. T. Bossert thought that hieroglyphic Hittite was a Hurrian language.⁷ In his later studies he frequently utilized comparisons between hieroglyphic Hittite on the one side and cuneiform Hittite and Luwian on the other. But as far as we can see, nowhere did he express himself clearly as to the IE character of hieroglyphic Hittite.

E. O. Forrer took hieroglyphic Hittite to be IE, more particularly Luwian.⁸

B. Hrozný from the beginning considered hieroglyphic Hittite to be a sister language of cuneiform Hittite (which he calls Nesian) and of Luwian,⁹ more closely related perhaps to the latter than to the former.¹⁰

The IE character of hieroglyphic Hittite is today universally accepted. The existence of pronouns *'amu* 'I,' *'ames*, *mes* 'my,' *kis* and (rarely) *ias* 'who(ever),' of numerals *ias* 'one,' *t(u)wai*

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 39.187 f. and 192 ff. (1930).

⁵ E.g. in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 36.73, n. 1 (1933), and in *Revue hittite et asianique* 2.3, and passim (1932-34).

⁶ *Hittite Hieroglyphs* 1 (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 2; Chicago, 1931) 82. The Luwian theory was first suggested by J. Friedrich in *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 359-78, esp. 374 f., 1930 on the basis of distribution of personal names containing the element *muwa*.

⁷ *Santaš und Kupapa* (Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft VI, No. 3 [1932]) 77 f., also in *Archiv für Orientforschung* 8.144 (1932-33).

⁸ *Die hethitische Bilderschrift* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 3; Chicago, 1932) 27 and 39 ff.

⁹ *Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques* (Monografie Archivu Orientálního I; Praha, 1933-) 12-16 and 121-3, also in *Archiv Orientální* 7.174-8 (1935).

¹⁰ *Les inscriptions* 505.

'two,' *trai* 'three,' of such words as 'as-, es- 'to be,' 'as- 'to sit,' 'at- 'to eat,' *lamanese-* 'to name,' makes any further discussion of this question unnecessary.

§ 4. IS HIEROGLYPHIC HITTITE A CENTUM LANGUAGE?

The first scholar to take hieroglyphic Hittite to be a *centum* IE language was Forrer. His only evidence was the alleged occurrence in hieroglyphic Hittite of the word *kar-*, with the meaning 'antler.'¹¹

Hrozný too thought that hieroglyphic Hittite was a *centum* language. As evidence he offered *kuman* 'when' (written with the sign *ku*), which he interpreted as *kuvan* and compared with Latin *quom, com, cum*;¹² also *kuvanai* 'dog,'¹³ *kurna* 'horn'¹⁴ and *akuvaja* 'horse'¹⁵ (all three words written with Hrozný's sign *kú*). Hrozný's other examples, such as *vajanas* 'chariot,'¹⁶ *-ta . . . -tau* 'and . . . and,'¹⁷ *ikunas* 'point'¹⁸ and *vegasnas* 'mule,'¹⁹ are either to be read or translated in an entirely different way, so that they offer nothing in support of his *centum* theory.

In his last study Meriggi, although personally inclined toward the *centum* theory of hieroglyphic Hittite, refused to accept the validity of proofs offered by Hrozný.²⁰ He was not sure about the correctness of the reading of Hrozný's sign *kú*,²¹ and doubted that Hrozný's word *kuman* 'when,' is based on the IE interrogative-relative element. The only positive argument in favor of the *centum* theory, according to Meriggi, is the word *kar-* for 'antler' adduced by Forrer.

Let us now analyze carefully the evidence in favor of the *centum* theory gathered by Forrer and Hrozný, and partly supported by Meriggi.

In a unique occurrence of a Carchemish inscrip-

tion, we find the writing ^dANTLER₁-*hu-ḫa-ā*²² (dat.-loc. sg.) in company with the divinities *Kupapas* and *Širkus*. The identity of the divine name ^dANTLER₁-*hu-ḫa-ā* with divine name ^dKarka₁-*hu-ḫa-s(a)* (nom. sg.) found with different case-endings in various Carchemish inscriptions²³ was first proposed by A. E. Cowley²⁴ and C. Frank²⁵ and later accepted by Forrer,²⁶ Meriggi,²⁷ and Hrozný.²⁸ Since the latter form certainly is to be interpreted as *Kar(k)ḫuḫas* in view of the full syllabic spelling ^dKa+r(a)-*hu-ḫa-ā*,²⁹ it was suggested by Forrer that the antler-sign in the spelling ^dANTLER₁-*hu-ḫa-ā* has a syllabic value *kar*, which must have been derived by the rebus principle from such a word as *kar-* (or the like) in the Hittite hieroglyphic language. This idea was later accepted by Meriggi.

But is the interpretation of ^dANTLER₁-*hu-ḫa-ā* as ^dKar-*hu-ḫa-ā* as sure as believed by these scholars? We know from other sources, clearest of which are the interchanging spellings of the personal name *Halpa(pa)*-ANTLER-*ta-a-ā-s(a)* with *Halpa(pa)*-*ru-ta-a-ā-s(a)*³⁰ (cuneiform *Kalpa-runda*), that the antler-sign is to be read as *ru(n)tās*.³¹ The word probably has the meaning of 'swift.' The interpretation of the spelling ^dANTLER₁-*hu-ḫa-ā* as a compound *Ru(n)ta-ḫuḫas* in nom. would be paralleled by the case of the compound divine name *Tata-memas* besides simple *Tatas* in the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions. The objection against the unique occurrence of *Ru(n)ta-ḫuḫas* is weakened by the fact that another divinity, *Širkus*, is also found only in this one inscription.

²² *Carchemish Report on the Excavation at Djerabis* . . . conducted by C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, 1, A 11b: 6 (London, 1914-21). May it be noted for readers who are not well-versed in the hieroglyphic Hittite conventions that ^d is the determinative of divine names and ₁ after ANTLER the determinative of logograms.

²³ E. g. *Carchemish* I, A 11a: 3 and 6; A 11b: 4 and 5.

²⁴ *The Hittites* 65 and 86, London, 1920.

²⁵ *Die sogenannten hethitischen Hieroglypheninschriften (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 16, 3, Leipzig, 1923) 16.

²⁶ See above n. 11.

²⁷ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 36. 81 f. (1933) and elsewhere.

²⁸ *Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques*, 109.

²⁹ E. g. *Carchemish* II, A 13d: 6.

³⁰ *Passim* in the *Maras* inscriptions; see Meriggi in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 39, 1. 118 (1934).

³¹ Also *ruwa(n)tās*, *ruwa(n)tes*, *ruwa(n)tis* expressed not only by the picture of the antler(s), but also by the head of a deer and by pictures of winged birds.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* 27.

¹² *Op. cit.* 13, n. 1 and 58, n. 4.

¹³ *Op. cit.* 128 f.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* 149.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* 358.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* 70.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* 94 f.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* 141.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.* 144.

²⁰ In *Revue hittite et asianique* 4. 107 f. (1938).

²¹ Meriggi reads it cautiously as *cu*, using a neutral value which would not prejudice the matter either in favor of *ku* (if the language would turn out to be *centum*) or *su* (if it turned out to be *satəm*).

May it finally be noted that if we accept the interpretation just proposed, we can eliminate the difficulties of having two different spellings allegedly for the same divinity, namely, ^dANTLER-*hu-ḫa-ā* in l. 6 and ^dKarka-*hu-ḫa-s(i)* in l. 4, and similarly in l. 5 in the same inscription, which is possible, but not very plausible.

But even admitting that the interpretation of ^dANTLER-*hu-ḫa-ā* as ^dRunta-*hu-ḫa-ā* proposed above is not correct and that other scholars are right in their reading of this divine name as ^dKar-*hu-ḫa-ā*, could the occurrence of such a word as *kar-* with the meaning 'antler' be used as evidence in favor of the *centum* character of hieroglyphic Hittite? Most decidedly not! The normal word for 'horn' is *śṛṅgaṃ* in Sanskrit, *κέρας* in Greek, *cornū* in Latin, with the normal distribution of velars and sibilants among the *centum* and *satəm* languages. But from the same root we have in Old Prussian *curwis*, acc. *kurwan*, 'ox,' in Lithuanian *kárvė* 'cow,' in Russian and other Slavic languages *korova*, *krowa* 'cow,' in all cases expressed with *k* where one would normally expect a sibilant. There are many other cases in which the *satəm* languages preserve the velar when it stands before a liquid or a nasal. Cf. e.g., Sanskrit *kravis*, Greek *κρέας*; Lithuanian *klausyti*, Sanskrit *śru-*, Latin *clūō*, Greek *κλύω*; Old Church Slavonic *migla*, Lithuanian *miglà*, Greek *μίχλη*; Lithuanian *akmuō*, Greek *ἄκμων*; Old Church Slavonic *stigna*, Sanskrit *stighnoti*, Goth. *steigan*, Germ. *steigen*, Greek *στέιχω*; Sanskrit *gmás*, Greek *χθών*, *χαμαί*; Old Church Slavonic *svekrū*, *svekry*, Sanskrit *śváśuras*, Latin *socer*, *socrūs*, Greek *ἐκρός*; etc., etc. Cf. Bonfante, *I dialetti indoeuropei*, Naples (1931), 123 ff. (with bibliography); 91, n. 1 and 132 n.; Meillet, *MSL* 8. 297 ff. (1894); 9. 373 ff. (1896).

Even the fact that in *kar-* the *k* and the *r* are not in contact does not make much difficulty, since, through analogy of parent words where they were in contact, the *k* was often preserved or restored even in such cases: cf. e.g., Lithuanian *keĩdžiũs* 'shepherd,' Old Prussian *kėrdan*, Old Church Slavonic *črěda*, as compared with Gothic *hairda*, German *Hirt*, *Herde*, Avestan *sarədam*, Old Persian *θard-*, Sanskrit *śárdhas* 'Herde' (but cf. also Avest. *karəθvan-*); Lith. *kertũ* as compared with Gr. *κείρω*, *κεραίω*, Goth. *hairus*, Skt. *śṛṇāti*, Lat. *cariēs* (but cf. also Skt. *kṛṇāti*, *kṛṇóti*, Arm. *khorem*, Lith. *kiŗvis*). Cf. Feist, *Wb*³; Trautmann, *Wb.*, s. u. u. The forms which served as model are

Avest. *karəθvan-*, Lith. *kiŗvis*, Skt. *kṛṇāti*, etc., where the *k* was in direct contact with the **r* or **ṛ*.

The case of *karmali-*, 'to cut,' is quite similar. This word, whose form and meaning in hieroglyphic Hittite are sure, can be connected with cuneiform Hittite *karmalassai* 'he remains crippled' (?), Gr. *κείρω* 'to cut short, crop, cut down, cut through,' *κέρμα* 'fragment,' *κερματίζω* 'cut into pieces, chop,' Lat. *carō*, *corium*, OHG *skeran*, Germ. *scheren*, etc., and on the side of the *satəm* languages Skt. *kṛṇāti* 'to injure, to kill,' *utkirnas* 'ausgeschnitten, carved,' Arm. *kherem* 'I scratch, ich schabe,' *khorem* 'I scratch,' Alb. *š-ker* 'I tear apart,' Lith. *skirtiũ* 'I separate, I divide,' *karnà* 'Lindenbast,' *kiŗvis* 'ax,' Russian *korà* 'bark,' etc.

The evidence brought forth by Hrozný in favor of the *centum* theory as based on the occurrence of *kuman* 'when' ³² is hard to understand. Hrozný takes the word *kuman* to stand for *kuvan*, *kwan*, which he compares with Latin *quom*, *com*, *cum*, derived from Indo-European **k^wom*. In reality there is no evidence for the *m* > *w* change in hieroglyphic Hittite, and the simplest interpretation of *kuman* is to take it as a compound of *ku*+*man*. The first part, *ku*, appears e.g. in Sanskrit *kúha*, Old C. Slav. *kúde* 'where,' etc., all based on the form **k^wu-*, regularly delabialized in the *satəm* languages. The second part, *man*, is found also in cuneiform Hittite *kwitman* 'while,' or the like.³³

Hrozný thought he had found important material in favor of the *centum* character of hieroglyphic Hittite based on his reading of the words for horse, horn, and dog in hieroglyphic Hittite (see above p. 173). Although all scholars (Hrozný, Meriggi, and Gelb) are agreed on the meaning of these three words, they differ considerably in their reading. All three words are written with a sign which Hrozný reads *kú*. It has been noted above (p. 173) that Meriggi had doubts about the correctness of this reading. Gelb pointed out that Hrozný's value *kú* was impossible, because the value *ku* had already been established beyond any doubt for a different sign and the existence of two *ku* signs (i.e., *ku* and *kú*) would be incompatible with the hieroglyphic Hittite system of writing which does not recognize homophony.³⁴ With *kú* out of consideration, the only other possibility was

³² See the preceding page.

³³ E. H. Sturtevant, *A Hittite Glossary* (Philadelphia, 1936) 2d. ed., 88.

³⁴ *Hittite Hieroglyphs* 3. 20.

to read this sign with an initial consonant, palatal or sibilant, into which a velar can develop. But *s* was impossible because there were already four *s* signs with their values well established, and *z* (that is *ts*) was improbable because this sound already exists in hieroglyphic Hittite and frequently is the result of a secondary development from *t*. By process of elimination the palatal *ś* was suggested as the most likely solution. In favor of *ś* as a palatal in the sign *śa* the comparison of hieroglyphic Hittite personal name *Śa(n)karas* with Assyrian *Sangara* was quoted because Late Assyrian written *s* was probably pronounced as a palatal *s*.³⁵

§ 5. HIEROGLYPHIC HITTITE IS A SATĀM LANGUAGE

From his reading as *śu* of the sign used in the words for horse, horn, and dog, Gelb drew the conclusion that hieroglyphic Hittite is a *satām* language. In support of his theory he quoted the occurrence of delabialized forms in the words *kis* 'who,' *kī-* 'to make,' and *ke-(ā)-*, *kekese-* 'to come,' which, as observed by Bonfante, are quite normal in the *satām* languages, but rare and late in the *centum* group.³⁶ The complete evidence follows.

The word '*aś(u)was*' 'horse,' is found in the writing HORSE '*a-ś(u)-wa-i*'³⁷ (dat.-loc. pl.) and HORSE-*wa-ta*³⁸ (abl.-instr. sg. or pl.), which can give in connected writing '*aśuwas*' or '*aśwas*'. The full syllabic spelling in the first example³⁹ gives us the pronunciation of the preceding logogram. The picture of the logogram, the horse, furnishes the best possible translation of the word as 'horse.'⁴⁰ Hieroglyphic Hittite '*aś(u)was*'⁴¹ is

³⁵ *Op. cit.* 22; Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, xviii f. quoting such good parallels as Biblical *Hwš'* = Assyrian *A-u-si-i'*, Biblical *Mnšh* = Assyrian *Me-na-si-e*, Biblical *Irwšlm* = Assyrian *Ur-sa-li-im-mu*, Biblical *šmrwn* = Assyrian *Ša-me-ri-na*, etc.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, 21.

³⁷ Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments* (Oriental Institute Publications XLV; Chicago, 1939) No. 3: 2.

³⁸ Several times in the Karapinar (Topada) inscription published in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 37. 147 (1934) (with variations).

³⁹ Proved by the fact that the sign '*a*' can appear only at the beginning of a word.

⁴⁰ On this rule, so fruitful in the reconstruction of the hieroglyphic Hittite vocabulary, see *Elements of Hieroglyphic Hittite*.

⁴¹ A parallel form '*aśus*' could possibly be reconstructed from the occurrence of HORSE-*śu-se-te-la-u?-n(a)* in *The Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor* . . . (Ithaca, 1911)

comparable with Sanskrit *ásva-*, Avestan *aspa-*, Lycian *esbe-*, Latin *equūs*, etc.

The word *śurnis*, 'horn,' occurs once in the writing HORN *śu+r(a)-ni*⁴² (acc. pl. neuter). There is no direct evidence that *śu+r(a)-ni* is the full syllabic spelling. Indirectly in its favor we may quote the following facts: the picture of the logogram HORN favors the translation as 'horn'; the translation as 'horns of a certain drink,' which fits the context well; the comparison with other IE languages, such as Sanskrit *śṛṅgaṃ*, Greek *κέρας*, Latin *cornū*, etc.

The word *śuwanis* 'dog' occurs in DOG-*śu-wa-ni-i*⁴³ (nom. or acc. pl.) and DOG-*ni-a-i*⁴⁴ (nom. pl.). The full syllabic spelling is proved by the occurrence of the personal name *śu-wa-ne-a-s(a)* without the logogram⁴⁵; by the context, as in "may the dogs of Nikarawas eat away his head" in a curse formula of the Carchemish inscription; and by comparison with other IE languages such as Sanskrit *śván-*, *śuván-*, Avestan *span-*, Lith. *šuo*, Greek *κύων*, gen. *κυνός*, etc.

The following words form additional evidence gathered since the publication of *Hittite Hieroglyphs* 3.

In Carchemish A 11a: 5 is found a word written with a logogram in the form of a square plus the (full?) syllabic complements *pi-śa-ā* (nom. pl. neuter). From the context alone this word was translated as 'beautiful' (?)⁴⁶. The hieroglyphic Hittite word *piśas* 'beautiful' (if the interpretation is correct), can be compared without difficulty, from both the semantic and the formal point of view, with Goth. *filu-faihs* 'very many-colored' (*πολυποικίλος*), Gr. *ποικίλος*, 'many-colored, embroidered', Skt. *piṃśāti* 'he adorns,' Avestan *paesah-* 'ornament,' OCSlav. *pīstrū* 'many-colored,' *pīsati* 'to write' (orig. 'to design, to paint, to sculpt'), Lith. *piēšti* 'to paint, to design,

X: 4, if the interpretation as a compound '*aśu-stelaus*' and the translation as "horse-stall" could be assured. On this interpretation see Meriggi in *Revue hittite et asianique* 4. 107, n. 37. With the hieroglyphic Hittite form '*aśus*' cf. the *satām* (Indo-Aryan) form *asuni* 'horse-trainer' (or the like) in the text on the horse-training (e. g. in *Archiv Orientalní* 3. 438 [1931], etc.).

⁴² W. Andrae, *Hethitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 46; Leipzig, 1924) gRo 27.

⁴³ Andrae, *op. cit.* bVu, 15 f.

⁴⁴ Carchemish, I, A 6: 9.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, A 4a: 2.

⁴⁶ *Hittite Hieroglyphs* 3. 53.

to trace lines,' also Lat. *pingō*, etc. For the semantic passage 'many-colored' > 'beautiful,' cf. Russian *krásnyj* 'red,' and 'beautiful,' *krásivyj* 'beautiful,' *krasá* 'beauty, Zierde, ornament,' *krasulja* 'scheckige Kuh,' *krasnoguzka* 'Harlekinspecht,' Czech *krásný* 'beautiful' (formerly also 'light, shining, reddish,'), OCSlav. *krasna* 'uenustas, pulchritudo.' Cf. Berneker, *Wb.*, 607 f.; Walde-Pokorny, 1, 418 f.; Miklosich, *Wb.*, 137; Ernout-Meillet, *s. u.* *pingō*; Boisacq *s. u.* *ποικίλος*.

Other, more doubtful etymologies are the following: *waširanu*- 'aufrichten, erheben lassen,' *waširata* 'hoch, erhaben,'⁴⁷ Germ. *wacker, wachen*, Engl. *wake*, Lat. *uegeō, uigil, uegetus*, also Germ. *wachsen*, Lat. *augeō*, Gr. *ἀέξω*, etc.; *širanuwa-*, *širinuwa-* 'to cause to burn,'⁴⁸ Lat. *cremō*, Umbrian *krematra*, ONorse *hyrr* 'fire,' Goth. *hauri* 'coal.'⁴⁹

Hieroglyphic Hittite has a frequent adjectival formative *-šas*: *hileni-ša-s* 'pertaining to a gate' from *hilená-s* 'gate,' *siwane-ša-s* 'divine' from *siwane-s* or *siwani-s* 'god,' 'apa-ša-s' 'his' from 'apa-s' 'he, that,' *tesekira-ša-s* 'of the court' from *tesekira-s* 'court,' *tenima-ša-s* from *tenime-s*, *tene-me-s*, or *tenema-s* 'the established one,' etc.; this formation is also quite regularly used in place of the genitive of a proper noun: *Luhī-ša-s nimuwašs*, literally 'Luhian son,' freely, 'son of Luhī-s.' This *-ša-s* can be of course IE **-ko-s*, a very frequent IE suffix. Cf. Skt. *yuva-śas* = Lat. *iūuen-cus*, Engl. *young*, Germ. *jung*, OIrish *ōac*, Welsh *ieuan*; Skt. *loma-śas* from *lōman-*; Greek *ἐπιτικός, νυμφικός, θηλυκός*; Goth. *ainaha, stainahs, wawidahs, modags* (**-oko-*), Germ. *einig, mutig, steinig, hungrig, gläubig, sündig, blutig, einzig* from *ains, staina-, mut, etc., etc.*, Engl. *hungry, bloody, etc.*; Lat. *ūnicus, ciuicus, bellicus, pūblicus, modicus, Mārcus* < **Mawertkos*, etc. Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*², 1, 1, 473 ff. Lat. *-cus* represents without any doubt IE **-kos*; the IE suffix **-k^wos* is Latin *-quūs*, cf. *antiquūs, propinquūs, longinquūs* (cf. Gr. *ἡμεδαπός, ὑμεδαπός, ἀλλοδαπός, ποδαπός*). For the phonology cf. also *equūs, aequūs*.

This suffix is used in particular to form *ethnica* and their *ktetika* in Germanic (*Salingi, Greuthungi*, etc.), Illyrian (*Ἀπειρικός, Γραικός*), Greek (*Λιβυκός, Τρωικός, Ἀττικός*, etc.), Latin and Italic

(*Auruncī, Oscī, Volscī, Hernicī*, etc.); cf. Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 496 f.; Leumann, *Lat. Gramm.*, 229; Bonfante, *Classical Philology* 36.7 (1941). Since the *ethnica* in IE languages are usually ancient patronymica or family names, this use approaches very much the hieroglyphic Hittite type *Luhī-ša-s*. And in effect *-icus -ocus* are used as gentilicia in Illyrian and Venetic; cf. Schulze, *Lat. Eigennamen*, 25 ff.; 29 ff. (*-icus* also in Spain, where it is perhaps of Illyrian origin; cf. also Span. *-ez*).

This interpretation of hieroglyphic Hittite *-ša-s* seems confirmed by the fact that hieroglyphic Hittite knows no suffix of the form **-ka-s*, which we would expect if it were a *centum* language, because of the great frequency of the suffix **-ko-s* in IE.

Our *-šas* could, of course, also represent phonologically the IE adjectival suffix **-sko-s*; but **-sko-s* is probably nothing else than **-s+ko-s*, cf. Brugmann, *Grundr.*², 2.1. 447 ff., and therefore it still would be a proof in favor of the *satəm* character of HH. This conglutinate exists as an adjectival suffix only in Slavic, Germanic, Illyrian, Thracian(?); cf. Meillet-Vaillant, *Le slave commun*, 364; Bonfante, *Revue des études indo-européennes* 2.16 ff. (1939). Armenian has the adjective suffix *-aci*, representing **-a-sk-iyō-* (*giw-laci* 'villager' from *giw-l* 'village') (cf. Meillet, *Esquisse arm.*², 75).⁵⁰ In the phonemic system of hieroglyphic Hittite **-sko-* and **-ko-* would, of course, give the same result, since the language knows no intense consonants (therefore **sk* > **ss* > *śś* > *ś*).⁵¹

This consideration also leads us to the almost inescapable conclusion that the genitive plural ending in hieroglyphic Hittite *-ša*, as in *t(u)warša-ša* from *t(u)warša-s* 'vineyard,' *warpa-ša* from *warpa-s* 'enclosure,' is identical with the Armenian gen. pl. ending *-c*, which represents IE **-sko* (or **-skos* or **-skom*), cf. Meillet, *Esquisse de l'arménien*², 72 f. According to Meillet, this ending is identical with the suffix **-sko-* mentioned above.

In the treatment *ś* of IE **-sk-*, hieroglyphic Hittite agrees more closely with Iranian than with any other language: cf. e. g. Avestan *isaiti*, Arm.

⁴⁷ For references and translation cf. Meriggi, *MVAG* 39, 1, 169 (different reading).

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.* 113 and for the reading Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* 3.28.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* 165.

⁵⁰ But even as a suffix forming substantives **-sko-* is frequent and productive only in Greek, where it has the form *-iskos* or *-iskion* and produces diminutives and pejoratives; cf. Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 541 f.

⁵¹ We, therefore, renounce the interpretation of *-ša-s* as from IE **-syō-s*, previously given in *Hittite Hieroglyphs* 3, 22.

aic, *içem* (?), Skt. *içchā*, *içchāti*, OCSlav. *iskq*, Lith. *jiškau*, Engl. *ask*, Germ. *heischen*, Umbrian *eiscurent*; Avest. *parasaiti*, OPers. *parsātiy*, Arm. *harcanem*, Skt. *prçchāti*, Lat. *poscō*, OIrish *arco*, Welsh *archaf*, OHGerman *forscōn*, German *forschen*, Umbrian *pepurkurent* with the infiltration of the present suffix in the perfect, as in Latin *poposcī* and classical Skt. *papraçcha*. In Slavic, Baltic, Armenian ($\zeta = t\check{s}$) and Indo-Aryan (where \check{c} is an affricate, and contains therefore a stop) the *s* exercised a preserving influence on the following *k*, which remained intact in the first two languages, and stopped at the affricate stage in the two latter; compare the similar preserving influence of *s* in the groups *sk*, *st*, *sp* in Germanic; cf. also L. Bloomfield, *AJPh* 32.36 ff. (1911). Lith. *trišū* 'I tremble,' *aūšo*, OC Slav. *pasq*, Arm. *lsem* and other forms have probably the suffix **-so-*, not **-sko-* (cf. Skt. *trāsati*); see Brugmann, *Grundr.*², 351 ff. (esp. 360); Bonfante, *Dialetti*, 185 (at the end). Cf. also OCSlav. *trěškū*, *troska*, Lith. *dreskià*, *tvška*. Hieroglyphic Hittite seems therefore to come from the very epicenter of the *satəm* wave, which is also the place of its greatest intensity.

In the following are discussed the hieroglyphic Hittite words showing delabialization normal in the *satəm* languages.

The usual relative pronoun in hieroglyphic Hittite is *kis* or *kes* with the meaning 'who(ever)'. From it such secondary forms developed as *kiskis* 'whoever' and *kishā* 'anybody, anything.'⁵² Correspondence with Latin *quis*, *quisquis* and *quisque*, respectively, is perfect. Cf., furthermore, Sanskrit *kim* and *cit*, Avestan *čiš*, Oscan *pis*, *pid*, OCSlav. *cī-to*, Greek *rus*, etc.

In one inscription we find a passage *ī wa-ni-ī 'a-mu ki-ī-ḫa-e*, which, from the context alone, can hardly be translated in any other way than "this monument I made."⁵³ The verb *ki-ī-ḫa* is clearly the IE root **k^wei-* with the meaning 'aufschichten; aufhäufen, sammeln; der Ordnung nach auf oder zu einander legen; aufbauen, machen' (Walde-

Pokorny *Wb.*, 1, 509). Cf. Sanskrit *činóti*, *čāytai*, Greek *ποιέω*, OCSlavonic *činiti*, etc.

The verb *ke-* or *keā-* occurs frequently in the meaning 'to come' in simple stem, as in the sentence *wa-ma-z(a)-e* HEAD. TONGUE-*n(a)* FOOT *ke-ā-te* "and to me they (the gods) came"⁵⁴ or in reduplicated stem, as in the sentence *wa-s(i) ī-ta* COURT-*zi-ta-a* FOOT *ke-ke-te* "and he came from this court."⁵⁵ The IE root is clearly **g^wem-*, **g^wā-* 'to come, to go,' as in Sanskrit *āgamat*, *jīgāti*, Greek *βαίω*, *βέβηκε*, Engl. *come*, Germ. *kommen*, Lat. *ueniō*, etc.

The suffix *-kalas* in *malukalas* 'small,' *tunikalas* 'some kind of profession,' from a strictly phonologic point of view, could correspond to Latin *-culus* in *homunculus*, *ēnsiculus*, *uersiculus*, etc., which can represent doubtless IE **-k^wolo-* (cf. e. g. Leumann, *Lat. Gramm.*, 216, 3). However, this seems to be contradicted by Oscan *zicolom*, *zicelei*, Umbrian *-sla* (Brugmann, *Grundr.*², 2. 1. 366); the first two forms cannot well be separated from Lat. *diēcula*. We have then to suppose a conglutinate of two suffixes, **-k^wo-* and **-lo-*, both well known in IE, cf. Brugmann, *Grundr.*² 2. 1. 473 ff.; 361 ff. This second hypothesis fits very well with the meaning of *tunikalas*, since IE **-lo-* forms *nomina agentis* (Brugmann, *ibid.*, 373 f.) or "Tätigkeitsadjektive, nahezu Nomina agentis" (Leumann, *Lat. Gramm.*, 217).

The relationship of *kiate-* 'to like' (?)⁵⁶ with Avestan *šyātō* 'happy,' accus. *šāitīm* = OPers. *šiyātim* 'happiness, well-being,' = Lat. *quiētem*, OCSlav. *počiti* 'to rest,' Germ. *Weile*, Lat. *tranquillus* (basis **k^wiyē-*, **k^wi-*) is not quite sure because of semantic difficulties.

§ 6. RELATIONSHIP WITH CUNEIFORM HITTITE⁵⁷

Hieroglyphic Hittite is doubtless closely connected with cuneiform Hittite. We will mention the following characteristic coincidences:

⁵⁴ *Carchemish* 1, A 11b: 4. Discussed in *Hittite Hieroglyphs* 3. 66.

⁵⁵ *Carchemish* 1, A 6: 4 with a variant FOOT *ke-a-te* in 1. 7.

⁵⁶ M II 4.

⁵⁷ The *areal* theory of linguistics originated with Gilliéron's Linguistic Atlas of France and has been developed and brought into a system by the Italian neolinguistic school. Its fundamental principles and methods are given by M. Bàrtoli in his *Introduzione alla neolinguistica*, Geneva, 1925. Bàrtoli himself (following Campus) has extended its application to other languages than Romance in a series of subsequent articles: for IE.

⁵² Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* 3. 59. On pp. 54-69 of this monograph are discussed the proofs in favor of Gelb's reading as *ki* and *ke* for two signs which are read as *ia* by all other scholars with the exception of Forrer.

⁵³ Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments*, No. 20: 2. Discussed in Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* 3. 65. Since the normal verb for 'to make' is *aia-* in hieroglyphic Hittite, *ki-* must have a slightly different shade of meaning ('to build'?).

1) The phonologic change of * $\delta > a$ appears in the nom. sing. ending *-as* as in hieroglyphic Hittite 'aš(u)was 'horse' < **ekwos*, cuneiform Hittite ⁵⁸ *newas* 'new' and in the gen. sing. *patas* = Gr. *παδός*. This change is also characteristic of Luwian, Lycian, Albanian, northern IE (Slav, Baltic, Germanic, partly Celtic), Aryan. Cf. Meillet, *Dial.*, 54 ff.; Bàrtoli, *Neophilologus*, 18.295; 297; 299 (1932-3).

2) The passage **-m* > **-am* > *-an* in hieroglyphic Hittite 'apan, cuneiform Hittite *appan*, 'behind,

see especially the last volumes of the *Archivio glottologico italiano*, the *Annuaire de l'institut de philol. orientale e slave de Bruxelles*, 5.19 ff. (1937) (= *Mél. Boisacq*); *Mélanges Belicé*, Belgrade (1937), 197 ff.; *Studi baltici* 3.1-26 (1933); *Studi albanesi* 2.1 ff. (1932), and *Atti del III congresso internaz. dei linguisti*, 164 ff. 1935 (with bibl.). The same method was applied by Meillet in *BSL* 24.193 (1924); 25.10 (1924); 29.29 ff. (1929); 32.1 ff., 194 ff. (1931); *Esquisse*, IX f.; *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 1930, 149 ff.; *MSL* 18.13 (1913); Ernout-Meillet, *Diet. étymol.*, passim; S. Lévi, *Fragments de textes koutchéens*, Paris, 38 [1938]; Vendryes, *MSL* 20 (1918), 265 ff.; Wagner, *Literaturblatt f. germanische u. romanische Philologie* 39.126 ff. (1918); Terracini, *Atene e Roma*, NS. 2.99 ff. (1921); Campus, *Due note sulla questione delle velari arioeuropee*, Turin, 1916; *Atti Accad. di Torino* 54.109 n. 2 (1919); Devoto, *Gli antichi Italici*, 48; 264; *Cultura* 10.1 ff.; *I problemi del più antico vocabolario giuridico romano*, in *Annali della R. Scuola superiore di Pisa*, serie 2, vol. 2.233 ff., 1933; *Storia della lingua di Roma*, Bologna, 1940, 6 ff.; 17 ff.; *Scritti Trombetti*, Milan, 1938, 375 ff. (bibl. 383); Bonfante, *BSL* 33.111 f. (1932); *Archiv orientální* 11.84 ff. (1939); *IF* 52.221 ff. (1934); 55.131 ff. (1937); *Antiq. class.* 7.329 ff. (1938); *Emerita* 2.269 ff. (1934); *RFICl* 63.234 n. 1 (1935). This method has been applied by Bàrtoli to Uralian and Semitic in *Scritti Trombetti*, 175 ff. (cf. also *Atti del III Congr. dei ling.*, 165 f. [1933]); to 'Precolumbian' languages in *Annali dell'Istituto superiore di magistero di Torino*, 7.335 ff. (1934); *Mélanges Van Ginneken*, Paris, 1937, 123 ff.

The discussion between Campus and Meillet is especially instructive (it eliminates, of course, Sturtevant's doctrine, *Lang.* 2.25 ff., 1926).

We will apply this method in the present paper.

⁵⁸ Cuneiform Hittite does not separate IE * δ and * \tilde{a} (nor perhaps * \bar{o} and * \bar{a}); cf. Pedersen, *Toch.*, 256; Sturtevant, *Grammar*, 87 and 93 with note 29; *RHA* 1.77 (1930-2); *Language* 18.181 ff. (1942); A. Braun, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, 95.371 f. (1935-6). Bonfante was surely wrong in *IF* 55.133 (1937) in following (altho with many doubts) Milewski, *Rocznik orientalistyczny* 8.104 ff. (1932). Phrygian preserves IE. * \bar{o} , cf. Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Linc.*, 6, 4, 6.591 (1933); Hirt, *Die Idg.*, 2, 596; 598; J. Fraser, *Phrygian Studies*, 7; Hermann, *KZ* 50.307 (1922). For Armenian, see Hirt, *Idg. Gramm.*, 2, 98 ff.; Meillet, *Esq.*, 41; 44; 150; Hermann, *loc. cit.*, 307; Boisacq, s. u. *ὄξυν*; Walde-Pokorny, 1, 185; Walde-Hofmann, s. u. *dēns*.

after, back,' etc. (also Lycian *epñ*)⁵⁹ is not sure. If true, it would connect these languages also with Armenian and Phrygian (cf. Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Linc.* 6, 4, 9, 586 [1933]; 592, J. Fraser, *Phrygian Studies*, 6; 10).

3) A very interesting coincidence is perhaps the change of **ew* (and **ow*?) to *uw* before a vowel (cf. Latin **-ew-* > *-ow-*): cuneiform Hittite *suwa-* 'to press out, to fill' (a denominative verb), cf. Skt. *savās* 'extraction of Soma':⁶⁰ hieroglyphic Hittite *nuwaš* = Latin *nouem* (from **neuem*), Gr. *ἐννέα*, etc. However, *niwanis* 'child,' if it is = Gr. *νεῖναι*,⁶¹ contradicts badly.

4) The *l* in hieroglyphic Hittite *lamanese-* 'to name,' cuneiform Hittite *laman* 'name,' *lamniya/e-* 'to name,' as opposed to *n* of the other IE languages (Lat. *nōmen*, Engl. *name* etc.). The *l* is the innovation: cf. A. Braun, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto* 95.339 (1935-6); Ernout-Meillet, 676; Sturtevant, *Gramm.*, 94, § 81; Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Lincei*, serie 6, vol. 9, fasc. 2, 356 n. 1 (1940).

5) The agent suffix *-telas*, IE **-telo-*, **-tolo-*, found rarely in hieroglyphic Hittite as in *sanea-telas*, 'successor?,' occurs as *-talas*, *-taras* in such cuneiform Hittite words as *unatalas* 'merchant,' and *akutaras* 'drinker.' Also Slavic. On the *l/r* change cf. also *tunikalas* and *tunikaras* (a profession) in hieroglyphic Hittite.

6) The hieroglyphic Hittite pronoun 'amu 'I' or 'me,' with *u* as in cuneiform Hittite *amuk*, is opposed to Greek *ἐμέ*, Lat. *mē*, etc. Also Lycian and Lydian. The *u* came either from a form like *ēwō* ($\bar{o} > u$) or from one like *św*, *rw*.

7) The hieroglyphic Hittite pronoun 'apas 'he, that' corresponds to cuneiform Hittite *apas* with the meaning of Latin *is*. Also Lycian and Lydian.

8) The third person imperative medio-passive ends in *-ru* as in hieroglyphic Hittite *ašaru* 'may he be made' = cuneiform Hittite *iyataru* with the same meaning. Also Luwian. It is very probably an innovation.⁶²

⁵⁹ IE **-m* seems to give *n̄* in Lycian before dental consonants and at the end of the word (there are no examples for other positions): cf. *ter-n̄* = Gr. *χέρ-α* (cf. also *χέρ-α-s*), Latin *ped-em*; *snta* = Latin *centum*, Gr. *ἐκατόν*, Lith. *šimtas*, etc.; *tasn̄* (if it is = Latin *decem*, Gr. *δέκα* etc.). On the articulation of *m̄* and *n̄* see Deeters, *PWRE*, s. u. *Lydia*, 287a and cf. *h̄m̄prama*, *kāna*, *pr̄nawate*, *cbis̄ni*, *tris̄ni*, *q̄nā-tba*, *c̄m̄ma*, *mu-p̄m̄ni*, etc. Cf. also Pedersen, *Archiv Orientální* 5.180 f. (1933).

⁶⁰ Sturtevant, *Grammar*, 94.

⁶¹ Meriggi in *RHA* 4.113 f. (1936-8).

⁶² Built on the model of cun. Hitt. *hartu*, *estu*, Skt. *bhāvatu*, *āstu*, just as cun. Hitt. *esari* is built on forms

9) The ending *-ha* of the first person preterit in hieroglyphic Hittite as in *aiaha* 'I made' corresponds to *-ha-* of the preterit medio-passive in cuneiform Hittite (Sturtevant, *Gr.*, 264 f.). Also Luwian (*-ha*) and perhaps Lycian and Greek (see p. 182). On the articulation of Cun. Hitt. *h*, see the same page.

The present ending of the first person cuneiform Hittite *-hi* has been connected by some scholars with the hieroglyphic Hittite *-ha* of the preterit (which is also Luwian). This is very likely, since there is a very close relation between the endings of the IE present middle and those of the perfect (cf. e. g. E. F. Claflin, *Lang.* 15.155 ff. [1939]; Sturtevant, *Grammar*, 264; Petersen, *Lang.* 12.162 [1936]; Kuryłowicz, *BSL* 33.1 ff. [1932]).

10) The relative-indefinite pronoun *kiskis* 'whoever,' cun. Hitt. *kwiskwis* (also Lycian and Latin; doubtless an archaism).

11) Another similarity between hieroglyphic Hittite and cuneiform Hittite is the reduction of the three IE genders to two, masc.-fem. and neuter (Sturtevant, 162; Gelb, *HH.*, 3.41). There is a general tendency to the reduction of genders in this Anatolian area. Armenian has entirely lost such a distinction, and so, it seems, has Lycian (cf. Sturtevant, *TAPA* 59.48 f. [1928]; Meriggi, *PWRE*, s. u. *Lycia*, 2288).⁶³ Only Lydian seems to preserve the difference between masc. and fem.; cf. Meriggi, *Festschr. Hirt*, 2, 284 f. (masc. *civs* 'god,' accus. *civv*, fem. **civa* 'goddess,' accus. *civar*; cf. also *laprisa* nom. fem.; Deeters, *PWRE*, s. u. *Lydia*, 2159; 2161 seems to hold a different opinion). That the reduction or loss of the gender-distinction is an innovation is proved in our opinion: (1) by the areal norm of the *isolated area* (the West); (2) by the norm of the *lateral areas*; (3) by the norm of the *greater area*; (4) by the norm of the *disappeared phasis* (at least for Lithuanian, perhaps also for Armenian, cuneiform Hittite, and Lycian; cf. Meriggi, *Rendic.*, 410; 423; Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 13 and 19); (5) by the general tendency of all languages to reduce, and not to produce or develop, such a distinction. We will cite among IE languages the case of English, Danish, Italian, French, Spanish,

Lithuanian, etc. which have reduced or lost the gender-distinctions.

We, therefore, agree on this point with Meriggi *loc. cit.* (for Lycian) and with Cuny, *RHA* 9.147 (1938). We cannot follow Sturtevant *loc. cit.* nor Antoine Meillet, *BSL* 32.6 ff. (1931) (in particular, we cannot accept his definition of cuneiform Hittite as "langue marginale" p. 16). Against him see now Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 13 ff. (the geographical consideration, we would like to remark to Pedersen, is obviously *against*, not in favor of Meillet's thesis). Cf. also Götze-Pedersen, *Mursilis' Sprachlärmung*, 60; Cuny, *RHA* 2.212 (1932-4) (cuneiform Hittite has *lost* the fem.).

12) The *h* in hieroglyphic Hittite *'asharmes* 'blood offering'?, cuneiform Hittite *huhhas* 'grandfather'; *sanh-* 'to ask, to request' in both languages; *arha* 'out, off, away' in both languages.

13) A large number of words is shared in the same or similar form and with the same meaning by both hieroglyphic Hittite and cuneiform Hittite. Thus, the hieroglyphic Hittite words *aia-* 'to make,' *hara-* 'to destroy,' *hartus* 'descendant,' *hatura-* 'to write,' *upa-* 'to send,' *man* 'whether—or' correspond to cuneiform Hittite *iya-* (see now Sturtevant, *JAOS* 63.1 ff. [1943]), *harra-*, *hartuwas*, *hatra(e)-*, *uppa-*, *man* with the same meaning. Notice the frequency of *h*.

Most of these phenomena (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11) are certainly, or very probably, innovations.

§ 7. RELATIONSHIP WITH LUWIAN

Some facts connect hieroglyphic Hittite with Luwian, a language doubtless very close to cuneiform Hittite:

1) The change of **ō > a*,⁶⁴ which obviously is an innovation.

2) The imperative *aiaru*, which is also an innovation (see above § 6).

3) The preterit ending *-ha* (see above § 6).

4) There could be some connection between the ending of the 1st sing. present hieroglyphic Hittite *-wa* and Luwian *-wi* (*siwariyawī*, *kuliwi*, *arkamanallawī*, *kulaniwi*: see Sommer, *Abhandl. der Bayer. Akad.*, NF 6, 231 [1932]; Schwartz, *Archiv Orientalní* 10.70 ff. [1938]). Both contain an element *-u*, which is found in no other IE

like cun. Hitt. *eszi*, *harzi*, Skt. *bhāvati*, *āsti*; cf. *Lang.* 13.269 (1937).

⁶³ Lycian seems however to preserve some traces of the IE neuter in the nouns ending in *a*, cf. Meriggi, *Festschrift Hirt*, 2, 261.

⁶⁴ Cf. the endings of 3rd person plural *-ta* = Greek *-το*; *-nda* = Greek *-ντο*; *wassantari* = Latin *feruntur*, Greek *(ἐ)φέρουτο*; cf. also Sturtevant in *Language* 8.304 (1932).

language except Lydian (*fa-sfeñu* 'ich besitze,' *kan-toru* 'ich vergebe'; -v after a vowel: *fa-ov* 'ich verkünde [es]' etc.; cf. Meriggi *RHA* 3. 69 ff. [1935]; *Festschrift Hirt*, 2. 286 [with note 2] ff.). Perhaps there is the same relation between cuneiform Hittite *-hi* and hieroglyphic Hittite and Luwian *-ha* as between Luwian *-wi* and hieroglyphic Hittite *-wa*. Possibly, *-ha* and *-wa*, when the paradigm of the present was formed, became *-hi* and *-wi* under the influence of *-mi*(?), **-si*, **-ti*, **-mesi*(?), **-nti*.

One is tempted to compare this ending with Goth. *bairau*, which probably contains an element *-u*; however, there is much discussion about this form, which is moreover optative, and not indicative (this is Goth. *baira* = Greek *φέρω*; cf. Brugmann, *Grundr.*², 2, 3, 536; Hirt, *Idg. Gramm.*, 4. 297; *Hb. des Urgerm.*, 2. 185 f.; Streitberg, *Urgerm. Gramm.*, 347. The comparison with the type Lat. *laudāui* (*laudāsti*), Lith. *buvaū*, Skt. *papraū*, *jañnaū*, Toch. A *prakwā*, *yāmawā*, etc., is also very doubtful, because this type is always a perfect, and not a present; cf. Bonfante, *Language* 17. 201 ff. (1941); Benveniste, *Festschrift Hirt*, 2. 230.

5) Of lexicological correspondences we can mention hieroglyphic Hittite *titas* 'father': Luwian *tatas* (see below p. 185); hieroglyphic Hittite 'apan' 'back, again, also' (also cuneiform Hittite): Luwian *apa*; hieroglyphic Hittite *a(n)ta* (cuneiform Hittite *anda*, *andan*): Luwian *anda*; hieroglyphic Hittite *aja-* 'to make' (cuneiform Hittite *iya-*): Luwian *aya-*; and above all hieroglyphic Hittite *-ha* 'and, also': Luwian *-ha*, which is exclusively hieroglyphic Hittite and Luwian (it is without any doubt the same particle as the *-ha* of *jaskisha*; **kwe* also has both functions in most of the other IE languages; see Forrer, *SPAW* 1914. 1034 f.).

Since Luwian is as yet very little known, it is possible that it also shares some of the other characteristics which link hieroglyphic Hittite with cuneiform Hittite. About the genders in Luwian, e. g., we know nothing. The argument, on which Forrer (*ZDMG* 76. 221 [1922]) bases his belief that Luwian distinguished masculine and feminine, does not seem very strong.

However, these coincidences of hieroglyphic Hittite with cuneiform Hittite and Luwian should perhaps not be rated too highly, since these languages were spoken in the same regions by a mixed and to some extent bilingual population. Some

interpenetration seems therefore quite natural. The relationship between hieroglyphic Hittite and cuneiform Hittite (and Luwian) would then be similar to that of Osco-Umbrian and Latin, according to Walde, Devoto and other very authoritative scholars: originally wide apart, they approached and assimilated progressively to each other, tending—if time had permitted it—to form one and the same language.

But three important isoglosses separate hieroglyphic Hittite from cuneiform Hittite and Luwian (and Lydian): the first language is *satem*, while cuneiform Hittite, Luwian,⁶⁵ and Lydian⁶⁶ are *centum*; the first one has the relative pronoun **yos* besides **kwis* (like Slav, Greek, Phrygian, Iranian, Indo-Aryan), the others have ONLY **kwis* (like Latin); final *-t* is assimilated to *-z* in hieroglyphic Hittite in the enclitic pronoun *-az* (< **-at*) 'it,' as in Iranian and partly in Greek;⁶⁷ it is

⁶⁵ Of course, the only proof that Luwian is a *centum* language is, as far as we know, the relative pronoun *kwinzi* which appears twice in the well known bilingual text (cf. e. g. Hrozný, *Boghazköi-Studien*, 5, 36; Forrer, *ZDMG* 76. 216 f. [1922]); also the forms *kwi*, *kwiša*, *kwišha*, *kwišbas*. But it is a rather strong proof in our opinion.

⁶⁶ Lydian is a *centum* language: '100' is *kat-* or *kan-*, and **kwiš*, **kwid* is correspondingly *pis*, *pid*; see Deeters, *PWRE*, s. u. *Lydia*, 2160 f.; Kahle-Sommer, *Kleinasiat. Forsch.*, 1. 40; 44 f.; 64; 72; 81 f. (1930); Meriggi, *Festschrift Hirt*, 284 and 287; *kud*, *kud-* (cf. Kahle and Sommer, *Kleinasiat. Forsch.*, 1. 44 f. [1927-30]) 'where-to' = OCSlav. *kūde*, etc., and *-k* = Lat. *que* (Kahle and Sommer, *ibid.* 40 f.; 44; 64; 67; 72; 82) are not surprising in such positions (enclitic and before *-u*); cf. e. g. Lat. *nē-cubi* and Gr. *οὐκ*, *κίς*, Goth. *nih* (see Feist, s. u.), perhaps Venetic *-ke* < **kwe* (Sommer, *IF* 42. 122 [1924]). We cannot agree, therefore, with Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 191, that this "loss of labialization" can represent a dialectal IE feature.

The passage **kw > p* is found in a central region of the West (among the *centum* languages, of course): Greek, Illyrian, Osco-Umbrian, Gallo-Britannic; but the Westernmost (Latin, Irish) and the Northernmost (Germanic) *centum* languages escape to this innovation, remaining as isolated peripheric areas. See now on the whole subject Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Linc.*, 6, 4, 9. 595 ff. (1933); Bonfante, *RIGI* 19. 161 ff. (1935) (= 49 ff.). On the delabialization of IE labiovelars before (and after) **u*, see Bonfante, *Dialetti indoeuropei*, 123, n. 1; Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 298.

On the treatment of labiovelars in Venetic see Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Lincei*, serie 6, vol. 4, fasc. 9, 607 (1933).

⁶⁷ We have only one instance, the neuter enclitic pronoun *-az* (masc. fem. nom. *-as*, accus. *-an*); this shows *-z*. There seems therefore to be an assimilation of final **-t*: see on this subject Bonfante, *I dialetti indoeuropei* (Naples, 1931) 137 with bibl. (Gr. *πολλάκις*, *εἰδός*, *καλῶς*, Cyp. *ἐλθεῖς*, *φάρῶς*); Bechtel, *Griech. Dialekte*, 1.

preserved in cuneiform Hittite, Lydian, Phrygian (εσαιτ, αδδακετ, αββερετ), Latin and Indo-Aryan (cf. also Gothic *pat-a*, Engl. *that, what*, OIrish *-e-racht, -bert, det*, etc., cf. Pedersen, *Vgl. Gr.*, 1. 246).⁶⁸ In all these three cases hieroglyphic Hittite is clearly on the innovative, cuneiform Hittite evidently on the conservative side.

§ 8. RELATIONSHIP WITH LYCIAN

Hieroglyphic Hittite seems rather closely connected with Lycian, more so perhaps than with any other IE language:

1) They both are *satəm* languages. We completely agree with Bugge and Meriggi (against Pedersen, *Hitt.*, 191 and Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 27. 256 f. [1939]), that Lycian is a *satəm* language: the three words *sñta-* = Lat. *centum* etc., *tasñ* = Lat. *decem*(?) etc. and *esbe-* 'horse' (cf. *esbe-di-* 'Reiterei,' opposed to *pededi* 'Fusztruppen') = Lat. *equus*, Skt. *áśvas*, etc. prove it clearly; *ter-ñ, rer-ñ* = Gr. χέρ-α, Arm. *jěrn* (cf. Meriggi, *Festschr. Hirt*, 2. 262 f.; 279 n.) is also in order, for IE. **gh, *g* give affricates (containing an occlusive element) in Armenian (**g > c* pronounced *dz*) and in Sanskrit (**g > j* pron. *ḍḣ*; for **gh* cf. *jáhāti*, which proves with its initial *j-* that *h* was once **gh*).

We cannot understand, therefore, the surprise of Meriggi, *Festschrift Hirt*, 2, 260, in observing that **g^{w-}, *k^{w-}* are delabialized in **kñna*, 'mother'

435 f. (the accents are wrongly "corrected"; cf. Bonfante, *Studi it. di filol. classica* 9. 76 n. [1931] approved by Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 803; 836); see also Rosenkranz, *KZ* 63. 244 ff. (1936) and Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 803, 836, 409 f. (with bibl.): "Der iranische Uebergang von idg. -t in einen Spiranten (*t*, nicht = *p*, sondern vielleicht etwa das dän[ische] aspirierte *t*: vgl. o.S. 318, Fusz. 2) könnte als idg. *Dialekteigentümlichkeit* [italics mine] auch griechisch (oder teilweise griechisch) gewesen sein, und solches *t* mochte teils abfallen (in der Pause) teils in -s übergeben. Das würde für **āfos* gelten (während *ōs* an sich -s nach *ōste* haben könnte, zu -o vgl. oben S. 344 u.)." **āfos* (ēws, āos, ās etc.) never appears in pausa.

It is remarkable that hieroglyphic Hittite again separates clearly from cuneiform Hittite, which preserves the ancient -*t* (neuter pronouns -*at, kwit, kwat, apat*; cf. Sturtevant, 206 ff.) like Latin, Celtic, Phrygian and Indo-Aryan (the Northern languages, Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, Tocharian, plus Armenian, lose *-*t* [*-*d*] in prehistoric times; but cf. Engl. *that, what* = Lat. *quod*, Goth. *pata*, etc. in monosyllables).

⁶⁸ As for Lycian, we can find no positive evidence, since the 3d pers. of the verbs always ends in a vowel (-*ti, -di, -te, -dē, -tē*), as apparently in the preterit of hieroglyphic Hittite (-*ti, -te, -za, -ze*).

= Gr. Boeot. *βαρά*, OCSlav. *žena*, Goth. *qino*, etc. (a rather doubtful etymology, by the way, because of the meaning; cf. however Lith. *mótė* 'woman') and in *kadrñna* = Lat. *quaterna* etc.; since Lycian is a *satəm* language, such forms are quite regular (on the contrary, forms with **k^w* or **p* would be surprising). In -*ce* = Lat. -*que* (Meriggi, *Kleinasiat. Forsch.*, 1. 419; *Festschr. Hirt*, 2. 276) and perhaps in *cñma* 'five' (cf. Lat. *quinque*, OIrish *cōic* < IE **k^wenk^we*) we have probably the palatalized form of **k^w* in front of **e, *i*, usual in the *satəm* languages (in *kadrñna* we have perhaps neither *e* nor *i*, but a very short vowel corresponding to the [velar] *a* of Lat. *quatuor*; as for **kñna*, cf. Gr. *βαρά*, γυνή).

qla 'gens,' cited by Meriggi, *IF* 44. 3 (1927) (cf. also *Festschrift Hirt*, 2, 260 and Kretschmer, *Glotta* 27. 261 [1939]) as a proof that labiovelars are preserved in Lycian, is a very poor proof: even admitting (which is not sure) that the word is related with Skt. *kūlam*, we must remark that in Sanskrit (that is, in a *satəm* language!) the *k* is followed by an *u*, which is not written apart in Lycian, and may therefore be absorbed in the preceding velar.

The (originally) interrogative-indefinite Lycian pronoun *ti*, indefinite *tise tise* = Latin *quisquis, ti-ce* = Lat. *quisque* (cf. Meriggi, *Kleinasiat. Forsch.* 1. 461 [1927-30]; *Festschrift Hirt*, 2, 270; Deeters, *PWRE*, s. u. *Lycia*, 2289) can then be compared with Gr. τῖς, OCSlav. *čī-to*, Avest. *čiš*, etc. The palatalisation of the (previously delabialized) labiovelars before **e, *i* is a typical feature of the *satəm* languages, of which Greek also shares (from this point of view, it is really a *satəm* language; cf. Bonfante, *Dialecti* 131 ff.; 176, n. 1).

It may be fitting to recall here that in Sanskrit the result of **ga, *ge, *gi, *go, *gu* and **g^we, *g^wi*, and respectively of **gha, *ghe, *ghi, *gho, *ghu* and **g^whe, *g^whi*, is exactly the same: *j* in the first case, *h* in the second: cf. Skt. *jñātás* = Lat. *gnōtus*, *jīvás* = Lat. *vīvūs*, *himás* = Gr. χών, *hárás* = Gr. θέπος. And so it is in Lycian: *ter-ñ* = Gr. χείρα, accus. plur. χέρας, *tise (tise)* = Gr. τῖς, Lat. *quis (quis)*.

The treatment *ti* of **q^wi* connects of course Lycian with Greek (to which, as we stressed, the *centum-satəm* difference is no obstacle). This seems to be also the opinion of Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 191.

The *c* of *cñma* in front of the *t* of *tise, ti-ce* can be perfectly well explained as the regular treatment of *t* in Lycian (but not in the Milyan

dialect) before a labial; cf. Mil. *tbi* = Lyc. *cbi*, 'anderer, zweiter' (IE **dwī*); Mil. *qñnāṭba* = Lyc. *qñnāčba*; **tbatra* > Lyc. *cbatra* 'daughter' (**dwatra* < **duatra* < **duhatra*, cf. Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, *θυγατέρα* etc.); see Meriggi, *Festschr. Hirt*, 2. 260 and 266 ff.

The strange opposition of Pedersen, *Hitt.* 191, to admit that Lycian is *satəm* merely because it agrees on some points with cuneiform Hittite, only shows how that great scholar still remains fundamentally a stranger to the method of linguistic geography.

2) Change **ō* > *ā*. Lycian has no *o* sound and seems to have *a* for **o*; cf. *aitāta* '80' and the absence of *-o-* stems, so frequent in IE (they must therefore be hidden among the *-a-* stems). IE **a* is *a*; cf. the perfect ending *-ka*, the preverb *ava-* (Meriggi, *Festschr. Hirt*, 2. 276) = Skt. *áva-*, Lat. *au-*, Gr. *av-*, etc. However, we cannot deliver ourselves from the idea that perhaps final IE **-o* may have become in Lycian *-e* (as in Tocharian B); cf. also the genitives *purhimetehe*, *epptehe*, *ñtariyeusehe*, *seyertakssirazahe*, etc. (cf. Deeters, *PWRE*, s. u. *Lycia*, 2288), where *-he* could represent IE **-so* (OCSlav. *če-so*, Gr. *τέο*, *Αἰόλοο*, Goth. *þis*, *dagis*, etc.; cf. Bonfante, *Annuaire de l'Institut . . . de Bruxelles*, 7. 369 f. (1944)); Lycian *-s-* becomes *-h-* between vowels, as known.

3) Hieroglyphic Hittite pronoun 'apas 'that,' corresponds to *ebe* in Lycian (IE **ebho-*?).

4) Hieroglyphic Hittite pronoun 'amu 'I' corresponds to *emu*, *ēmu*, *amu* in Lycian.

5) They both reduce the three IE genders to two (see above p. 179).

6) They have *-te*, *-ti* in the 3rd person preterite of the verb.

7) The hieroglyphic Hittite ending *-ha* in the 1st person corresponds probably to *-ka*, *-ga* of Lycian 1st person preterite (*aka*, *piyaka*, *prñna-waka*, *kalkka*; cf. Meriggi, *Festschr. Hirt*, 2. 272 f.), which is probably identical with the Greek *-ka* of *βέβηκα*, etc.; this has extended to the whole paradigm (which primitively was something like sing. *βέβηκα*: plur. *βεβάασιν*, or *ἔθηκα*: *ἔθεμεν*). For cun. Hitt. see above p. 179. On the articulation of cun. Hitt. *h*, which was sometimes very strong (affricate *kx*?), see Friedrich, *Hethitisch*, 24 f.; Sommer, *Heth.* 2 (= *Boghazköi-Stud.* 7) 45 ff.; *Boghazköi-Studien* 1-2, p. xii, n. 1; 200; Kretschmer, *Kleinasiat. Forschungen*, 1. 10 f. (1930). Cf. also Sturtevant, *Lang.* 16. 273 ff. (1940); Pedersen, *Tocharisch*, 183; 263 f.; *Hittitisch*, 176 ff.; *Archiv*

Orientalni 5. 180, n. 1 (1933); *Litteris* 5. 158 f. (1928) (reads *-xa* for *-ka* in Lycian); Ungnad, *ZA*, *NF* 1 6, n. 1 (1923); Benveniste, *BSL* 39. c.-r. 27 (1938); A. Braun, *Atti R. istituto veneto*, 95. 370 (1935-6); Petersen, *JAOS* 59. 186 (1939); Marstrander, *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap* 3. 294 (1929); Forrer *RHA* 1. 144 ff. (1930-2); Bonfante, *Classical Philology* 39. 52 n. 4 with bibl.; 57 n. 17 (1944).

Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 774 writes: "Die im klassischen Griechischen (neben sigmatischem Aorist) normale Bildung des aktiven Perfekts auf *-ka* hat sich seit der ältesten Ueberlieferung stark ausgebreitet, reicht aber in den Anfängen hinter dieselbe zurück, ohne in den verwandten Sprachen eine Entsprechung zu haben [sic]. [...] *κ* erscheint bei Homer nur nach langem Vokal (und Diphthong) und fast nur im Sing. Ind. und Konj. [...]. Nachhomerisch wird nach langem Vokal *κ* im allgemeinen auch ausser dem Ind. Sg. durchgeführt [...]."

8) We may recall here that in Armenian all IE voiced occlusives become voiceless (while IE voiceless remain such, but aspirate); the first passage takes place perhaps also in Phrygian; cf. Meister, *Xenia Nicolaitana*, 171 ff.; Ed. Hermann, *KZ* 50. 303 ff. (1922). (I would leave Tocharian alone, at least for the moment). It is also interesting to remember that in Greek the IE voiced aspirated occlusives become voiceless (**bh*, **dh*, **gh* > *ph*, *th*, *kh*, written sometimes *πh*, *κh* in Old Thera and Melan inscriptions; cf. also *τέθηκα*, *πέφηνκα*, etc., *ἐτέθην*, *λύθητι*, Cretan *τνατος*, *ανθρωπος*, etc.; cf. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, 55 and 259 ff.; Schwyzler, *Gr. Gr.*, 204). Therefore, hieroglyphic Hittite, if the spelling really represents the pronunciation, agrees with Phrygian and Armenian in the treatment of the voiced occlusives, but perhaps rather with cuneiform Hittite and Greek in the treatment of the voiced aspirates. Cf. also Pokorny, *Berichte des Forschungsinstitutes für Osten und Orient* 3. 41 f. (1923).

9) Pronoun *kiskis* = Lycian *tise tise* (also cun. Hittite: *kwiskwis*, Latin: *quisquis*).

10) They share a number of words: *aia-* 'to make,' *ašwas* 'horse,' *tu(wa)-* 'to place, to dedicate,' *ni*, *ne* 'not' in hieroglyphic Hittite correspond to *a-*, *esbe-*, *tuwe-*, *ne* in Lycian with the same meaning.

Cuneiform Hittite shares all these facts, except 1) and 6) (and partly 10)); they are all probably

innovations, except 9) (and of course part of 10). Luwian shares at least 2), 4), 7).

However, an isogloss separating hieroglyphic Hittite and Lycian seems to be the relative pronoun: Lycian has *ti* < **k^wi*- (cf. also Sturtevant, *TAPA* 59.51 (1928); Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 191; *Litteris* 5.157 f. [1928]; Deeters, *PWRE*, s.u. *Lycia*, 2289), whereas hieroglyphic Hittite has ALSO *ias*. But note that in hieroglyphic Hittite the pronoun *ias* seems to be in a dying stage and losing ground to the new *kis*. Since our Lycian documents are later than our hieroglyphic Hittite documents, this difference is not very serious: *ias* may have disappeared in the interval of time.

A close relationship between cuneiform Hittite and Lycian was noticed by Knudtzon-Bugge, *Die zwei Arzawabriefe*, 99 (1902); Friedrich, *Die Welt als Geschichte* 3.67 (1937) (with bibl.) and *RLV* 1, 141; Pedersen, *Hitt.*, 191; see also Deeters, *PWRE*, s.u. *Lycia*, 2290. We cannot agree, of course, with Pedersen, when he considers as a coincidence between cuneiform Hittite and Lycian the loss of the labial element in Lyc. *ti-ke* (= *ti-ce*) and cuneiform Hittite *kwis-ki*; one of the reasons is that we consider Lycian as a *satəm* language. Cf. also Bonfante, *RBPhH* 18.389 (1938).

Apart from the passage of intervocalic **s*- to *-h-*, of **k^wi*- to *ti-* and of the 1st preterit with *-ka*(?), another feature which seems to connect Lycian with Greek is the loss of initial (or intervocalic? cf. Götze-Pedersen, *Muršilis' Sprachlähmung*, 51) **y*- in *a-gā* 'I made,' *a-dē* 'he made' (compared with Luwian *aiyaru* and Cuneiform Hittite *iya-*) and in Lycian *ē-ce* (compared with hieroglyphic Hittite *iā-ha* 'if'); but, anyhow, Greek has mostly *h-* for initial **y*-, whereas Lycian has nothing. Moreover Pedersen, *Litteris*, 5.158, n. 1 (1928), correctly asks: "Est-ce là une conséquence du voisinage du Lycien et du Grec, qui, du temps des inscriptions lyciennes, avait déjà duré un millier d'années?"

In Lycian, however, only intervocalic, not INITIAL *s* passes to *h*: cf. *setteri* = Lat. *septem*, etc. and see Meriggi, *Festschrift Hirt*, 2, 260. Moreover, the Milyan dialect of Lycian preserves even intervocalic *-s-* (see *ibid.*).

The idea that the Lycians were old, barbarized Greeks, expressed by Kretschmer in *Glotta* 24.235 ff. (1935-6) has not been accepted by any other scholar; cf. Sommer, *IF* 55.226 (1937); Bonfante, *Class. Philology* 36.18, n. 39 (1941).

§ 9. "EASTERN" CHARACTERISTICS

Hieroglyphic Hittite shows two typically "Eastern" ⁶⁹ IE phenomena:

1) It is *satəm* ⁷⁰ (like Lycian, Phrygian, Armenian, Albanian, Slav, Baltic, Iranian, etc.).

2) It has the relative pronoun **yós* (like Greek, ⁷¹ Phrygian, Slav, Armenian, ⁷² Iranian, Indo-Aryan).

Also some purely "Eastern" words appear in hieroglyphic Hittite, such as **k^wei*- 'to make, to build,' *s(a)tanas* 'place (of sacrifice?)'.

Inversely, it shares no important characteristics with Western languages, except the use of **k^wi*s as a relative pronoun, which is not exclusive in hieroglyphic Hittite itself and very probably not Proto-IE, but "einzelsprachlich." Note that it appears also in "Eastern" languages such as Baltic, Slav, Tocharian, cuneiform Hittite, Luwian, Lydian. ⁷³

§ 10. "CENTRAL" INNOVATIONS

Hieroglyphic Hittite shares with several other "central" IE languages, especially Greek, Alba-

⁶⁹ About the concept of "Eastern" and "Western" IE, see Bonfante, *I dialetti indoeuropei*, 175 ff. It has never been noticed, we believe, that this linguistic division of IE languages in two big groups corresponds to a fundamental geographic division of Europe, which is cut in two parts by the great isthmus that goes from the top of the Adriatic (Fiume) to the Baltic sea.

⁷⁰ We still think we can call *satəm* an Eastern characteristic, even after the discovery of Tocharian and cuneiform Hittite, because all the Western languages (Celtic, Germanic, Italic, Latin) are *centum*.

⁷¹ Greek, although *centum*, is essentially an "Eastern" language: it has very close relations to Armenian and to cuneiform Hittite; cf. Bonfante, *RIGI* 15.68 (1931) (approved by Schrijnen, *BSL* 38.138 [1936]); *Mélanges Pedersen*, 33; and also Specht, *KZ* 62.29 ff. [1934]).

⁷² It is claimed sometimes that the *o-* of Armenian *o-kh*, *o-*, *o-yr* represents **k^wo-* (cf. e.g. Junker, *KZ* 43.350 [1910]; Meillet, *Esq.*², 90); but **k^w* gives *kh-* in Armenian in front of velar vowels and of **e* (Lat. *quam* = Arm. *khan*; Lat. *que* = Arm. *-kh* [see above]; Lat. *linquō*, Gr. *λινάω* = Arm. *lkhanem*; Lat. *quinque* = Arm. *hinq* < **hinkh*; cf. Meillet, *Esq.*², 31) and *č* (pronounce *čh*) in front of **i*, **y*, which perfectly corresponds to the phonemic system of Armenian (see Bonfante, *Mélanges Pedersen*, 27 f.); on the other hand, no other sure example exists for the treatment of initial **y*- (Meillet, *Esq.*², 51 f.); it surely disappears in intervocalic position, which make the same treatment likely for the initial one.

⁷³ Meillet (in Ernout-Meillet, *Dict.*, 845) says that "le groupe de **k^wo-*, **k^wi-* a souvent fourni le relatif, notamment en iranien [...]." We can find no facts to support this statement for Old Persian and Avestan.

nian, Armenian, cuneiform Hittite, Lycian and Lydian, some important innovations:⁷⁴

1) *-m > -n (cf. Bonfante *IF* 55.131 [1937]); accus. sing. *pin*, -an; it is also cun. Hitt., Luwian and Northern IE: Celtic, cf. Pedersen. *Vgl. Gramm.* 1, 246 f., Germanic (Goth. *an-a*, *in-a*), Baltic, Slavic [*sün-*], Tocharian.⁷⁵

2) Pronoun 'me' of the form *eme (or/and possessive *emos) cf. Bonfante, *IF* 55.131 (1937). Cf. Gr. ἐμέ, ἐμός, Arm. *inj* 'to me,' *im* 'my,' Alb. *im* 'my,' Lycian *emu*, *ēmu*, *amu*, Lydian *ēmu* 'I,' 'me,' *ēmis* 'my,' cun. Hitt. *amuk* 'I, me.'

3) In particular, hieroglyphic Hittite is very close to Phrygian and Armenian (and Lycian?) in the treatment *i*, *u* of IE *ē, *ō,⁷⁶ if our interpretation of the forms in question is correct: *pis*(?) = Lat. *pēs*; *titas* = Lith. *tėtis*, *tėvas*; *nī* = Gr. νῆ-, Lat. *nē*; perhaps *kina* = Lat. *uēnī*; *tu-* = Engl. *do*, German *tun* (IE *dhō-). For Phrygian cf. e.g. *δουμος* 'σύνοδος' = Goth. *dōms*; *γλουρός* = Gr. *χλωρός*; *κινουμανει* = **knōmanei*; *οσυ-* = Gr. *ὄκτώ*; *βεδυ* < **wedō*; *δδκεδ* = Lat. *fēcīt* and see Kretschmer, *Einleit.*, 225; Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, 2, 598 f.; Bonfante, *Dialetti*, 121; *RIGI* 18.98 (1934); *RBPPh* 18.391, n. 2 (1939).

4) In the treatment of *ön*, **öl*, **ör* (usually written with the symbols **ṛ*ⁿ, **ṛ*^l, **ṛ*^r), hieroglyphic Hittite also seems to go hand in hand with Phrygian (? Hirt, *Idg.*, 2, 599, g), Greek, Armenian, Thracian (? Kretschmer, *Einleit.*, 221), and Iranian (cf. Hirt, *Idg. Gramm.*, 2, 83 ff.; Meillet, *Esq. de l'arm. class.*², 43). Cf. e.g. *malī* 'bread' (?) = Arm. *malem*; *sanawasatra-* 'to improve' = Gr. *ἀνώω* etc.; *lamanese-* 'to name' = Gr. *ὀνομαίνω*.

⁷⁴ Most of IE "pro-ethnic" innovations seem to have originated in the central area (Slav, Greek, Armenian, Phrygian, cuneiform Hittite, etc.), but they expanded much more to the East (Tocharian, Iranian, Indo-Aryan) than to the West (Baltic, Germanic, Osco-Umbrian, Celtic). Latin seems to have received none. Therefore, the Western languages are in the whole much more archaic than the Eastern ones. See Bonfante, *Dialetti* (conclusion) and particularly *Studi baltici*, 5. 30 ff. (1935-6). The principal scholars who have contributed to the elaboration of this theory are Bártoli (*Studi albanesi* 2. 6 [1932]), Meillet (*BSL* 4. 32 [1931]); Devoto (*Storia della lingua di Roma*, 2 ff.; 17 ff.), Vendryes (*MSL* 20 [1918] 265 ff.), Terracini (*Atene e Roma*, NS 2. 100 ff. [1921]); *RFICl* 49. 403 ff. [1921]), Bonfante (*Emerita* 2. 263 ff. [1934]). Cf. also Schrijnen (*Collectanea Schrijnen* 73 ff., 92 ff., 97 ff.), and Pedersen (*Toch.*, 93 ff.; *Groupement*, 11 and 19).

⁷⁵ See Appendix A.

⁷⁶ See Appendix B.

5) Also, the gen. plur. hieroglyphic Hittite -*śa*, if connected with Arm. -*ç* (IE **-sko?*), would establish an important link between these two languages (see above p. 176).

6) With Greek and Lycian, hierogl. Hittite shares perhaps the ending of the 1st person perfect (-*ḥa*, -*ka*), see above p. 182.

7) There are a couple of lexicological coincidences of hieroglyphic Hittite with Greek (although, whether they are innovations or not, is hard to say): hieroglyphic Hittite *man* = Gr. Dor. *μᾶν*, Ion. *μῆν* (also cuneiform Hittite); *ias* 'one' = Gr. *ίός*, *ῖα*. The last fact is very characteristic and important.

8) Two isoglosses connect hieroglyphic Hittite with Slav: the agent suffix *-*tel-*, *-*tel-o-*, *-*tel-yo* (cf. Brugmann, *Grundr.*², 2, 1, 336; Bonfante, *RBPPh* 18. 382 f. [1939]; Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 532 f.; Fraenkel, *KZ* 63. 185 ff. [1936]; Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 47; cf. also Götze, *Kultur.*, 57) instead of *-*ter-* (this isogloss is also cuneiform Hittite and Armenian) and the participle in *-*mo-* (also Baltic, see Brugmann, *Grundr.*², 2, 3, 959).⁷⁷

Both the forms *-*tel-* and *-*mo-* should, for geographical reasons, be more recent than resp. *-*ter-* and *-*mno-*, *-*meno-* (according to the norms of the *isolated area* [the West], of the *greater area*, perhaps of the *lateral areas*, since Indo-Aryan usually changes **l* to *r*).

As for *specific* coincidences between hieroglyphic

⁷⁷ This *-*mo-* participle is surely somehow connected—although it is difficult to say exactly how—with the suffix *-*meno-* (**-mōno-*, *-*mno-*) of the mediopassive participle of the other Eastern languages (cuneiform Hittite excluded): we find it in Luwian (Forrer, *ZDMG* 76. 268 [1922]), in Greek (-*μενος*), in Phrygian (-*μενος*), in Armenian (-*un-* < *-*mno-*), in Tocharian A (-*maṃ* [ṃ pronounce n]), B (-*mane*), in Avestan (-*mna-*), in Sanskrit (-*māna-*). Baltic and Slav have only the mentioned *-*mo-* form, with the only isolated exception of Old Prussian *poklausimanas*, which is *testis unus* and rather doubtful. The reader will notice immediately that the relationship between Greek and Phrygian is particularly close on this point.

In the West we find only nominal (*Vertumnus*, *alumnus*, *femina*), not verbal forms (*ferimini* is = the infinitive *φερέμεναι*).

No forms of this kind have been found until today in Lydian and Lycian, but this does not prove much, since these two languages are so little known.

Cf. also Meillet-Vaillant, *Le slave commun*, 335 ff.; Przyluski, *RHA* 5. 136 ff. (1934); Benveniste, *BSL* 34. 5 ff. (1933); Kretschmer, *Glotta* 14. 313 f. (1925); Leumann, *Lat. Gramm.*, 222; 308; J. Schmidt, *Kritik der Sonantentheorie*, 101; 142 ff. (1895).

Hittite and Slav we can only mention *malukalas* = OCSlav. *malū* 'small' (Engl. *small*, Germ. *schmal*, etc., have an initial *s*-, and are therefore slightly different in form; Lat. *malus* is probably unconnected).

9) Then the IE word for 'father' Engl. *father*, O Irish *athir*, Lat. *pater*, Skt. *pitā*, Arm. *hayr*, etc. has been replaced in a central zone constituted by hieroglyphic Hittite, cuneiform Hittite, Luwian, Albanian, Slavic, Gothic, and perhaps Baltic by an infantile or familiar "Lallwort" of the type *atta* or *tata*. This fact has a very great importance not only from the linguistic, but also from the social, religious and cultural point of view; cf. e. g. Ernout-Meillet, *s. u. atta, tata, pater*; Meillet-Vaillant, *Le slave commun*, 499 ff.; Feist, *Wb.*³, *s. uu. atta, apei* and *fadar*; Bonfante, *Emerita* 2. 269 ff. (1934); A. Braun, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto* 95. 395 (1935-6).

§ 11. ABSENCE OF RECENT SOUTH-EASTERN INNOVATIONS

But hieroglyphic Hittite does *not* share four important South-Eastern innovations of a very recent period:

1) (Initial and) intervocalic **s > h* (Greek, Lycian, Albanian [in part], Phrygian [*ἄλυσ, ἑτα* etc.; cf. Jokl, *RLV*, *s. u. Phryger* 144. 2; Kretschmer, *Einleit.*, 208; 235; J. Fraser, *Phryg. Stud.*, 10, n. 4; Hirt, *Idg.*, 2, 599 f.],⁷⁸ Armenian, Iranian).

2) The augment (Greek, Phrygian, Armenian, Iranian, Indo-Aryan).⁷⁹

⁷⁸ See Appendix C.

⁷⁹ That the augment is an innovation is admitted by Bártoli, *Mél. Boisacq*, 1, 23; *Neophilologus* 18. 296 (1932-3); *RFICL* 56. 437 n. (1928); 57. 336; 339; 341 (1929); Schrijnen, *BSL* 37. 126 (1936); *Collect. Schrijnen*, 84; 93; Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 56; 841, Nachtr. to p. 652, 2; Drewitt, *The Classical Quarterly* 6. 44 ff.; Bonfante, *JAOS* 62. 104 (1942) (add there Bártoli, *St. it. di fil. class.*, NS 12. 50 (1935); *AGUt*. 25. 2 ff.; 18 [1931-3]; 26. 10 f.; 15; 18; 23 f. [1934], 30. 67 [1938]; *Studi baltici*, 3. 3; 6 [1933]; *Atti del III Congresso internazionale dei linguisti*, Roma 1933, 167 f.; Sievers, *IF* 42. 207 ff. [1924]; Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Lincei*, serie 6, vol. 9, fasc. 2. 327; [1940]; *La ricostruzione dell'indoeuropeo*, Cagliari, 27 ff. [1936]; *AGUt* 21. 12 [1927]). Of the five areal norms, three (*area isolata, area maggiore, fasc sparita*) distinctly favor the hypothesis of the innovative character of the augment (the others do not apply, therefore, do not contradict). Moreover, it indicates *time*, an idea which was originally not expressed in the IE verb-system. Cf. also Kretsch-

3) The medial present endings **(m)ai*, **-sai*, **-tai*, **-ntai* (Greek, Phrygian, Iranian, Indo-Aryan).⁸⁰ Hieroglyphic Hittite has at least one presential *-r*- form: impersonal 3d sing. *aiaru*.

4) The vocalic prosthesis in the word for 'name' and the numeral 'nine' (Gr. *ὄνομα*, Arm. *anun*, Alb. *emēn*, Phrygian *onoμav*; Gr. *ἐννέα*, Arm. *inn*, Illyrian **enea*, Thracian *άνα-, ενεα*, but Lycian *nuñ-*).⁸¹

5) It has both **yos* and **k^wis* as relative pronouns, whereas Greek, Phrygian, Iranian, Indo-Aryan and perhaps Armenian have **yos* only.

These facts can perhaps be explained by the chronology of emigrations: the hieroglyphic Hittite people emigrated from the same (European) area of the IE home as the forefathers of the Greek, Armenians,⁸² Phrygians, Iranians; but it emigrated *before* them, and did not therefore share in the most recent innovations of that area. This chronology is very likely for the Greeks, and can be considered as sure for the Phrygians, since the invasion of this people, coming from Europe thru the Straits, falls in what we may call historical times, when the hieroglyphic Hittite people were established in Anatolia for centuries. If, according to the testimony of Herodotus (7, 73) and Eudoxus (cf. Steph. Byz. *s. u. Ἀρμενία*), accepted by almost all modern scholars, the Armenians are nothing else than *Φρυγῶν ἀποικοι*, the same must be said for them as for the Phrygians.⁸³

mer, *Einleitung*, 169; Hirt, *Idg. Gramm.*, 1, 99, § 89 (1927).

⁸⁰ See Appendix D.

⁸¹ See Appendix E.

⁸² On the relationship between Armenian and Greek, see Bonfante, *Mél. Pedersen*, 15 ff.; add there now Meillet, *Esquisse*², 142 f. (with the review of Bonfante, *Emerita* 5. 177 ff. [1937]); Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 57; Adjarian, *Mél. Boisacq*, 1. 3, and also Bártoli, *AGUt* 25. 1 ff. (1931-3). The superficial note of Austin, *Language* 18. 22 ff. (1942), which completely ignores all previous researches on the relationship of Armenian with other IE languages, has been destroyed in the following number of the same journal by the excellent answer of J. A. Kerns and B. Schwartz (pp. 226 ff.).

A close relationship between Armenian and Tocharian, as defended by Pokorny, *Berichte* etc. (cited p. 182) 3. 41 ff. (1923), can not be accepted. But this is not the place to discuss this subject.

⁸³ Everybody agrees, as it seems (except Mansion, *Mél. Pedersen*, 481 ff.), that Luwians, cuneiform Hittites, and hieroglyphic Hittites came from Europe (probably thru the Straits): for the Luwians, see e.g. Brandenstein, *PWRE*, Supplementband 6, 177 (1934); Kretschmer, *Las lenguas y los pueblos indoeuropeos*, Madrid (1935), 55 ff.; Friedrich, *RLV*, 1, 177; *Hethitisch* 42;

§ 12. ARCHAISMS

1) The *-r-* of the 3d pers. plural preterit hieroglyphic Hittite *-t(e)ra*, *-tra* (*aiasat(e)ra*, *irāi-t(e)ra*),⁸⁴ however we may interpret it, doubtless represents an archaism preserved (a) in the *isolated area* (Latin, also Celtic); (b) in the *lateral areas* (Latin, Osco-Umbrian, Celtic [perhaps Venetic]—Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Tocharian) and in cuneiform Hittite, but lacking in Greek, Armenian (at least as far as the 3d plur. is concerned), Slav, Baltic, and Germanic. In Phrygian, no 3d plural is known.⁸⁵ Cf. also *aiaru* (above, p. 178).

2) The same should be true of the ablative ending *-t(a)*,⁸⁶ which should be also old, since it appears in Latin and Osco-Umbrian on one side, in Iranian and Indo-Aryan on the other.

3) Likewise, the reduplicated type **kwiskwis* is old. It is found in the *area isolata* (Latin) and has in its favor the *aire brisée* of Dauzat (it appears in two non-continuous areas). It is also cun. Hittite (*kwiskwis*) and Lycian (*tise tise*).

4) Hieroglyphic Hittite also (like cuneiform Hittite and Tocharian B)⁸⁷ seems to have in the present the endings of the **-so*, **-to*, **-nto* type (Lat. *fatur*, OCSlav. *beretŭ*, etc.) which is older (in the present) than the **(m)ai*, **-sai*, **-tai*,

Forrer, *MDOG* 61. 27 (1921); Ungnad, *ZA* 35. 7 (1923-4); for the cuneiform Hittites Ungnad, *Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens*, Breslau, 9 ff. (1923); Götze, *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrier*, 30; Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Linc.*, 6, 4, 6, 637, 1933; Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Aegyptens*, 1. 247; Hrozný, *Las linguas* cited, 76; Friedrich *loc. cit.* (cf. also *Festschr. Hirt*, 2, 222). For the Phrygians (and consequently, for the Armenians) this is a well-known fact, which enters into history because of the Hittite annals (cf. Götze, *op. cit.*, 153 ff.).

⁸⁴ See Appendix F.

⁸⁵ Luwian has no *-r-* endings in the 3d plural of the preterit: this language has *-nda* (= Gr. *-pro* etc.); see J. Friedrich, *Festschr. Hirt*, 2, 217; Sturtevant, *Lang.*, 8. 304 (1932) (of course, **nt > nd* in Luwian). The same seems to be true for Lycian (cf. Meriggi, *Festschrift Hirt*, 2, 271 ff.); but here the facts are more complicated, for there seems to be no difference between 3d sing. and 3d plural (as e.g. in Lithuanian).

The form *arsanyer* 'sie benedixten' cited by Rosenkranz, *IF* 56. 270 (1938) is not quite sure to be Luwian. Cf. also Sturtevant, *Grammar*, § 10, 32; Schwartz, *Archiv Orientalní* 10. 76 ff. (1938) (he gives the forms *amasanda*, *yanta*).

⁸⁶ See Appendix G.

⁸⁷ Cf. S. Lévi and A. Meillet, *MSL* 18. 13 ff. (1913), (Toch. B -e = IE **ō*). For cuneiform Hittite cf. Kerns and Schwartz, *Lang.* 13. 264 ff. (1937); Sturtevant, *Grammar*, 289.

**-ntai* type⁸⁸; its antiquity is proved (1) by the *isolated area* (Latin); (2) by the *disappeared area* (cf. Bonfante *RIGI* 17. 182 ff. [1933]); (3) by the fact that the **(m)ai*, **-sai*, **tai*, **-ntai* type is strictly limited to a very strongly *innovative area* (the Southeast); cf. Schrijnen, *Collectanea Schrijnen*, 83 ff., and also Sturtevant, *Grammar*, 265.

§ 13. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we would say that hieroglyphic Hittite is an "Eastern IE language," and more precisely, a "Southeastern" one, sharing at the same time in several "central" IE features. It is closely related to Greek, Phrygian, Armenian, Iranian, Lydian, Luwian, cuneiform Hittite, and especially to Lycian. It possesses several important pro-ethnic IE innovations, more than cuneiform Hittite, although not as many as Phrygian, Armenian, and Iranian.

APPENDIX A (= NOTE 75)

The change **-m > -n*.

⁷⁵ **-m > -n* is attested for Greek, Armenian (*tun*, *khan*, *jern*, etc.; cf. Meillet, *Esq.*, 56, § 26), Phrygian, Macedonian, Messapic, Venetic, Thracian, Lydian, Luwian, cuneiform Hittite, probably also Lycian (*ter-ñ*, accus. of *ter-*, etc., Meriggi, *Festschrift Hirt*, 2. 263; the articulation of the nasalis sonans *ñ* is dental, not labial, for before *p* and the labiovelar *q* we find *m*; cf. *ibid.*, p. 260; *IF* 46. 180, n. 3 [1928]; see also Deeters, *PWRE*, s. u. *Lycia*, 2288; 2290). For Messapic (*aran*, *anan*, *bennan*) see Vetter, *PWRE*, Supplementband 6, 311; for Tocharian, Pedersen, *Tocharisch*, 23; 253; Schwentner, *Toch.*, 31; S. Lévi, *Journal asiatique*, 313, 1913; for Macedonian cf. the glosses γοραβ (*ῥν* accus.), γάκκιν (*accus.*), and see O. Hoffmann, *PWRE*, s. u. *Makedonia*, 694 f.; *Die*

⁸⁸ In Luwian *-ta* (or *-tta*) is usually the ending of the past as in Greek, Iranian, and Indo-Aryan (and unlike cuneiform Hittite): we find in Rosenkranz, *IF* 56. 269, 276 (1938): *marhata* 'es glückte', *taparta* 'er herrschte'; in Schwartz, *Archiv Orientalní* 10. 76 f. (1938): *arpa-sata*, *kapilazata*, *lawarita*, *pasibaita*, *pastarnuwata*, *sappata*, *tarpanalasata*. We cannot attribute a great importance to the *irhaita* 'er macht fertig' given by Rosenkranz, *IF* 56. 276 (1938), which remains *testis unus*. Cf. also Sturtevant, 32; Friedrich, *Festschrift*, 2. 217; Kerns and Schwartz, *Lang.* 13. 265; 269 (1937).

The isolated Phrygian *aββepero* is not a sufficient proof to assert that Phrygian too knew such endings in the present, as Pedersen thinks (*Tocharisch*, 153); it may simply be a misspelling for **aββeperop*, as Friedrich and Calder think (against Hamilton).

The form *aββeperoi* of another inscription is, according to Buckler, Calder, and Guthrie, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (1933) 4, 6, "apparently due to confusion between *aββeperop* and *aββeperai*." See also *JHS* 31. 209 (1911).

Makedonen, 44; for Venetic see Herbig, *RLV.*, s. u. *Veneter*, 118 (accus. sing. -on, -an, -un); for Thracian see Kretschmer, *Glotta* 7. 90 (1916); Blumenthal, *IF* 51. 115; 117; 123 (1933); Kořinek, *Sborník filologický*, 10. 102, n. 1 (1934-5); J. Fraser, *Phryg. Stud.*, 10; Herrmann, *KZ* 50. 308 (1922); Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Linc.*, 1938, 592; for Phrygian, see Hirt, *Die Idg.*, 2, 599, n. to p. 133, g (add there *κακονν, αυρυν*). For Lydian, see Kahle and Sommer, *Kleinas. Forsch.*, 1, 42; Friedrich, *RLV.*, 1, p. 141, 2; Deeters, *PWRE*, s. u. *Lydia*, 2159, 2161; Meriggi, *Festschr. Hirt*, 2, 284 ff. (*civv-Tavšēv* 'den Gott T.', *esvar civar* 'diese Göttin' [Abl. *civad*], *alēv avlāv* 'anderer Teil'). For Luwian, see Sommer, *Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, NF 6. 50 ff., n. 4, 5 (1932) (*adu-walīn*, EME-in = cuneiform Hittite *idalun*, EME-an; *huuīitwalyan*); Forrer, *ZDMG*, NF 1, 222. For cun. Hittite see Sturtevant, *Gramm.*, 136 and A. Braun, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto* 95. 369 (1935-6).

For Baltic, the -n is proved by Old Lith. *mēstan-q, giren-q*, Old Pruss. *Deiwan, nacktin, kan*, etc., cf. Feist, *Wb.*, 281 b.; Hermann, *KZ* 61. 19 f. (1907). However, his assertion: "dasz dieses -n im Vorurbaltischen einmal ein -m warm, lässt sich vom Baltischen aus nicht erkennen" is not correct for Baltic, since Lithuanian has *sam-das* with *m*, which cannot be caused by assimilation (cf. Trautmann, *Altpruss. Sprachd.*, 425). Slav leads us to final -n because of *sūn-* (*sūn-imati*), but not further; -m can be reached only thru comparison with other IE languages (either Skt. *kam*, Lat. *cum*, Osco-Umb. *com-*, OIrish *com-*, Alb. *ke-*, cuneiform Hittite *-kan*, Gr. *κοινός* < **κομυός*, or Skt. *sām*, Lith. *san-*, *sq-*; cf. Walde-Hofmann s. u. *cum*; Meillet, *MSL* 9. 49 ff. [1896]; Trautmann, *Baltisch-Slav. Wb.*, 250; Walde-Pokorny, 2, 490).

-m is older than -n; cf. Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 409; 836 (with bibl.); Hermann, *KZ* 50. 308 (1922); Bonfante, *Mél. Pedersen*, 30, n. 1 (with bibl.); *IF* 55. 131 (1937); Sturtevant, 136; A. Braun, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto* 95. 369 (1935-6); Terracini, *Atene e Roma*, NS 2. 36 ff., 100 ff., 107 (1921); Bartoli, *AGI* 26, 2 f.; 11; 14; 23 f.; 28; 30, 35 and 61 (1938); *Neophilologus* 18. 295; 297 ff. (1932-3); *Atti del III Congresso internazionale dei linguisti*, 165 f.; Götze-Pedersen, *Muršiliš Sprachlähm.*, 83; Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Linc.*, serie 6, vol. 9. 275 f., 338 f. (1940); Sittig, *Gnomon* 14. 481 (1938). Of the five areal norms, three (*area isolata*, *area laterale*, *area sparita* [cf. e. g. *χθων*: *χθαμαλός*, *χαμαλ*, and see Hermann, *KZ* 41. 16 ff. (1907)]) favor the antiquity of -m in relation to -n (the other norms do not apply, and therefore do not oppose).

Meillet, *MSL* 9. 365 ff. (1896) (followed by Gauthiot, *La fin de mot en i.-e.* 158 ff. [1913]) held and Przyłuski (*RHA* 12. 43 ff. [1936]) holds an opposite opinion, which the latter connects with very daring glotto-gonic speculations. Against Meillet see Leumann, *Lat. Gramm.*, 120.

APPENDIX B (= NOTE 76)

The changes **ē* > *i*, **ō* > *u*.

**ē* On the closed pronunciation of *ē* and its frequent interchange with *i* in cuneiform Hittite and in general in the languages of Asia Minor, see Kretschmer, *Klein-*

asiatische Forschungen, 1, 11 (1927-30); Friedrich, *ibid.*, 368, n. 1; *Hethitisch*, 19; Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 205; Sturtevant, *Grammar*, 50 f.; 88 ff. (with material: note the frequent writing of *i* for *e*); 124; 126 (**t* becomes *z* in front of IE **i* and IE **ē*, not of IE **ē*!); *Lang.* 18, 181 ff. (1942); *RHA*, 1, 76 ff. (1930); Sommer, *Abh. Bayer. Ak.*, NF 16, 254 (1938). See also Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, 2, 598, note to p. 133, 2, 1, d; Marstrander, *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidensap* 2. 293 (1929); J. Fraser, *Phrygian Studies*, 7 and for Thracian Lagercrantz *IF* 25. 366 (1909).

It is impossible, it seems to us, at least for the moment, to separate clearly IE **ē* and **ē* in cuneiform Hittite (and perhaps also **i*, **i* and **ē*, **i*; see Sturtevant, 51 f. and A. Braun, *Atti Ist. Ven.*, 95. 382 [1935-6]).

For **ō* > *u* in Phrygian, cf. also Hermann, *KZ* 50. 308 (1922); Meister, *Xenia Nicol.*, 166 ff.; Jokl, *RLV.*, s. u. *Phrygier*, 143; 146, 1; Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Linc.* 6, 4, 6. 593; 595 n. (1933); Schrader-Nehring, *RL.*, s. u. *Armenier*; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, 224 f.; Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, 2, 598 f.; Solmsen, *KZ* 34. 39; 50 ff., 53 ff. (1897); Marstrander, *Norsk tidsskrift* 2. 300 f. (1929); Pokorny, *Berichte* 3. 41; Georgiev, *ibid.*, 64, 104 f. with bibl. (1937); Feist, *Wb.*, s. u. *doms*; Fick, *BB* 14. 51; Cuny, *Rev. ét. anc.* 17, 98 ff. (1915). This same passage is also Thracian (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, 225 ff.; Blumenthal, *IF* 51. 126 [1933]), Illyrian, Macedonian, and Thessalian.

The treatment of IE **ō* in cun. Hittite is very obscure; the examples given by Sturtevant, 94 f.; § 81 are far from carrying conviction: *laman* can have **ō*, like Gothic *namo* and Gr. *δνομα*; in *paszi* (Lat. *pōtus*) and *tati* (Gr. *διδωμι*, Lat. *dōnum*) we may have the reduced grade **ə*, cf. Lat. *dātus*, *dāmus*, *dātur*, Gr. *δορός*, Skt. *dītás*, etc.; *watar* proves nothing (*ar* might be **r*). The other instances are of final position, which is a quite different matter. Milewski, *Rocznik orientalistyczny* 8. 105 f. (1931-2) posits Hittite *u* < IE **ō*, based on *uk* 'I' = IE **ōgh* (cf. OCSlav. *azū*); cf. Ernout-Meillet and Walde-Hofmann, s. u. *ego*.

In *sehur, mehur*, -ur may represent IE **ōr*, cf. Greek *ᾠδ-ωρ* (where **ud-* is of course the root, cf. Lat. *unda*, Skr. *unādmī*, *ud-rās*, *ūt-s-as* etc.).

Perhaps Lycian too has *i* for IE **ē*; at least this is the only way we can understand Lyc. *nī* (prohibitive, perhaps through some crossing with a word of the type of Greek Dor. *μή*, Arm. *mi*) in front of *ne* (merely negative); cf. Deeters, *PWRE*, s. u. *Lykia*, 2289. Anyhow, IE **ē* is surely *e* in Lycian (cf. *esbā*, etc.).

Lydian also has *nī-* (Deeters, *PWRE*, s. u. *Lydia*, 2160), which is probably IE **nē-*, cf. Gr. *νη-*.

APPENDIX C (= NOTE 78)

The change **s* > *h*.

**s* On the epoch of the passage **s* > *h*, cf. Bonfante, *Mélanges Pedersen*, 20 f.; *Dialetti indoeuropei*, 145 ff.; *RIGI* 15. 165 ff. (1931). He was attacked in the same journal (17. 190 ff. [1933]) by Pisani, who, however, ignored the third (and more important) of the passages cited above, where Bonfante used this phenomenon for a theoretical discussion of a general character. For Pisani (*Mem. Acc. Linc.*, serie 6, vol. 4, fasc. 9, 559, 505, 648 [1931-33]; serie 6, vol. 9, fasc. 2. 310 n. 1;

327 f.; 309 .; 313 [1940]; *Atti del III Congresso internazionale dei linguisti*, 374 ff.; *Ricostr.*, 27 ff.) the innovation *s > h (as well as other innovations: *m > n, the prothesis before *r-, the argument, the verbal type $\lambda\mu\pi\rho\alpha\nu\omega$, the prohibitive negation *mē) were realized after 1200, when the "Phrygio-Armenians" invaded Asia Minor; they remained in contact with the Greeks in the West and communicated some of these innovations to the Iranians in the East. We will not criticize here this theory, which (at least so expressed) has weak points; we only want to stress that Pisani agrees anyhow with Bärtoli and with Bonfante on this point: that the innovation s > h is not "einzelsprachlich," but that on the contrary, it was realized in common by the IE languages which possess it. -s- is, of course, older than -h-; cf. Bärtoli, *RFICl* 57. 33 (1929); *AGUIt* 25. 2; 8; 18 ff.; 25 (1931-3); 26. 4; 14; 19 (1934); *Studi baltici* 3. 2 ff. (1933); *Studi albanesi* 2. 11; 44 (1932); *Neophilologus* 18. 293 ff.; 298 (1932-33). Four areal norms contribute to prove it (*area isolata* [the West and particularly Latin], *area laterali*, *area maggiore*, *fase sparita* [e.g., $\xi\chi\omega$: $\xi\chi\omega$]). The case of *mē with relation to *nē is partly the same (cf. Bärtoli, *RFICl* 57. 340 ff. [1929]; *Mélanges Belicé* [1937], 198; *AGUIt* 25. 14 [1931-13]; *Studi albanesi* 2. 10 f. [1932]; *Neophilologus* 18. 297 f. [1932-3]; Schrijnen, *Collectanea Schrijnen*, 87) but not quite, since Pisani and others seem to forget that *mē exists in Tocharian (cf. Pokorný, *Berichte*, 3. 43 f. [1923]). Luwian has *nīs* (Sommer, *Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, NF 16. 85 [1938]).

Cun. Hitt. *le* is mysterious; see for the moment Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Linc.*, serie 6, vol. 9, fasc. 2. 356 n. 1 (1940); Benveniste, *BSL* 39, c.-r., 26 f. (1938). One is tempted to compare the case of *laman*: Lat. *nōmēn* etc.

For intervocalic *s > h in Lycian (but not in the Milyan dialect!) cf. Meriggi, *Rendic. Acc. Lincei*, serie 6, vol. 4, fasc. 7-10, 414 ff. (= 5 ff.) (Rome, 1929); *Festschrift Hirt*, 2, 260; Deeters, *PWRE*, s. u. *Lykia*, 2287, 2289, VI; Brandenstein, *PWRE*, Supplementband 6, 179; Pedersen, *Archiv Orientalní* 5. 181 (1933); Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 27, 260 (1939). Initial s- is preserved in Lycian: *setteri* '7.'

For *s > h in Phrygian, see also Hermann, *KZ* 50. 308 (1922); Meister, *Xenia Nicolaitana*, 166 f. For Albanian see Pisani, *AGUIt* 27. 170 f. (1935). What Pisani says about Macedonian in *Revue internat. des études balkaniques*, 3. 25 f. (1937-8) is very doubtful.

APPENDIX D (= NOTE 80)

The middle -r endings.

⁸⁰ We want to stress particularly what Petersen says in *Lang.* 12. 160 (1936): "The evidence for the former [= the so-called primary endings of the medio-passive] is confined to the complete paradigms of the Aryan and the three (or four) forms with final -ai in Greek." We cannot approve, however, of all the conclusions of Petersen's valuable article; among other things, he forgets all the Phrygian facts (on which see now Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 107 ff.; *Tochar.*, 153) and neglects completely the indications of areal linguistics.

The absence of the endings *(m)ai *-sai *-tai in Armenian is no serious obstacle for the assumption of a continuous area; Armenian is known at a very late date and anyhow, according to almost all scholars, it repre-

sents only the later stage of evolution of Phrygian, which possesses this type of ending.

Cf. also Schrijnen, *Collectanea Schrijnen*, 83. We can not accept the complicated constructions of B. Schwartz, *Archiv Orientalní* 10. 67 ff. (1938) (cf. also *Lang.* 13. 268 [1937]): all the theory, as far as cuneiform Hittite is concerned, is based on the only form *lukate* (usually *lukati* or *lukata*), which is not a verbal form; cf. *ibid.*, p. 72; Sturtevant, 51; 99 f.; 263 f. (it is probably an ancient locative). It is also worth noticing that the *-r endings (outside of the 3d plural perfect) and the *(m)ai, *-sai, *-tai, *-ntai endings seem to avoid each other, as Pedersen, *Hittitisch* 10 f. (also *Tocharisch*, 153 ff.) correctly points out (Celtic, Latin, Osco-Umbrian, Venetic, Tocharian, cuneiform Hittite, Luwian, perhaps Armenian, are on one side; Greek, Iranian, Indo-Aryan, on the other). This seems to indicate that the one has replaced the other. The only language which has both types is Phrygian: *aðð[a]kerop*, *αββερετορ* etc.: *aððakeretai*, *ðakera*[i], *aðð[a]kere*, *αββερεται*; cf. *Mon. Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, 4, 6; *JHS* 31. 209 (1911); Kerns and Schwartz, *Lang.* 13. 268 (1937); Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 108; J. Friedrich, *Kleinasi. Sprachd.*; Meillet, *BSL* 24. 193 ff. (1924). This fact has induced J. Fraser, *Phrygian Studies* (*Transact. Camb. Philol. Soc.*, 6. 2. 12, n. 4; 18 [1913]) and (although hesitatingly) Pedersen (*Hittitisch*, 108; *Tocharisch*, 153) to doubt the authenticity of Phrygian -rai; but this is perhaps going too far.

We cannot agree either with Pedersen, *Tocharisch*, 153, that the *-r endings were not medio-passive; at least for the last "IE" (not "Proto-IE") period, they were obviously mediopassive or medial; the corresponding active endings were *-m (or *-ō), *-s(i), *-ti, *-mos, *-te, *-nti). There was still no distinction between present and past, as he claims there was, except in the "South-eastern" area (where only the augment characterised it). Cf. also Petersen, *Lang.* 9. 30 (1933); Claffin, *Lang.* 15. 158 (1939); Schrijnen, *Collectanea Schrijnen*, 83 ff.; 87; 93 ff., and Pedersen himself, *Group.*, 18; 34 ff.; 44.

In favor of the antiquity of the -r endings (particularly as compared to the *(m)ai, *-sai, *-tai, *-ntai endings of Greek, Phrygian, Iranian and Indo-Aryan) we also invoke the norms of the *area isolata* (Latin) and of the *aire brisée* of Dauzat and Pisani (the -r endings are found in several geographically non-contiguous languages, which is not the case for the *(m)ai, *-sai, *-tai, *-ntai type). We cannot agree therefore with Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 105 ff. But Odé, *De uitgangen met R*, Haarlem (1924), 57 ff.; Terracini *Atene e Roma*, NS 2. 108 ff. (1921); *RFICl* 49. 403 (1921) and Meillet, *BSL* 32. 3 ff. (1931) also think that the -r endings are a very old IE characteristic (older than the *-ai type). Petersen, *Lang.*, 12. 171 (1936) admits at least that the *-tai type was very late, and so do Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 667, II and Pisani in a very important article in *KZ* 60. 212 ff. (1932-3) (esp. 220 ff.).

Bonfante admits he was wrong in *RBPPh* 18. 386 (1939) in following blindly Sturtevant in his interpretation of *lukati* or *lukate*, as Dr. Gelb kindly remarked to him; moreover, he neglected the good remarks of Petersen, *Lang.* 12. 170 (1936). The ending -ti, which Sturtevant (*Lang.* 7. 246 f. [1931]; *Comp. Gramm.*, 51;

100; 263 f.) derives from IE. *-tai (Gr. -rai, Skt. -te) cannot have a diphthong IE. *-ai, because all diphthongs of this kind (*ai, *ei, *oi, *ai, *ei, *oi) gave *e* in Hittite, not *i*, according to Sturtevant himself (*Grammar*, 99 ff.). See also Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 667 n. 4.

For Luwian and Armenian see also Appendix F (= Note 84).

On the -r endings in general see also Vendryes, *Revue celtique* 42. 387; 421 ff. (1925); Leumann, *Lat. Gramm.*, 306 f.; Von Kienle, *WuS* 17. 118 ff. (1936); Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Linc.*, 6, 4, 6, 567 ff. (1933); Pokorny, *Ber.* 3. 33 ff.; Meillet, *MSL* 18. 13 (1913); Ed. Hermann, *GGA* 180. 344 ff. (1918); A. Meillet, *BSL* 24. 191 ff. (1924); Myles Dillon, *AJPh* 65. 124 ff. (1944).

Pedersen, *Group.*, 19; 35; 52 is quite obscure to us.

APPENDIX E (= NOTE 81)

The vocalic prosthesis.

⁸¹ On Thracian *eneā*, *ēna* = *ἐνέα* (in 'Ἀνά-ῥαίμος = *ἐνέα ὀδοί*) cf. Brandenstein, *PWRE*, s. u. *Thrake, Sprache*, 412; Jokl, *RLV*, s. u. *Thraker*, 285, 1; 287, 2; Blumenthal, *IF* 51. 115; 121; 127 f. (1933); Kofinec, *Sborník filologický* 10. 90 (1934-5); Mayer, *KZ* 66. 112 f. (1939) (Illyrian *eneā, *Enena*, *Enna*, *Ennius*). The Phrygian form of this numeral is unknown. Cf. also Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 591; 840. But Albanian has *n-: nende*.

The vocalic prosthesis before *n-* existed perhaps in Lydian (if Thurneysen *KZ* 50. 37 [1922] correctly identifies *hānmūnū* with *δνομα*), in Macedonian (Hoffmann, *Die Maked.*, 51 f.), and in Phrygian (where *ονομα*, however, could be due to Greek influence); cf. also Armenian *anun*, Alb. *emen* as opposed to Av. *nāma*, Skt. *nāma* on one side and Lat. *nōmen*, Umbrian *nome* on the other (lateral areas), Goth. *namo*, Toch. A *ñom*, B *ñem*. But Baltic, Slav, and Old Irish, which know no vocalic prosthesis, also have form with an initial vowel in this particular word (although it can perhaps be explained otherwise: see Ernout-Meillet, s. u. *nōmen*). Cf. Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.*, 411 ff.; 836 with bibl.; Feist, *Wb.*, s. u. *namo*; Hart, *KZ* 63. 17 ff. (1936); Bártoli, *AGUt* 25. 9 ff. (1931-3); 26. 5; 14 (1934); 29. 56 (1937); 30. 61 (1932); *Mélanges Belic* (1937), 199. Pisani, *Mem. Acc. Lincei*, serie 6, vol. 9, fasc. 2. 327 (1940); Bonfante, *Mélanges Pedersen*, 18. Meillet, *BSL* 27. 133 (1926) also admits as a matter of course that the Greco-Armenian prosthesis is an innovation.

Macedonian had prosthesis, as seems to be shown by *ἀβροῦρες* *ὀβρῦς* (or *ἀβρορες* *ὀβρῦς*), see O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, 51; cf. Old Irish *brudd*, Engl. *brow*, Lat. *frōns* (?) and Skt. *bhrūs*, Avest. *brvat*, Persian *bru* (lateral areas), cf. Boisacq s. u. *ὀβρῦς*; Walde-Pokorny, 2, 207; Bártoli, *RFICl* 57. 340 (1929) (perhaps also by the adesop gloss of Hesychius *ἀμῖται* *ὀβρῖσαι*, cf. Gr. *ὀμυχεῖν* with *o* and Lat. *mingō*, Skt. *mehas* 'urin' etc., lateral areas).

Avestan too has a sort of prosthesis, although different (as it seems) from the Greco-Armenian one; cf. Harl, *KZ* 63. 19 (1936).

Thracian has *aviap-* according to Brandenstein, *PWRE*, s. u. *Thrake* (Sprache), 412; Jokl, *RLV*, s. u. *Thraker*, 285, and also *rep* in the ring-inscription of Ezerovo, according to Blumenthal, *IF* 51. 216 (1936) (the latter is, however, far from sure; cf. also Kofinec, *Sborník filo-*

logický 10. 92 [1934-5]). Thracian seems, therefore, to be also a "central" language.

We may also remark in this connection that the word *ἀνῖπ* itself (meaning 'man,' 'warrior,' 'hero') is a central innovation (it appears in Oscan, Umbrian, Celtic, Albanian, Greek, Thracian, Phrygian, Luwian, cuneiform Hittite [?], Armenian, Iranian, Indo-Aryan) and has replaced an ancient type *uir* (Latin, Umbrian, Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, Tocharian [?], Iranian, Indo-Aryan). The antiquity of the type *uir* has in its favor: a) The norm of the *area isolata* (Latin); b) the norm of the *area laterali*. Cf. Bonfante, *Studi baltici* 5. 36 (1935-6); *Emerita* 2. 279 (1934); Bártoli, *AGUt* 25. 16 (1931-3); 26. 9 (1934); *RFICl* 57. 337 (1920); Ernout-Meillet, *Dict.*, s. u. *Nero*.

Of the five norms of areal linguistics, three (*area isolata*, *area laterali*, *area maggiore*) indicate the antiquity of the non-prosthetic IE forms.

We cannot consider, of course, Austin's article in *Lang.* 17. 83 ff. (1941), since it is based on the laryngeal theory, of which we do not approve (nor does Meillet, *BSL*, 35 (1934), c.-r., p. 29 nor Bártoli, *AGUt* 29. 68 f. [1937]). See also Bonfante, *Classical Weekly* 35. 151 (1941-2); *Classical Philology* 39. 51 ff. (1944).

Luwian has perhaps the prosthesis in *anar* 'man,' 'uir,' which appears perhaps in *Anar-umi-emai*, 'name of a class of gods' (= cuneiform Hittite *Inara(u)-wantas*), *anar-uma-biti* (twice) 'Manneskraft' (= cuneiform Hittite *inaraucatar*, cf. Forrer, *ZDMG* 76. 216 ff.; 222 f. [1922]), which Kretschmer, *KZ* 55. 79 (1927-8); *Kleinasiat. Forsch.* 1. 301 ff., 307 ff. (1927-30) identifies with Gr. *ἀνῖπ* (*ἡνῖπῆν*), Phrygian *avap*, Thracian *aviap*, Arm. *ayr*, gen. dat. *arē* (<**anros*, **anri*), Alb. *ñer*, Oscan *nīr*, Umbrian *nerf*, Latin *Nerō*, *Neriō*, *neriōsus* (all of Sabine origin), Irish *nert*, Welsh *nerth*, 'virilité,' Avestan *nar-*, Skt. *nār-*. Cf. also Bártoli, *AGUt* 26. 9 and 14 (1934); Sturtevant, *RHA* 1. 87 f. (1930-2).

Cuneiform Hittite *inar-* (in the above words and elsewhere), *Inar* or *Inaras* 'name of a god' etc. is the same word as *avῖp* etc. according to Sturtevant, to Kretschmer *KZ* 55. 78 f. (1927), to Brandenstein, *PWRE*, Suppl. 6, s. u. *Kleinasiatische Ursprachen*, 176 and to A. Braun, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto* 95. 387 (1935-6) (from there comes the Sanskrit name of the god *Indra*). Cuneiform Hittite would then also show a prosthetic vowel, although a different one (this case would then resemble that of Gr. *ἐμῆ*, cuneiform Hittite *amuk*, etc.). But it seems to us that Brandenstein is quite right in saying (*Festschr. Hirt*, 2, 36) that the difference in the vowel between cuneiform Hittite and Luwian is 'störend.'

APPENDIX F (= NOTE 84)

The ending H. H. -t(e)ra (3d plural).

⁸⁴ The ending H. H. -t(e)ra is probably to be divided into **nte* (**nto*?) + **ra* (**ro*?) (with **nte*, cf. the ending -te of the 3d sing.). We could, of course, compare Lat. *feruntur*, *ferantur*, *ferēbantur*, Toch. B *tmaskentṛ*, *evkaskentṛ*, A *trānkāntṛ*, *māskāntṛ*, *ārtāntṛ*, *kāmantrā*, *tsnāntṛ*, *kālpintār*, cuneiform Hittite *yantari*, *esantari*, *arantari*; *yantaru*, *arantaru*, *paḥsantaru*, Luwian *wasantari*, but none of all these forms is a

preterit (perfect or aorist). Only the Old Irish forms like *-leblangtar* can have a similar ending. Cf. Brugmann, *Grundr.*², 2, 3. 657 ff., 662 ff.; Thurneysen, *Hb. des Altir.*, 401, § 698; Sturtevant, 260 ff., 290 f.; Schulze-Sieg-Siegling, *Tochar. Gramm.*, 350 ff., 369 ff.; Lévi and Meillet, *MSL* 18. 10 ff. (1913).

In Indo-Aryan we find exactly the opposite crasis: instead of **-nto-ra* (ro?), we have **-ra-nto: avavrtranta* (Brugmann, *loc. cit.* 661 f.).

Other present *-r-* forms in Luwian are perhaps *aiyaru*, *ayari*, *aztuwari*, *haltitari*; Sommer, *Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, *NF* 6. 50 (1932); *ibidem*, 16. 85 (1938); Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 121; 129; 197; Friedrich, *ZAssyr.*, *NF* 8. 197 (1934) (with bibl.). The 2d plur. *aztuwari* may be compared directly with Avestan *-duye*, Skt. *-dhve*, *-dhvam*, Gr. *-(σ)θε*; see Brugmann, *Grundr.*², 2, 3, 651 f., and cf. cuneiform Hittite *-tumari*, Sturtevant, 290 (interchange *w: m?*; cf. on this point Hrozný, *Inscr.*, 250, n. 3 for hieroglyphic Hittite). See also Lohmann, *IF* 54. 293 (1936) and Kerns and Schwartz, *Lang.* 13. 273 (1937).

Armenian has some *-r-* endings (Pokorny, *Berichte* 3. 48 f. (1923); Lévi and Meillet, *MSL* 18. 10; 13 [1913]; Meillet, *BSL* 24. 194 [1924]; *Esq.*², 125 ff.; Hermann, *Silbenbildung*, 330, n. 1; Schrijnen, *Collectanea Schrijnen*, 76), but none in the 3d plural. However, Pedersen, *Hittitisch*, 105 ff., denies even these. Cf. also Pedersen, *Groupem.*, 50 ff.

APPENDIX G (= NOTE 86)

The hieroglyphic Hittite ablative singular in *-ta*.

⁸⁶ The ablative-instrumental singular masculine-feminine ends in *-ta*, ex. *wašanasata*, abl. of *wašanasas*; cf. Gelb, *HH* 3. 43 ff.; 67. This ending obviously contains the **-t* characteristic of the IE ablative (Lat. *lupōd*, Skt. *vrkāt*, Av. *vāhrkāt*, Lydian *civad*, *παλμλᾱδ* 'vom König' Meriggi, *Festschr. Hirt*, 2, 285) plus the enclitical postposition *-a* (= IE **ē* or **ě*); the formation is therefore probably identical with the frequent Avestan type *ʷafnāδ-a* from *ʷafna-*, 'sleep,' and with Skt. *pārva-tād ā* 'from the mountain' (cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Gramm.*, 419; Brugmann, *Grundriss*², 2, 2, 167; cf. also Sturtevant, 171). The ending **-t* (or rather **-et* or **-ot*) was originally limited to the **-o*-stems, but later extended to the other classes in Latin, Osco-Umbrian, Avestan, and Lydian (Meriggi). In hieroglyphic Hittite, as in Latin, the ancient ablative seems to have assumed also the function of the instrumental.—In cuneiform Hittite the ablative ends in *-az*, which is probably **-at* plus some sort of particle or ending **-s*; the instrumental has *-t* (Sturtevant, 174). But there is also, with the *-n*-stems in particular, an instrumental ending *-ta*; its existence has been demonstrated by Ehelolf, *IF* 43. 316 ff. (1926) (cf. also Lohmann, *IF* 54. 290 [1936]).

In Lycian too, the ablative, both singular and plural, has a *-d-* element followed by a vowel (sing. *-adi*, *-edi*, plur. *-ade*, *-ede*); cf. Meriggi, *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, Serie 6, vol. 4, fasc. 7^o-10^o, 417 ff. [= 8 ff.], 423 [= 14] (1928); *Festschrift Hirt*, 2, 260 ff.; 264 ff.

NOTES TO THE HARPER-LETTERS

A. LEO OPPENHEIM

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THE PRESENT list contains a selection of corrections, emendations, restorations, etc. to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian letters published by R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (Chicago, 1892-1914). The selection was made from two points of view: not to include material which I have used or intend to use in other articles and books, and to comprise only entries which I consider being of philological interest (lexicography, syntax) or shedding some light on the civilization and the material culture of the Sargonic Period.

Special attention has been given to errors made by the old scribes¹ since the text of the printed

edition of Harper can now be checked by means of the extensive collations made by Leroy Waterman and published in the third volume of his monumental opus "*The Royal Correspondance of the Assyrian Empire*" (quoted RCAE).

6:20 (according to the autograph copy in RCAE III p. 8) "according to th[es]e two lords (*ina pi i ša 2 bēlēmēš š[u(!)-u]-ta*)."

9:9 "the great gods whose names the king, my lord, has mentioned (*is-si₁₁-u-ni*)."

18:rev 6 (according to the autograph copy in RCAE III p. 13) *i-[st]-niš-ma lu-bi-la*; cf. e.g. ABL 391: rev 19.

37: rev 14 *ina mu-kal-lim-ti(!) [šá-t]ir* "it is written in a commentary-text.

38: rev 6-9 "when it (the eclipse) will happen,

¹ The scribal errors in these texts have been carefully listed by L. Waterman in the third volume of RCAE, others are mentioned in the reviews made of this work by Schott (OLZ 1937 p. 293ss) and Christian (WZKM 41, p. 147ss). In my articles in JAOS 61, p. 251ss and JNES I p. 369s I have corrected the following passages:

ABL 80: 18, 205: rev 3, 306: 10, 358: 22, 386: 16, 604: rev 3, 659: rev 3, 1146: rev 4, 1202: 24, 1311: rev 19, and ABL 958: rev 7, 19.



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Author(s): Ralph Marcus and I. J. Gelb

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Jul., 1948), pp. 194-198

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](http://www.jstor.org/stable/542535)

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A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE NEW PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTION FROM CILICIA

RALPH MARCUS AND I. J. GELB

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

IN EASTERN Cilicia, some twenty to thirty kilometers southeast of modern Kadirli, lies a complex of mounds recently explored by Professor Helmuth T. Bossert and his associates at the University of Istanbul. Of the three mounds in question, two—namely, Ayricatepesi and Domuz Tepe—are situated opposite each other on the banks of the Ceyhan River, the Pyramus of classical times, while the third mound—called Karatepe—lies farther south and to the west of the river. It is at Ayricatepesi, not at Karatepe, that the great discoveries were made with which the present article is concerned. The results of the first discoveries and soundings made in this region in the

winter of 1946 and spring of 1947 were described in two preliminary reports.¹ According to personal information from Professor Bossert, the results of his extensive excavations in the autumn of 1947 will be described in the third preliminary report, soon to be published.

The present article is concerned with a preliminary treatment of columns ii and iii of the great Phoenician inscription discovered on a royal statue. The text is that published in *Karatepe*, Volume II, Plates XLII–XLIV, with corrections and restorations supplied by Professor Bossert on the basis of duplicate texts discovered in the autumn of 1947. Columns i and iv (*ibid.*, Pls. XI–XLI) are too badly damaged to furnish a continuous translation.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

COL. II

1	J	WBN	°NK	HMJT	°ZT	BKL	
	...	and I	built	strong fortresses	in	all	
2	QŠJT		°L	GBLM	BMQMM	B°-	
	the far	regions	upon	the frontiers,	in places	where (there)	
3	š	KN	°ŠM	R°M	B°L	°GDDM	
	were	bad	men,	chiefs	of bands,		
4	°š	BL	°š	°BD	KN	LBT	MPš
	where	no	man	was a slave	to	BT MPš;	
5	W°NK		°ZTWD	ŠTNM	THT		
	and I,		°ZTWD,	placed them	under		
6	P°MJ		WBN	°NK	HMJT	B-	
	my feet.		And I built	fortresses in			
7	MQMM		HMT	LŠBTNM	DNNJM		
	those	places	in order that	the Danunians	might dwell		
8	BNHT		LBNM	W°N	°NK		
	in peace	of their mind.	And I humbled				
9	°RŠT		°ZT	BMB°	šMš	°š	BL
	strong	lands	in the west,		which	none	
10	°N	KL		HMLKM	°š	KN	LPNJ
	of the kings	had humbled	who	were	before me.		
11	W°NK		°ZTWD	°NTM	JR-		
	And I,		°ZTWD,	humbled them,	I brought		

¹ H. T. Bossert, H. Çambel, V. Bahadır Alkım. *Karatepe*, Vols. I–II (Istanbul, 1946–1947).

- 12 DM ʔNK JŠBM ʔNK BQŠT
 them down, (and) I settled them in the far regions
 13 GBLJ BMŠʔ ŠMŠ WDNNJ-
 of my frontiers in the east. And the Danunians
 14 M JŠBT [nothing?] ŠM WKN BJM-
 I settled(?) there. And (there) was in my days
 15 TJ BKL GBL ʕMQ ʔDN
 in all the frontiers of the plain of Adana
 (Rest destroyed.)

COL. III

- 1 LMMŠʔ ŠMŠ WʕD MBʔJ WBMQMM
 from the east to the west, and in places
 2 ʔŠ KN LPNM NŠTʕM ʔŠ JŠTʕ ʔD-
 which before were feared, where a man fears
 3 M LLKT DRK WBJMTJ ʔNK ʔŠT TK<L>
 to go on the way. And in my days I gave(?) confidence(?)
 4 LḤDJ DL PLKM BʕBR BʕL WBʕBR
 for the rejoicing(?) of the poor(?) of the districts on account of Baʕal and on account of
 5 ʔLM WKN BKL JMTJ ŠBʕ WMNʕM
 the god. And (there) were in all my days abundance, and goodness,
 6 WŠBT NʕMT WNḤT LB LDNNJM
 and good living, and peace of mind to the Danunians
 7 WLKL ʕMQ ʔDN WBN ʔNK HQT Z
 and to all the plain of Adana. And I built this town
 8 WŠM ʔZTWDJ KBʕL WRŠP ŠPRM
 and the name of ʔZTWDJ. As Baʕal and Resheph-of-the-Wings
 9 ŠLḤN LBNT WBNJ ʔNK BʕBR B-
 commissioned me to build, so I built it for Baʕal
 10 ʕL WBʕBR RŠP ŠPRM BŠBʕ WBMN-
 and for Resheph-of-the-Wings in abundance, and in goodness,
 11 ʕM WBŠBT NʕMT WBNḤT LB LKNJ
 and in good living, and in peace of mind, that it (the town) might be
 12 MŠMR LʕMQ ʔDN WLBT MPŠ KBJMT-
 an outpost for the plain of Adana and for BT MPŠ. As in my days
 13 J KN LʔRŠ ʕMQ ʔDN ŠBʕ WMNʕM WBL KN
 (there) was to the land of the plain of Adana abundance and goodness, so there was no
 14 MTMLL BJMTJ LDNNJM WBN ʔNK H-
 injured(?) (person) in my days among the Danunians. And I built this
 15 QRT Z WŠT ʔNK ŠM ʔZTWDJ WJŠB
 town, and I placed (there) the name of ʔZTWDJ, and I caused to dwell (there)
 16 ʔNK HʔLM Z BʕL KRNTRJŠ WBRK
 this god, Baʕal KRNTRJŠ. And
 17 BʕL KRNTRJŠ ʔJT ʔZTWD BḤ-
 Baʕal KRNTRJŠ blessed ʔZTWD with life,
 18 JM WBŠLM WBʕZ ʔDR ʕL KL MLK
 and with well-being, and with mighty strength above every king
 19 LTTJ BʕL KRNTRJŠ LʔZTWD
 in that he, Baʕal KRNTRJŠ, gave to ʔZTWD
 20 ʔRK JMM WRB ŠNT WDŠʔT NʕMT
 length of days, and multitude of years, and richness of goodness
 (Rest destroyed.)

COMMENTARY

ii:1. ḤMJT may be rendered either as "fortresses" from the root ḤMJ , meaning "to protect," as in South Arabic ḥmj , for which compare K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica meridionalis epigraphica* (Roma, 1931), p. 149, or "look-outs" from the root ḥmj , "to see," as in Aramaic (especially Galilean). Because of the context in lines 6-7, the former meaning seems preferable.

ii:3. For ṣṢM as plural of ṣṢ , "man," see Zellig S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven, 1936), p. 79.

B^{L} is to be taken as the construct state of the masculine plural, for which compare the writing of GBL in line 15. As a parallel to the expression $\text{B}^{\text{L}} \text{ḠDDM}$, compare $\text{ba}^{\text{alē}} \text{gôjîm}$, "lords of the nations" (Isa. 16:8).

ḠDDM is probably to be connected with Hebrew $\text{g}^{\text{dūd}}$ and/or Hebrew ḡuddāh , both meaning "band," "troop," the former having the special connotation of "robber band."

ii:4. One might read ḤBR instead of ḤBD , and render "where no man was crossing to BT MPṢ ," implying that the road to BT MPṢ was impassable because of roaming bandits.

ii:8. In spite of the seeming lacuna indicated in Bossert's copy, there is no break in sense between BNḤT and LBNM . For a similar instance of a seeming but perhaps not actual lacuna, see line 14 below. The expression NḤT LB , "peace of mind," occurs also in iii:6 and 11.

ii:14. On the apparent but perhaps not actual break between JṢ and BT , see note on line 8 above.

iii:1. For a parallel to the construction $\text{LM} \dots \text{Ḍ}$, "from . . . to," in $\text{LMMS}^{\text{Ḍ}} \dots \text{W}^{\text{Ḍ}} \text{MB}^{\text{ḌJ}}$, see e.g. Mic. 7:12.

iii:3-4. The sentence $\text{WBJMTJ ṢNK ṢṢT TK LḤDJ DL PLKM}$ is the crux of the inscrip-

tion. The translation here chosen by us, "and in my days I gave(?) confidence(?) for the rejoicing(?) of the poor(?) of the districts," is only one of half a dozen which we took under consideration. Other possible interpretations are: ṢṢT could be taken from the root ṢWṢ , ṢṢṢ , "to be strong," in pi^{el} "to strengthen," instead of from ṢWṢ , "to present," "to give," as chiefly in North and South Arabic. TK could be interpreted either as TK^{L} , "confidence," or TK , "oppression," from the root TWK , TKK , or it might stand for a still different word. Instead of LḤDJ , "to rejoice," the interpretation in the sense of Arabic ḥudūd , "limits," "boundaries," should be considered. Furthermore, the reading LḤRJ , "to burn (it)," may also be possible. In the phrase DL PLKM , the word DL can mean "poor" or "lacking in," or even "sign," "marker," as does Arabic dalīl . It may be left to further investigation to determine whether there is any connection between DL PLKM and a passage in Macrobius *Saturnalia* v. 19. 15-31 on a Sicilian cult near Eryx where there were two oracular pools, "quos incolae crateras vocant et nomine Dellos appellant, fratresque eos Palicorum aestimant." See Isidore Levy, "Les dieux siliens," *Revue archéologique*, Troisième Série, XXXIX (1899), 256-81. The alternative translation which we may suggest for this difficult sentence is: "and in my days I strengthened(?) oppression(?) against the burners(?) of the road markers(?) of the districts."

iii:5. ṢLM does not stand for the plural "gods," but for the personal god of ṢZTWḌ . Compare the construction $\text{H}^{\text{ṢLM}} \text{Z}$ in line 16.

ṢB^{c} = Hebrew sōba^{c} . On the transliteration, see below.

iii:8. Observe that wṢM ṢZTWḌJ in this line corresponds to wṢT ṢNK ṢM ṢZTWḌJ , "and I placed the name of ṢZTWḌ ," in

line 5 of the parallel inscription on the lion published in *Karatepe*, Volume II, Plate XLV. In both iii:8 and iii:15 ʔTWḎJ seems to stand for the city of ʔTWḎ.

iii:14. MTMLL is apparently a hithpa^cel participle of the root MLL, "to cut," here perhaps used figuratively in the sense of "injured."

LINGUISTIC, EPIGRAPHIC, AND HISTORICAL EVALUATION

The language of the inscription is the purest known Phoenician, not "Old Aramaic," as first proposed in *Karatepe*, I, 13 ff., and not exactly "Canaanite dialect, very similar to Phoenician," as expressed in *Karatepe*, II, 27. In contrast to the Phoenician inscriptions from Zencirli, no Aramaic influence has so far been detected in our inscription.

Linguistically the following points of interest may be noted:

The following tenses are used: The perfect, occurring normally with the subject preceding the verb, as in w^cNK ʔTWḎ ŠTNM, "and I, ʔTWḎ, placed them" (ii:5); w^cNK ʔTWḎ ʕNTM, "and I, ʔTWḎ, humbled them" (ii:11); ŠLḤN, "(the gods) sent me" (iii:9). The present tense is evidenced, for example, in JŠT^c, "he fears" (iii:2). Such forms as WBN ʔNK, "and I built" (ii:1 and *passim*) could possibly be explained as historical present, expressed by the participle followed by the subject. However, the interpretation as participle does not fit in the case of w^cN ʔNK, "and I humbled" (ii:8), where pi^cel is expected, nor in such cases as JRDM ʔNK JŠBM ʔNK, "I brought them down, I settled them" (ii:11-12), which are clearly in jif^cil.

The causative is regularly expressed by the jif^cil, as in JRDM, JŠBM, "I brought them down, I settled them" (ii:11-12, etc.).

The plural of the masculine noun ends regularly in M, as in GBLM, "frontiers"

(ii:2); MQMM, "places" (ii:2); ʔŠM R^cM, "bad men" (ii:3); etc.

The definite article H is used rarely and irregularly, as in HMLKM, "the kings" (ii:10); HQRT Z, "this town" (iii:7 and 14-15); H³LM Z, "this god" (iii:16).

The possessive pronominal suffix of the first person singular is J, as in P^cMJ, "my feet" (ii:6); LPNJ, "before me" (ii:10); GBLJ, "my frontiers" (ii:13); BJMTJ, "in my days" (ii:14-15 and *passim*). The same letter serves also for the third person singular in MB³J, "its setting" (iii:1); WBNJ, "and I built it" (iii:9); LKNJ, "for its being" (iii:11). The objective pronominal suffix of the first person singular is N, as in ŠLḤN, "they sent me" (iii:9). The third person plural is expressed either by NM, as in ŠTNM, "I placed them" (ii:5); LŠBTNM, "for their dwelling" (ii:7); LBNM, "their heart" (ii:8); or by M alone, as in ʕNTM, "I humbled them" (ii:11); JRDM, "I brought them down" (ii:11-12); JŠBM, "I settled them" (ii:12).

From the epigraphic point of view the forms of the signs of our inscription closely resemble those of the well-known inscriptions from Zencirli. It would seem premature at the present time to offer any speculations as to the exact chronological relationship between the two groups of inscriptions. However, it may not be without interest to note that the signs K and M of our inscription are more developed, and therefore younger, than the corresponding signs in the older Zencirli texts. The sign Q corresponds in form to the q of the older Zencirli inscriptions, in contrast to a more developed q in the later texts from Zencirli. Our inscription can thus be dated roughly to about 800 B.C.

Scriptio plena is evidenced in the spelling of QŠJT (ii:2) as against QŠT (ii:12), and perhaps of ʔTWḎJ (iii:8 and 15) as against ʔTWḎ (ii:5, etc.).

The sign here transliterated as š corre-

sponds normally to the Hebrew *shin*, but also to *šin* in šB^c, "abundance" (iii:5, etc.). It probably stands for a simple *s* in the spelling of B^cL KRNTRJŠ (iii:16, etc.), where the ending JŠ may express the normal Indo-European gentile formation *ios* or *ias*. With due caution it may be suggested that the remaining KRNTR corresponds to the classical Kelenderis, the name of a city situated on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea in Cilicia Tracheia. The change of the first *r* to *l* could easily be due to dissimilation because of the second *r*.

For the historical evaluation of the inscription, the following facts may be observed:

The author of the inscription is a man called ʔZTWD (or ʔZTWDJ), whose name was interpreted as Asitawandas by Bossert,² presumably on the basis of parallel hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions, hitherto unpublished.

According to *Karatepe*, II, 27, ʔZTWD is said to be "the king of Danuna," on the basis of column i:1 ff. Even though it is not yet clear whether the title MLK DNNJM in i:3 refers to the ʔZTWD mentioned in

line 1, the context in ii:7 makes it very natural to take the DNNJM to be the subjects of ʔZTWD. As noted by Bossert, *Karatepe*, II, 27–28, the DNNJM were mentioned in one of the Zencirli inscriptions as the enemies of Kilamuwa.

As to other geographic names, ʕMQ ʔDN (ii:15; iii:7 and 12) and ʔRŠ ʕMQ ʔDN (iii:13) refer clearly to the plain of Adana, situated on the banks of the Saros in the fertile region of Cilicia Pedias. BT MPŠ (ii:4 and iii:12) means "the house of MPŠ," and it evidently corresponds to the classical Mopsuestia, modern Misis, situated on the Ceyhan River.

[Since the above article was sent to press two articles dealing with our inscription have appeared: J. Friedrich, "Eine althöhenische Inschrift aus Kilikien," in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XXIV (1948), 76–79; and C. H. Gordon, "Phoenician Inscriptions from Karatepe," in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XXXIX (1948), 41–50. From the former we accept the interpretation "to fear" instead of our "to be confused," "to look for help," for the words NŠT^cM and JŠT^c in iii:2; from the latter article we accept the interpretation of ŠLHN LBNT in iii:9 as "they sent me to build" in preference to our "an altar of incense." For the rest we stand by our former interpretations.]

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² In *Archaeological Newsletter*, No. 8 (February 27, 1948), p. 59.



The Phoenician Stele Inscription from Cilicia

Author(s): Ralph Marcus and I. J. Gelb

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Apr., 1949), pp. 116-120

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](http://www.press.uchicago.edu)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/542145>

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THE PHOENICIAN STELE INSCRIPTION FROM CILICIA

RALPH MARCUS AND I. J. GELB

[In view of the importance of the subject and of the difference in background and point of view of Professors Gordon and Marcus and Gelb, the Editor finds it unnecessary to justify his decision to publish two translations of the Phoenician stela inscription from Ayrıcatepesi in the same issue of the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. The two articles (see pp. 108–15 and 116–20) are completely independent of each other, and the Editor alone has seen the manuscripts of both before publication. He believes that their similarities and differences will prove informative and stimulating to every interested reader.]

IN DECEMBER 1948 we received from Professor Helmuth Bossert the facsimile of a hand-drawing of a long Phoenician inscription (sixty-five lines in all) on the basalt stele of ʔTWḌ, found at Ayrıcatepesi near Karatepe in Cilicia. When in January of this year we submitted to the Editor of this *Journal* a transliteration and translation of the inscription together with a brief historical and philological commentary,¹ he informed us that he had just received from Professor Cyrus Gordon a paper dealing with the same inscription. Although we have not seen Professor Gordon's paper, we have assumed that his transliteration of the text, which presents no unusual graphic difficulties, is identical with ours, and, therefore, in order to save space we have eliminated our transliteration.

The Phoenician stele inscription corresponds to what Bossert calls the "dritte Fassung."² It is a variant version of the statue inscription (called "erste Fassung" by Bossert), with which we dealt previously,³ and of the lion inscription (called "zweite Fassung" by Bossert).

¹ I. J. Gelb will deal with the Hittite hieroglyph text paralleling the Phoenician stele inscription in a paper to be read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society to be held in New Haven in April of this year.

² H. Th. Bossert, "Die phönizisch-hethitischen Bilinguen vom Karatepe," *Türk Tarih Kurumu Bülleten*, XII (1948), 517–31.

Without going into details, we may comment on the probable date of the ʔTWḌ inscriptions. In our article on the ʔTWḌ statue inscription we suggested a date *ca.* 800 B.C. on the basis of epigraphic criteria. We are now inclined to lower this date to *ca.* 740 B.C. on the tentative assumption that ʔWRK, referred to as king of the Danunians, who made ʔTWḌ great (i:2), is the same person as Urik or Urikki or Urriak, king of Que, mentioned in the annals of the third year of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.).⁴ If this assumption is correct,⁵ we shall have to reject the dating to the end of the seventh century proposed by Alt.

It also seems clear that ʔTWḌ was a hereditary ruler, since he says in i:11, "And I sat on the throne (KS³) of my father." That he was a son of ʔWRK, king of the Danunians, as assumed by Bossert,⁶ seems doubtful in view of the fact that he does not say so explicitly, as we might otherwise expect on the basis of

³ Ralph Marcus and I. J. Gelb, "A Preliminary Study of the New Phoenician Inscription from Cilicia," *JNES*, VII (1948), 194–98.

⁴ D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1926), Vol. I, §§ 769, 772, and 801.

⁵ The assumption is made also by Bossert, *loc. cit.*, and by Albrecht Alt, "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung der neuen phönizischen Inschriften aus Kilikien," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XXIV (1948), 121–24.

⁶ See n. 2.

ancient Semitic inscriptions, in which royal descent is almost always mentioned. Nor do we see any cogent reason for accepting Bossert's assumption that ʔZTWD was an immediate successor of ʔWRK, since ʔZTWD may well have been a contemporary vassal or official of the Danunian king.

TRANSLATION

COLUMN I

1 I, ʔZTWD, blessed by Baʿal, servant
 2 of Baʿal, whom ʔWRK, king of the Danunians, made great—
 3 Baʿal made me a father and mother to the Danunians. I gave life to
 4 the Danunians. I widened the land of the Plain of Adana from the East
 5 to the West. And there was in my days all good to the Danunians,
 6 and abundance and goodness. And I filled the buildings of PʿR, and I
 7 added horse to horse and shield to shield and armies to
 8 armies because of Baʿal and the god. And I broke rebels
 9 and I crushed all evil which was in the land. And I erected
 10 my house of lordship in goodness. And I did good to the root of my lordship.
 11 And I sat on the throne of my father. And I made peace with
 12 every king. And also every king held me in esteem for my righteousness and
 13 for my wisdom and for my goodness of heart. And I built strong
 14 fortresses in all the far regions upon the borders, in places where there were
 15 bad men, chiefs of bands, where no man was a slave
 16 to BT MPŠ; and I, ʔZTWD, placed them under my feet.
 17 And I built fortresses in those places in order that the Danunians might dwell
 18 in peace of their mind. And I humbled mighty lands in the
 19 West, which none of the kings had humbled who were before me. And
 20 I, ʔZTWD, humbled them, I brought them down, (and) I settled them
 21 in the far regions of my frontiers in the East. And the Danunians

COLUMN II

1 I settled there. And they were in my days in all
 2 the frontiers of the Plain of Adana from the East
 3 to the West, and in the places which
 4 formerly were feared, where a man feared to go
 5 on the way. And in my days I weakened oppression for the rejoicing
 6 of the poor of the districts because of Baʿal and the god.
 7 And there were in all my days abundance and goodness and good
 8 living and peace of mind to the Danunians and to all the Plain
 9 of Adana. And I built this town and I gave it
 10 the name of ʔZTWDJ. As Baʿal and Resheph-
 11 of-the-Wings commissioned me to build, so I built it
 12 because of Baʿal and because of Resheph-of-the-Wings, in
 13 abundance and in goodness and in good living and in peace
 14 of mind, that it might be an outpost for the Plain of Adana and for
 15 BT MPŠ. As in my days there was to the land of the Plain of
 16 Adana abundance and goodness, so there was no injured (person)
 17 among the Danunians in my days. And I built this town (and) I gave it
 18 the name of ʔZTWDJ (and) I settled in it
 19 Baʿal KRNTRJŠ. And there shall go a sacrifice to all

COLUMN III

- 1 the molten images, a yearly sacrifice of an ox, and at the [time of pl]owing
- 2 1 sheep, and at the time of harvesting 1 sheep. And Ba'al KR[N]TRJŠ blessed
- 3 ʔZTWD with life and well-being
- 4 and mighty strength above every king, in that he, Ba'al KRNTRJŠ,
- 5 and all the gods of the city gave to ʔZTWD length of days and multitude
- 6 of years and good richness and mighty strength above every king.
- 7 And this town was possessed of abundance and wine. And this people,
- 8 which dwells in it, is possessed of cattle and is possessed
- 9 of flocks and is possessed of abundance and wine. And greatly they bear (children)
- 10 and greatly they honor and greatly they serve ʔZTWD
- 11 and BT MPŠ because of Ba'al and the god.
- 12 And if a king among kings or a prince among princes (or) if
- 13 any man, whatever the man's name, shall erase the name of ʔZTWD
- 14 on this gate or shall place (there another) name or else shall covet
- 15 this town or shall remove this gate, which ʔZTWD made,
- 16 or shall do (something) strange to this gate or shall place (another) name on it
- 17 or in covetousness shall remove it or in hate or in wickedness shall remove
- 18 this gate, let Ba'al Shamem and El, creator of earth,

CONTINUATION A (ON BASE OF STELE)

- 1 and Shemesh ʿLM and the whole assembly of divine beings
- 2 erase that kingdom
- 3 and that king and
- 4 (accusative particle)

CONTINUATION B (ON PORTAL-LION)

- 1 that man, whatever the man's name, utterly.
- 2 May the name of ʔZTWD be for ever like the name
- 3 of the sun and moon!

COMMENTARY

i:1 ʔNK, "I." The pronoun is here *casus pendens*, as so often in ancient Semitic inscriptions. See the examples collected by A. Poebel, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing.* . . . (Chicago, 1932).

i:2 ʔŠ ʔDR ʔWRK, "whom ʔWRK made great." ʔŠ is here the relative pronoun, and ʔDR is the perfect of the intensive form of the verb, followed by its subject, ʔWRK.

i:6 ʿQRT, "buildings." This meaning is suggested both by the context and by the obvious connection of the word with Arabic *ʿaqr*, which means, among other things, "habitation," "castle," "estate." Our rendering is confirmed by the cor-

responding Hittite hieroglyphic word, *karūnas*, which means "building" or the like.

i:6 P^R may plausibly be identified with Paḥri (or Paḥra), mentioned as a Cilician royal residence in the annals of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.), as Bossert has already pointed out.⁷ In the recently published Assur texts of this king,⁸ he says, "I shut up the arrogant enemy

⁷ H. Th. Bossert, "Berichte: Karatepe," *Die Welt des Orients*, Heft 3 (August, 1948), p. 251.

⁸ Ernst Michel, "Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III (858-824)," *Die Welt des Orients*, Heft 1 (May-June, 1947), pp. 5-20; Heft 2 (December, 1947), pp. 57-71; Heft 3 (August, 1948), pp. 205-22. The passage referring to the city of Paḥri is iii:6-7, in Michel's edition, Heft 2, p. 58.

Kati in Paḥri, his royal residence" (¹Ka-ti ^{lú}nakru^{MEŠ URU} Pa-aḥ-ri[āl] šarru-ti-šú e-sir-šú. In his note on the passage the editor, Michel, remarks that other references to Paḥri are as yet unknown. From the context of the stele inscription it would seem that it lay in or near the Plain of Adana.

i:8 MLŠM, "rebels," is clearly a participle of the root LŠ cf. Bibl. Heb. *m'lišim*.

i:9 WTDQ ʔNK, "and I crushed." We would explain this verb as derived from the root dqq, with the preformative *t*.

i:10 BT ʔDNJ, "my house of lordship," ... ŠRŠ ʔDNJ, "the root of my lordship." We take the pronominal suffix (*j*) in both occurrences of ʔDNJ to modify the compound rather than the second noun. The two compounds seem to mean "my lordly house" and "my lordly family" rather than "the house of my lord" and "the root of my lord," although the latter renderings are possible.

i:11 ʔT, "with." Our inscription distinguishes the preposition ʔT "with" from the *nota accusativi* ʔT, as noted for Phoenician by Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven, 1936), p. 63.

i:12 BʔBT PʔLN, "held me in esteem." More literally the phrase seems to mean, "made me (i.e., placed me) in desire." The phrase may also be rendered "envied me." Here, apparently we have a new Phoenician idiom.

i:13 WBNʔM LBJ, "and for my goodness of heart." The phrase may of course mean "and for my excellence of mind." One would have to know more of ʔZTWD's personality to decide which is meant here.

ii:5-6 ʔNK ʔŠT TK LʔD/J DL PLKM, "I weakened oppression for the rejoicing of the poor of the districts." In other words, the king claims to have lessened the lawlessness which had previously caused the humble people of the region to live in fear.

Our rendering of the verb ʔŠT in this passage may be justified by comparing it with Arabic ʔjs, meaning, among other things, "to do violence," "to soften," "to weaken"; cf. also Ethiopic ʔesa "tabescere," "liqueescere." This is the rendering we finally adopted after the printing of our translation of the ʔZTWD statue inscription (Bossert's "erste Fassung") where the same expression occurs. We circulated this revision of our first rendering to a number of scholars together with offprints of the earlier article.

ii:16-17 The letters MTMLDNNJMLL were obviously written by the stonecutter in error for MTMLLLDNNJM (i.e., MTMLLDNNJM), which appear in the ʔZTWD statue inscription, iii:14.

ii:18 BN, "in it." Here and in iii:8 BN is evidently the preposition B with pronominal suffix of the third person singular.

iii:1 HMSKT. It is natural to suppose that these were the same kind of image as the biblical *massēkāh*, which A.V. renders, "molten image."

iii:1 ZBH JMM, "a yearly sacrifice." Cf. *zebah jāmīm* in I Sam. 1:21 and 20:6, rendered as "yearly sacrifice" in A.V.

iii:1 WB ——— RŠ can easily be restored from the parallel phrase in the ʔZTWD statue inscription, iv:5, where we find ʔT ʔRŠ, "the time of plowing." The restoration is, of course, confirmed by the phrase WBʔT QŠR, "and at the time of harvesting" in the following line.

iii:2 Š 1, "1 sheep." The stroke after š is evidently the number 1, as normally in hieroglyphic Hittite.

iii:5 ʔLN QRT, "gods of the city." Observe the usage of the plural form ʔLN(M) "gods" as contrasted with ʔLM, "god" elsewhere in our inscription.

iii:7 (and 9) ŠBʔ (=Heb. *šōbaʕ*) WTRŠ, "abundance and wine." We should, of

course, expect "abundance of grain (or other food) and wine" as in the biblical coupling of *dāgān wāttrōš*.

iii:9 JLD, "they bear (children)," refers to the people of the town.

iii:14 JHMD, "shall covet." This rendering is not quite right, but we have adopted it in deference to the traditional English rendering of Heb. *ḥmd*. Actually, the meaning "to lay covetous hands upon" fits better here and in several O.T. passages, e.g., in the Tenth Commandment (Exod. 20:17).

iii:18 W^L QN ²RŠ, "and El, creator of earth." Cf. Gen. 14:22, *JHWH* ²ēl ²eljôn *qônēh šāmajim wā-āreš*.

CONTIN. A:1 WŠMŠ ²LM, "and She-mesh ²LM." It is natural to render "She-mesh of eternity" or "the eternal sun,"

but we cannot be sure that ²ztwd used ²LM in the same sense as the Israelites in Heb. ²ēl ²ōlām, "eternal God."

CONTIN. A:1 WKL DR BN ²LM, "and the whole assembly of divine beings." For a parallel expression see Cyrus Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* (Rome, 1947), p. 224, Glossary Nr. 560, and text Nr. 2, l. 17, which he transliterates: *ytši. ldr. bn il. l. mḫrt. bn [il]*.

CONTIN. A:2 Although Mḫ, "erase," occurs above in iii:18, we have put it here to avoid awkwardness in the English word order.

CONTIN. B:1 ²PS, "utterly." More literally "nothingness." ²PS is evidently an adverbial accusative (as sometimes in O.T.), modifying Mḫ, "erase."

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Two Assyrian King Lists

Author(s): I. J. Gelb

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Oct., 1954), pp. 209-230

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/542243>

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JOURNAL OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

Volume XIII

OCTOBER 1954

Number 4

TWO ASSYRIAN KING LISTS

I. J. GELB

OF THE two Assyrian king lists here published in transliteration, translation, and photographs, one, known as the "Khorsabad King List," came to light over twenty years ago, and the other designated as "SDAS King List," is made public here for the first time.

The Khorsabad King List was found on the site of ancient Dûr-Šarru-kin in the course of excavations conducted there in the season of 1932/33 by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. A photograph of the obverse of the tablet was reproduced in Gordon Loud and Charles B. Altman, *Khorsabad*, Volume II ("Oriental Institute Publications," Vol. XL [Chicago, 1938], Pl. 57, No. 74), and in several editions of the *Handbook* published by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The photograph shows the shape of the tablet and its state of preservation, but, since it has been taken at an angle, it was not clear enough to allow scholars to read the inscription. A beautiful photograph of the reverse was published in the English illustrated periodical *The Sphere* under the date of April 7, 1934. This is the photograph which was reproduced in an article by Ernst F. Weidner, "Die Königsliste aus

Chorsābād," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XIV (1941-44), 362-69. In the same article Weidner offered a partial transliteration of the Khorsabad King List, based on the photograph of the reverse. A discussion of the whole king list and a partial transliteration of individual passages were given by A. Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, I (1942), 247-306, 460-92; II (1943), 56-90.

The second king list published here came to light under circumstances so unusual as to be almost unbelievable. The present owner of this tablet inherited it from a relative who had bought it from natives in Mosul before the first World War. Toward the end of 1953 the owner of the tablet brought it to Dr. Siegfried H. Horn, professor at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary in Washington, D.C., and generously left it with the seminary on a permanent loan basis. As far as can be ascertained, the tablet had not been shown before to any competent scholar, nor had the value of its contents been recognized until Dr. Horn was given the opportunity to inspect the tablet. During the Christmas vacations of 1953 Dr. Horn brought the tablet to Chicago and intrusted it to the writer for publica-

tion, under the condition that it be published within the limits of one calendar year from the date of January 1, 1954. The new tablet was to be designated as the "SDAS King List."

The first aim of this article is to fulfil the condition set by Dr. Horn, in the interest of scholarship, in respect to the date of publication of the SDAS tablet. Since it would have been impossible to reconstruct the broken parts of the SDAS King List without utilizing the Khors. King List, special permission had to be secured from the Oriental Institute to publish the latter in transliteration and photograph. To Professor Horn, a former student of mine; to Professor Carl H. Kraeling, the director of the Oriental Institute; to Professor Arno Poebel; and to the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* is due an expression of gratitude for making possible the speedy publication of the preliminary report. A definitive publication by Professor Poebel, containing copies, transliterations, translations, notes, and

photographs of the Assyrian king lists, is in preparation.

The measurements of the SDAS tablet are $170 \times 135 \times 23$ millimeters. About five-sixths of the tablet is preserved. The protuberance at the head of the tablet is perforated lengthwise to hold string or a piece of metal or wood about 4-5 millimeters in diameter. The tablet contains four columns, two on the obverse and two on the reverse. Significant units are separated by horizontal lines. In all these points, both in size and in shape, the SDAS list is almost identical with the Khors. list. The formal differences pertain mainly to the number of lines in each column and to the horizontal lines marking the significant units.

The variant readings of the Khors. and SDAS king lists are marked in this publication by an asterisk. The variants are many, but only a few are significant: SDAS List ii 7 assigns 50 years to Išmê-Dagan I, while the Khors. List gives 40 years; SDAS ii 29 assigns 24 years to

TRANSLITERATION

Khors. List

i	1) 1 <i>Tu-di-ia</i>		
	2) 1 <i>A-da-mu</i>		1 <i>Ia-an-gi</i>
	3) 1 <i>KIT-la-a-mu</i>		1 <i>Ħar-ĥa-ru</i>
	4) 1 <i>MAN-da-ru</i>		1 <i>Im-šu</i>
	5) 1 <i>ĦAR-šu</i>		1 <i>Di-da-a-nu</i>
	6) 1 <i>Ħa-nu-ú</i>		1 <i>Zu-a-bu</i>
	7) 1 <i>Nu-a-bu</i>		1 <i>A-ba-zu</i>
	8) 1 <i>BE-lu-ú</i>		1 <i>A-za-ra-aĥ</i>
	9) 1 <i>Uš-pi-a</i>		1 <i>A-pi-a-šal</i>
10)	PAB 17 LUGAL.MEŠ- <i>a-ni</i>		<i>a-ši-bu-tu* kul-ta-ri</i>
11)	1 <i>A-mi-nu</i>		DUMU 1 DINGIR- <i>kab-ka-bi</i>
12)	1 DINGIR- <i>kab-ka-bi</i>		DUMU 1 <i>Ia-Áš-kur-DINGIR</i>
13)	1 <i>Ia-Áš-kur-DINGIR</i>		DUMU 1 <i>Ia-ak-me-ni</i>
14)	1 <i>Ia-ak-me-ni</i>		DUMU 1 <i>Ia-ak-me-si</i>
15)	1 <i>Ia-ak-me-si</i>		DUMU 1 DINGIR- <i>Me-ir</i>
16)	1 DINGIR- <i>Me-ir</i>		DUMU 1 <i>Ħa-ia-a-ni</i>

Puzur-Aššur III, while the Khors. List is here destroyed, and the Nassouhi List (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, IV, 3) gives 14 years; SDAS iii 10 assigns 37 years to Tukulti-Ninurta I, while the numbers in the Khors. and Nassouhi lists are not clear in this respect; SDAS iii 11 has *a-da-ri*, where Khors. List has *da-a-ri* (neither of which is clear); SDAS iii 39 reads clearly *Aš+šur-EN-ka-la*, where the Khors. List has [. . . .k]a-bi, to be taken apparently as [DINGIR-kab-k]a-bi, owing to a scribal error.

Furthermore, the following new and important information concerning some points in the Assyrian king lists should be noted: With the help of SDAS i 38-ii 6 it is now possible to reconstruct fully the statement concerning Šamši-Adad I; according to SDAS iii 15, the father of Ninurta-apil-Ekur was Ilu-ihadda (or Ilī-ihadda) and not Nabû-dan, as thought previously; SDAS iv 24-27 gives two kings at the end of the list who are not covered in the Khors. List, namely, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III with 18 years and

Šulmānu-ašarid V with 5 years. Unfortunately, the SDAS gives us no new information concerning the regnal years of the Assyrian kings who ruled before Šamši-Adad I and, what is even more disappointing, is destroyed in the crucial passages ii 34 f., where we would have been very happy to find the number of regnal years of Aššur-rabī I and Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē I.

Textual notes to the transliteration of the SDAS King List: i 20: The reading *nu?* in AD.MEŠ-šu-nu?-ni is reconstructed in accordance with the Khors. List; both the original and the photos of the SDAS List show only *u*.

ii 8: After MU.MEŠ there are traces of a horizontal wedge, probably erased.

iii 15: The reading DINGIR-i-ḥad-da was suggested by Professor Landsberger, who compares PAB-i-ḥad-da in II R 63 iv 10 = Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. 16.

iii 15: The sign after *lib-lib* cannot be read with any assurance; what we expect is *lib-lib-bi ša*, as in the Khors. List.

TRANSLITERATION

SDAS List

i 1) [1] <i>Tu-di-ia</i>	1 <i>A-da-mu</i>
2) 1 <i>Ia-an-gi</i>	1 KIT-la-mu
3) 1 <i>Har-ḥa-u</i>	1 MAN-da-ru
4) 1 <i>Im-šu</i> 1 <i>ḤAR-šu</i>	1 <i>Di-da-a-nu</i>
5) 1 <i>Ḥa-nu-ú</i>	1 <i>Zu-a-bu</i>
6) 1 <i>Nu-a-bu</i>	1 <i>A-ba-zu</i>
7) 1 <i>BE-lu-u</i>	1 <i>A-za-ra-aḥ</i>
8) 1 <i>Uš-pi-a</i>	1 <i>A-pi-a-šal</i>
9) PAB 17 LUGAL.MEŠ-a-ni	<i>a-ši-bu-ti* kúl-ta-ri</i>
10) 1 <i>A-mi-nu</i>	DUMU 1 DINGIR-kab-ka-bi
11) [1 DINGIR-IR-kab-ka-bi	DUMU 1 <i>Ia-ÁŠ-kur-DINGIR</i>
12) [1 <i>Ia-ÁŠ</i>]-kur-DINGIR	DUMU 1 <i>Ia-ak-me-ni</i>
13) [1 <i>Ia-ak-m</i>]-e-ni	DUMU 1 <i>Ia-ak-me-si</i>
14) [1 <i>Ia-ak-me-s</i>]-i	DUMU 1 DINGIR-Me-ir
15) [1 DINGIR-Me-ir]	DUMU 1 <i>Ḥa-ia-a-ni</i>

TRANSLITERATION

Khors. List

i	17)	1 <i>Ha-ia-a-ni</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Sa-ma-a-ni</i>
	18)	1 <i>Sa-ma*-nu*</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Ha-li-e</i>
	19)	1 <i>Ha-li-e</i>	DUMU 1 <i>A-pi-a-šal</i>
	20)	1 <i>A-pi-a-šal</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Uš-pi-a</i>
<hr/>			
	21)	PAB 10 LUGAL.MEŠ- <i>ni</i>	<i>ša</i> AD.MEŠ-šú*- <i>nu*-ni</i>
<hr/>			
	22)	[1] <i>Su-li-li*</i>	DUMU 1 <i>A-mi-ni</i>
	23)	[1] <i>Ki-i]k-ki-a</i>	1 <i>A-ki-a</i>
	24)	[1] <i>Pu-zu]r-Aš+šur</i>	1 <i>Šal-lim</i> -PAB.MEŠ
	25)	[1 DINGIR-š] <i>um-ma</i>	PAB 6 LUGAL.MEŠ- <i>*ni</i>
	26)	[X X X X SIG ₄] <i>šá</i>	<i>li-ma*-ni-šú-nu la-ú*-tu-ni</i>
<hr/>			
	27)	[1 <i>E-r]i-šu</i>	DUMU 1 DINGIR-š <i>um-ma</i>
	28)	[šá <i>li-ma-ni?</i>]-š <i>u-ni</i>	40 MU.MEŠ LUGAL- <i>ta DÙ-uš</i>
<hr/>			
	29)	[1 <i>I-ku-n]u</i>	DUMU 1 <i>E-ri-šu</i>
	30)	[X MU.MEŠ]	LUGAL- <i>ta DÙ-uš</i>
<hr/>			
	31)	[1 LUGAL- <i>ki-in</i>]	DUMU 1 <i>I-ku-nu</i>
	32)	[X MU].MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta DÙ-uš</i>
<hr/>			
	33)	[1 <i>Pu-zur</i>]- <i>Aš+šur</i>	DUMU 1 LUGAL- <i>ki-in</i>
	34)	[X] MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta DÙ-uš</i>
<hr/>			
	35)	[1 <i>Na</i>]- <i>ram-dSin</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Pu-zur-Aš+šur</i>
	36)	[X] MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta DÙ-uš</i>
<hr/>			
	37)	[1 <i>E¹-ri-šu</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Na-ram-dSin</i>
	38)	[X] MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta DÙ-uš</i>
<hr/>			
	39)	[1 <i>dŠam</i>]-š <i>i-dIM</i>	DUMU 1 DINGIR- <i>kab-ka-bi</i>
	40)	[<i>i-na t</i>] <i>ar-ši</i>	1 <i>Na-ram-dSin</i>
	41)	[<i>a-na</i> ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-ni</i>]- <i>dš DU-ik</i>	<i>ina lim-me</i> 1 <i>Ib-ni-dIM</i>
	42)	[1 <i>dŠam-š<i>i-d</i></i>] <i>IM</i>	TA ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-ni-dš</i>
	43)	[<i>e-la-a</i> ^{URU} <i>É.GAL.MEŠ</i>]	<i>iš-bat</i>
	44)	[3 MU.MEŠ <i>i-na</i> ^{URU} <i>É.GAL.MEŠ</i>]	<i>lu ú-ši-ib</i>
	45)	[<i>ina lim-me</i> 1 <i>A-ta-mar-15</i>]	1 <i>dŠam-š<i>i-d</i></i> <i>IM</i>
	46)	[TA ^{URU} <i>É.GAL.MEŠ</i>	<i>l]u e-la-a</i>
	47)	[^m <i>E-ri-šu</i> DUMU 1 <i>Na-ram-dSin</i>	<i>ina G</i>] <i>iŠ.GU.ZA lu*-š<i>at-bi</i></i>
ii	1)	GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>iš-bat</i> 33 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta DÙ-uš</i>
<hr/>			
	2)	1 <i>Iš-me-dDa-gan</i>	DUMU* 1 <i>dŠam-š<i>i-d</i></i> <i>IM</i>

TRANSLITERATION

SDAS List

i	16)	[1 <i>Ḫa-ia-a</i>]- <i>ni</i>	‘DUMU 1 <i>Sa¹-ma-a-ni</i>
	17)	1 <i>Sa-ma-a*-ni*</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Ḫa-[li-e]</i>
	18)	1 <i>Ḫa-li-e</i>	DUMU 1 <i>A-pi-[a-šal]</i>
	19)	1 <i>A-pi-a-šal</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Uš-pi-[a]</i>
<hr/>			
	20)	PAB 10 LUGAL.MEŠ- <i>a*-ni</i>	<i>ša</i> AD.MEŠ- <i>šu*-nu?*-ni</i>
<hr/>			
	21)	1 <i>Su-li-e*</i>	DUMU 1 <i>A-mi-ni</i>
	22)	[1 <i>K</i>]- <i>i-ik-ki-a</i>	1 <i>A-ki-a</i>
	23)	[1 <i>Fu-z</i>]- <i>ur-Aš+šur</i>	1 <i>Šal-lim</i> -PAB.MEŠ
	24)	[1 DINGIR- <i>šu</i>]- <i>m-ma</i>	PAB 6 LUGAL.MEŠ- <i>a*-ni</i>
	25)	[X X X] ‘X ¹ SIG ₄	<i>šá li-ma-a*-ni-šu-nu la-u*-tu-ni</i>
<hr/>			
	26)	[1 <i>E-ri-š</i>]- <i>u</i>	DUMU 1 DINGIR- <i>šum-ma</i>
	27)	[<i>šá li-ma-ni?-šu-ni</i>	10]+30 MU.MEŠ LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
<hr/>			
	28)	[1 <i>I-ku-nu</i>	DUMU] 1 <i>E-ri-šu</i>
	29)	[X MU.MEŠ	LUGAL]- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
<hr/>			
	30)	[1 LUGAL- <i>ki-in</i>	DUMU 1] <i>I-ku-nu</i>
	31)	[X MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i>] DÙ- <i>uš</i>
<hr/>			
	32)	[1 <i>Pu-zur-Aš+šur</i>	DUMU 1 LUGAL- <i>k</i>]- <i>i-in</i>
	33)	[X MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>]
<hr/>			
	34)	[1 <i>Na-ram-^dSin</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Pu-zur-Aš+šur</i>]
	35)	[X MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>]
<hr/>			
	36)	[1 <i>E-ri-šu</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Na-ram-^dSin</i>]
	37)	[X MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>]
<hr/>			
	38)	[1 ^d <i>Šam-ši-^dIM</i>	DUMU 1 DINGIR- <i>kab-ka-bi</i>]
	39)	[<i>ina tar-ši</i>	1 <i>Na-ram-^dSin</i>]
	40)	[<i>a-na</i> ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-ni-áš DU-ik</i>	<i>ina lim-me</i> 1 <i>Ib-ni-^dIM</i>]
	41)	[1 ^d <i>Šam-ši-^dIM</i>	TA ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-ni-áš e-la-a</i>]
ii	1)	^{URU} <i>É.GAL.MEŠ iš-bat</i>	3 MU.MEŠ <i>i-na</i> ^{URU} <i>É.GAL.MEŠ</i>
	2)	<i>lu ú-ši-ib</i>	<i>ina lim-me</i> 1 <i>A-ta-mar-15</i>
	3)	1 ^d <i>Šam-ši-^dIM</i>	TA ^{URU} <i>É.GAL.MEŠ *e-la-a</i>
	4)	1 <i>E-ri-šu</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Na-ram-^dSin</i>
	5)	<i>ina</i> GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>ú*-šat-bi</i>	GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>iš-bat</i>
	6)	33 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
<hr/>			
	7)	1 <i>Iš-me-^dDa-gan</i> A* 1 ^d <i>Šam-ši-^dIM</i>	50* MU.MEŠ MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>

TRANSLITERATION

Khors. List

ii 3)	40* MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
4)	1 <i>Aš+šur-du-gul</i>	DUMU* <i>*la ma-ma-na</i>
5)	<i>la</i> EN GIŠ.GU.ZA 6 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> * DÙ- <i>uš</i> *
6)	<i>ina tar-ši</i> 1 <i>Aš+šur-du-gul-ma*</i>	DUMU <i>*la ma-ma-na</i>
7)	1 <i>Aš+šur-DUMU.ŪŠ*-i-di*</i>	1 PAB- <i>ir-d</i> <i>Sin</i>
8)	1 <i>dSin-na-mir</i>	1 <i>Ib-qi-d</i> *15
9)	1 <i>dIM-ša-lu-lu</i>	1 <i>A-da-si</i>
10)	6 LUGAL.MEŠ- <i>ni</i>	DUMU* <i>la ma-ma-na</i>
11)	KA <i>tup-pi-šú*</i>	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
12)	1 EN- <i>ba-ni</i>	DUMU* 1 <i>A-da-si</i>
13)	10 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
14)	1 <i>Li-ba-a-a</i>	DUMU 1 EN- <i>ba-ni</i>
15)	17 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
16)	1 <i>Šar-ma-d</i> IM	DUMU 1 <i>Li-ba-a-a</i>
17)	12 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
18)	<i>Ip?-tar-d</i> <i>Sin</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Šar-ma-d</i> IM
19)	12 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
20)	1 <i>Ba-za-a-a</i>	DUMU 1 EN- <i>ba-ni</i>
21)	28 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
22)	1 <i>Lu-ul-la-a-a</i>	DUMU <i>la ma-ma-na</i>
23)	6 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
24)	1 ŠÚ- ^{URU} AB+ĤA	DUMU* 1 <i>Ba-za-a-a</i>
25)	14 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
26)	1 <i>Šar-ma-d</i> IM	DUMU* 1 ŠÚ- ^{URU} AB+ĤA
27)	3 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
28)	1 <i>E-ri-šu</i>	DUMU* 1 ŠÚ- ^{URU} AB+ĤA
29)	13 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
30)	1 <i>dŠam-ši-d</i> IM	DUMU* 1 <i>E-ri-ši*</i>
31)	6 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
32)	1 <i>Iš-me-d</i> <i>Da-gan</i>	DUMU 1 <i>dŠam-ši-d</i> IM
33)	16 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>

TRANSLITERATION

SDAS List

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- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| ii 8) | 1 <i>Aš+šur-du-gul</i> A* 1* <i>la ma-ma-na</i> | <i>la</i> EN GIŠ.GU.ZA 6 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN* |
|-------|---|---|
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- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 9) | <i>ina tar-ši</i> 1 <i>Aš+šur-du-gul</i> * | DUMU 1* <i>la ma-ma-na</i> |
| 10) | <i>Aš+šur-A*-ZU</i> * 1 PAB-ir- ^d <i>Sin</i> | 1 ^d <i>Sin-na-mir</i> 1 <i>Ip-qi-15</i> * |
-
- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 11) | 1 ^d IM-ša-lu-lu 1 <i>A-da-si</i> | 6 LUGAL.MEŠ- <i>ni</i> A* <i>la ma-ma-na</i> |
|-----|---|--|
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- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 12) | KÁ <i>tup-pi-šu</i> * | LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i> |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 13) | 1 EN- <i>ba-ni</i> A* 1 <i>A-da-si</i> | 10 MU.MEŠ MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i> |
|-----|--|---|
-
- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 14) | 1 <i>Li-ba-a-a</i> | DUMU 1 EN- <i>ba-ni</i> |
| 15) | 1 ¹⁷ MU.MEŠ | LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>u[š]</i> |
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 16) | [1 <i>Šar-ma-d</i> IM DUMU 1 <i>Li-ba</i>]- ¹ <i>a</i> ¹ - <i>a</i> | 12 MU.MEŠ MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>[uš]</i> |
|-----|--|---|
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 17) | [1 <i>Ip?-tar-d</i> <i>Sin</i> DUMU 1 <i>Šar-ma-d</i> IM | 12] 1 ¹ MU.MEŠ1 [MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>] |
|-----|--|---|
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- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 18) | 1 <i>Ba-za-a</i> ¹ -[<i>a</i> DUMU 1 EN- <i>ba-ni</i> | 28 MU.MEŠ MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>] |
|-----|---|---|
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 19) | 1 <i>Lu-ul-la-a</i> - ¹ <i>a</i> ¹ DUMU <i>la ma-ma-na</i> | 6 MU.MEŠ MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i> |
|-----|--|--|
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- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 20) | 1 ŠÚ- ^{URU} AB+ĪA A* 1 <i>Ba-za-a-a</i> | 14 MU.MEŠ MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i> |
|-----|--|---|
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- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 21) | 1 <i>Šar-ma-d</i> IM A* 1 ŠÚ- ^{URU} AB+ĪA | 3 MU.MEŠ MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i> |
|-----|--|--|
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 22) | 1 <i>E-ri-šu</i> A* 1 ŠÚ- ^{URU} AB+ĪA | 13 MU.MEŠ MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i> |
|-----|--|---|
-
- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 23) | 1 ^d <i>Šam-ši-d</i> IM A* 1 <i>E-ri-šu</i> * | 6 MU.MEŠ MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i> |
|-----|---|--|
-
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|--|
| 24) | 1 <i>Iš-me-d</i> <i>Da-gan</i> | DUMU 1 ^d <i>Šam-ši-d</i> IM |
| 25) | 16 MU.MEŠ | LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i> |

TRANSLITERATION

Khors. List

ii	34)	1 ^d <i>Šam-ši</i> - ^d IM DUMU* 1 <i>Iš-me</i> - ^d [<i>Da-gan</i>	ŠEŠ-šú] ¹ ša 1 <i>Šar-ma</i> ¹ - ^d IM
	35)	[DUMU] 1 ŠÚ- ^{URU} AB+ĤA 16 M[U.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
	36)	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -ERIM.[DÁĤ	DUMU* 1 <i>Iš-me</i> - ^d <i>D</i>] <i>a-gan</i>
	37)	26 MU.MEŠ	[LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
	38)	1 <i>Pu-zur</i> - <i>Aš+šur</i> DUMU 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -ERIM.DÁĤ	[24 MU.MEŠ] KI.MIN*
	39)	1 ^d BE-PAB- <i>ir</i>	DUM[U* 1 <i>Pu-z</i>] <i>ur</i> - <i>Aš+šur</i>
	40)	13 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>t</i> [<i>a</i>] DÙ- <i>uš</i>
	41)	1 ZALAG-DINGIR	DUMU* 1 ^d BE-PAB- <i>ir</i> ¹
	42)	12 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>t</i> [<i>a</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>]
	43)	1 <i>Aš+šur-šad-ú</i> *- <i>ni</i>	DUMU* [1 ZALAG-DINGIR]
	44)	1 ITU UD.MEŠ- <i>te</i>	[LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>]
	45)	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -GAL- <i>bi</i> DUMU* 1 ^d BE-PAB- <i>ir</i>	[1 <i>Aš+šur-šad-ú</i> *- <i>ni ina</i> GIŠ.GU.ZA]
	46)	<i>ú-šat</i> - <i>bi</i> GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>iš-bat</i>	[X MU.MEŠ LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>]
	47)	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -SUM-PAB.MEŠ DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+š</i> [<i>ur</i> - GAL- <i>bi</i>	X MU.MEŠ LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>]
iii	1)	1 ^d BE-PAB- <i>ir</i> ŠEŠ-šú	<i>ina</i> GIŠ.GU.ZA ¹ ú ¹ -[<i>šat</i> - <i>bi</i> -šú]
	2)	6 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> [DÙ- <i>uš</i>
	3)	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -ERIM.DÁĤ	DUMU* 1 ^d BE- ¹ PAB- <i>ir</i> ¹
	4)	7 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
	5)	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -EN-UN.MEŠ-šú	DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -ERIM.DÁĤ
	6)	9 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
	7)	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -ÁG-UN.MEŠ-šú	DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -EN-UN.MEŠ-šú
	8)	8 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
	9)	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -SUM-PAB.MEŠ	DUMU* 1 ^d <i>Aš+šur</i> -ÁG-UN.MEŠ-šú
	10)	10 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> * DÙ- <i>uš</i> *
	11)	1 SU- ^d IM	DUMU* 1 ^d <i>Aš+šur</i> -EN-U[N.MEŠ]-šú
	12)	27 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> * [DÙ- <i>u</i>]š*

TRANSLITERATION

SDAS List

ii	26)	1 ^d Šam-ši- ^d IM A* 1 Iš-me- ^d Da-gan	ŠEŠ-šú ša 1 Šar-ma- ^d IM
	27)	DUMU 1 ŠÚ- ^{URU} AB+HA	16 MU.MEŠ MAN*-ta DÙ-uš
	28)	1 Aš+šur-ERIM.DÁḪ A* 1 Iš-me- ^d Da-gan	26 MU.MEŠ MAN*-ta DÙ-[uš]
	29)	1 Pu-zur-Aš+šur A* 1 Aš+šur-ERIM.DÁḪ	24 MU.MEŠ [MAN-la* DÙ-uš*]
	30)	1 ^d BE-PAB-ir A* 1 Pu-zur-Aš+šur	[13 MU.MEŠ MAN*-ta DÙ-uš]
	31)	[1 ZA]LAG-DINGIR A* 1 ^d BE-PAB-ir	[12 MU.MEŠ MAN*-ta DÙ-uš]
	32)	[1 Aš+šur-š]ad-u*-ni A* 1 ZALAG-DINGIR	[1 ITU UD.MEŠ-te MAN*-ta DÙ-uš]
	33)	[1 Aš+šu]r-GAL-bi A* 1 ^d BE-PAB-[ir	1 Aš+šur-šad-u*-ni ina GIŠ.GU.ZA]
	34)	[ú-šat-b]i GIŠ.GU.ZA iṣ-[bat	X MU.MEŠ MAN*-ta DÙ-uš]
	35)	[1 Aš+šur-SUM-PAB].MEŠ A* 1 Aš+šur-GAL-[bi	X MU.MEŠ MAN*-ta DÙ-uš]
	36)	[1 ^d BE-PAB-ir ŠEŠ-šú ina GIŠ.GU.ZA	ú-šat-bi-šu 6 MU.MEŠ MAN*-ta DÙ-uš]
	37)	[1 Aš+šur-ERIM.DÁḪ A* 1 ^d BE-PAB-ir	7 MU.MEŠ MAN*-ta DÙ-uš]
	38)	[1 Aš+šur-EN-UN.MEŠ-šú A* 1 Aš+šur-ERIM.DÁḪ	9 MU.MEŠ MAN*-ta DÙ-uš]
iii	1)	[1 Aš+šur-Á[G-U[N.MEŠ-šu	A* 1 Aš+šur-EN-UN.MEŠ-šú]
	2)	¹⁸ [MU.MEŠ	MAN*-ta DÙ-uš]
	3)	1 Aš+šur-SUM-PAB.MEŠ A* 1 Aš+šur-ÁG-UN.MEŠ-[šu	10 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*]
	4)	1 SU- ^d IM A* 1 Aš+šur-EN-UN.MEŠ-šú	[27 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*]

TRANSLITERATION

Khors. List

iii 13)	1 <i>Aš+šur-^rTI.LA</i> ¹	DUMU* 1 SU-[^d I]M
14)	36 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> * DÙ-uš*
15)	1 ^d BE-ERIM.DÁḤ DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur-TI.LA</i>	10 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN
16)	1 GÍD-DI-DINGIR DUMU* 1 ^d BE-ERIM.DÁḤ	12 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN
17)	1 ^d IM-ERIM.DÁḤ ŠEŠ-šú*	ša* 1 GÍD-DI-DINGIR
18)	32 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> * DÙ-uš*
19)	1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ DUMU* 1 ^d IM-ERIM.DÁḤ	30 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN
20)	1 GIŠ.KU- <i>tí</i> - ^d MAŠ DUMU* 1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ	^r 3 ¹ 7 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN
21)	1 GIŠ.KU- <i>tí</i> - ^d MAŠ <i>da-a-ri</i> *	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -SUM*-DUMU.UŠ DUMU-šú*
22)	GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>iš-bat</i> 3 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- ^r <i>ta</i> * DÙ-uš*
23)	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -ERIM.DÁḤ	DUMU* 1 ^r <i>Aš+šur</i> ¹ -PAB-A
24)	6 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- ^r <i>ta</i> * DÙ-uš*
25)	1 ^d BE- <i>ku-dúr</i> -PAB	DUMU 1 IZK[IM- ^d MAŠ
26)	5 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> * [DÙ]-uš*
27)	1 ^d MAŠ-DUMU.UŠ- <i>Ē-kur</i>	DUMU* 1 DINGIR- <i>i-ḥa'd-da</i> ¹
28)	<i>lib-lib-bi</i> ša 1 SU- ^d IM	<i>ana</i> ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-ni-áš i[l-lik]</i>
29)	TA ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-ni-áš e-la-a</i>	GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>iš-bat</i>
30)	3 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ-uš
31)	1 <i>Aš+šur-da(n)-an</i> DUMU* 1 ^d MAŠ-A- <i>Ē-kur</i>	46 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN
32)	1 ^d MAŠ-KU- <i>tí</i> - <i>Aš+šur</i>	DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur-da(n)-an</i>
33)	<i>tup-pi-šú</i> *	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> * DÙ-uš*
34)	1 <i>Mu-tak*-kil</i> - ^d <i>Nusku</i>	ŠEŠ-šú KI-šú <i>i-duk</i>
35)	<i>a-na</i> ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-ni-áš</i>	<i>e-bu-uk-šú</i>
36)	<i>tup-pi-šú</i> 1 <i>Mu-tak*-kil</i> - ^d <i>Nusku</i> GIŠ.GU.ZA	<i>uk-ta-il</i> KUR- <i>a e-mid</i>
37)	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -SAG- <i>i-ši</i>	DUMU* 1 <i>Mu-tak*-kil</i> - ^d <i>Nusku</i>
38)	18 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ-uš
39)	1 GIŠ.KU- <i>tí</i> -A- <i>Ē-šár-ra</i>	DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -SAG- <i>i-ši</i>
40)	39 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ-uš

TRANSLITERATION

SDAS List

iii 5)	1 <i>Aš+šur-TI.LA</i> A* 1 SU- ^d IM	30+ [6 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*]
6)	1 ^d BE-ERIM.DÁḪ A* 1 <i>Aš+šur-TI.LA</i>	10 [MU.MEŠ KI.MIN]
7)	1 GÍD-DI-DINGIR A* 1 ^d BE-ERIM.DÁḪ	12 M[U.MEŠ KI.MIN]
8)	1 ^d IM-ERIM.DÁḪ ŠEŠ-šu*	šá* 1 GÍD-DI-DINGIR [32 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*]
9)	1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ A* 1 ^d IM-ERIM.DÁḪ	30 MU.MEŠ [KI.MIN]
10)	1 GIŠ.KU- <i>ti</i> - ^d MAŠ A* 1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ	37* MU.MEŠ [KI.MIN]
11)	1 GIŠ.KU- <i>ti</i> - ^d MAŠ <i>a-da-ri</i> *	1 <i>Aš+šur-PAB</i> *-DUMU.-UŠ DUMU- ¹ šu*
12)	GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>iš-bat</i>	3 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
13)	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -ERIM.DÁḪ A* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> - *PAB-A*	6 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
14)	1 ^d BE- <i>ku-dúr</i> -PAB DUMU 1 IZKIM- ^d MAŠ	5 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
15)	1 ^d MAŠ-DUMU.UŠ- <i>Ē-kur</i> A* 1 ^d DINGIR- <i>i-ḫad-da</i>	<i>lib-lib*</i> ša?! 1 SU- ^d IM
16)	<i>ana</i> ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-ni-áš il-lik</i>	TA ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-ni-áš e-la-a</i>
17)	GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>iš-bat</i>	3 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
18)	1 <i>Aš+šur-da(n)-an</i> A* 1 ^d MAŠ-A- <i>Ē-kur</i>	46 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN
19)	1 ^d MAŠ-KU- <i>ti</i> - <i>Aš+šur</i> A* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> - <i>da(n)-an</i>	<i>tup-pi-šu*</i> KI.MIN*
20)	1 <i>Mu-ta</i> *- <i>ki</i> - ^d <i>Nusku</i>	ŠEŠ-šú KI-šú <i>i-duk</i>
21)	¹ <i>a-na</i> ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-ni-áš</i> ¹	<i>e-bu-uk-š[ú]</i>
22)	<i>tup-pi-šú</i> 1 <i>Mu-ta</i> *- <i>ki</i> - ^d <i>Nusku</i>	[GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>uk-ta-il</i> KUR-a <i>e-mid</i>]
23)	1 <i>Aš+šur-SAG-i-ši</i>	[A* 1] <i>Mu-ta</i> *- <i>ki</i> - ^d <i>Nus</i> [<i>ku</i>]
24)	18 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
25)	1 GIŠ.KU- <i>ti</i> -A- <i>Ē-šár-ra</i>	A* 1 <i>Aš+šur-SAG-i-ši</i>
26)	39 MU.MEŠ	MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>

TRANSLITERATION

Khors. List

iii 41)	1 <i>A-šá-rid**</i> -A*- <i>Ē-kur</i>	DUMU* 1 GIŠ.KU- <i>tí</i> -A- <i>Ē-šár-ra</i>
	42) 2 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
43)	1 <i>Aš+šur-EN-ka-la</i>	DUMU* 1 GIŠ.KU- <i>tí</i> -A- <i>Ē-šár-ra</i>
	44) 18 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
45)	1 SU- ^d IM DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur-EN-ka-la</i>	2 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
iv 1)	[1 ^d <i>Šam-ši</i> - ^d IM	DUMU* 1 GIŠ.KU- <i>tí</i>]- ^I A ¹ - <i>Ē-šár-ra</i>
	2) [TA ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-n</i>] <i>i-áš</i>	<i>e-la-a</i> 1 SU- ^d IM
	3) [DUMU 1 DINGIR- <i>kab-k</i>] <i>a-bi</i> *	<i>ina</i> GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>ú-šat-bi</i>
	4) [GIŠ.GU.ZA] <i>iš-bat</i>	4 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
5)	[1 <i>Aš+šur-PAB-A</i> DUMU*] 1 ^d <i>Šam-ši</i> - ^d IM	19 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
6)	[1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ	DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur-PAB-A</i>
7)	[1]2 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
8)	1 <i>Aš+šur-ERIM.DÁḪ</i> DUMU* 1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ	6 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
9)	1 <i>Aš+šur-GAL-bi</i> DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur-PAB-A</i> *	41 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
10)	1 <i>Aš+šur-SAG-i-ši</i>	DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur-GAL-bi</i>
11)	5 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> * DÙ- <i>uš</i> *
12)	1 GIŠ.KU- <i>tí</i> -A- <i>Ē-šár-ra</i>	DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur-SAG-i-ši</i>
13)	32 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
14)	1 <i>Aš+šur-da(n)-an</i>	DUMU 1 GIŠ.KU- <i>tí</i> -A- <i>Ē-šár-ra</i>
15)	23 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
16)	1 ^d IM-ERIM.DÁḪ	DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur-da(n)-an</i>
17)	21 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
18)	1 GIŠ.KU- <i>tí</i> - ^d MAŠ DUMU* 1 ^d IM-ERIM.DÁḪ	7 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN
19)	1 <i>Aš+šur-PAB*-DUMU.UŠ</i>	DUMU 1 GIŠ.KU- <i>tí</i> - ^d MAŠ
20)	52 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
21)	1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ	DUMU* 1 <i>Aš+šur-PAB-DUMU.UŠ</i> *

TRANSLITERATION

SDAS List

iii 27)	1 SAG.KAL*-DUMU.UŠ*- <i>Ē-kur</i>	A* 1 GIŠ.KU- <i>ti</i> -A- <i>Ē-šár-ra</i>
28)	2 MU.MEŠ	MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
29)	1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -EN- <i>ka-la</i>	A* 1 GIŠ.KU- <i>ti</i> -A- <i>Ē-šár-ra</i>
30)	18 MU.MEŠ	MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
31)	1 SU- ^d IM	A* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -EN- <i>ka-la</i>
32)	2 MU.MEŠ	MAN- <i>ta</i> * DÙ- <i>uš</i> *
33)	1 ^d <i>Šam-ši</i> - ^d IM	A* 1 GIŠ.KU- <i>ti</i> -A- <i>Ē-šár-ra</i>
34)	TA ^{KUR} <i>Kar-du-ni-áš</i>	<i>e-la-a</i>
35)	1 SU- ^d IM	DUMU 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -EN- <i>ka-la</i> *
36)	<i>ina</i> GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>ú-šat-bi</i> GIŠ.GU.ZA	<i>iš-bat</i> 4 MU.MEŠ MAN- <i>ta</i> * [DÙ- <i>uš</i>]*
iv 1)	[1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -PAB-A A* 1 ^d <i>Šam-ši</i> - ^d IM	19 MU.MEŠ MAN- <i>ta</i> * DÙ- <i>uš</i> *)
2)	[1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ A* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -PAB-A	12 MU.MEŠ MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>]
3)	[1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -ERIM.DÁĤ	A* 1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i>]-MAŠ
4)	[6 MU.MEŠ	MAN- <i>ta</i> * DÙ]- <i>uš</i> *
5)	[1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -GAL- <i>bi</i>	A* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -PAB]-DUMU.UŠ*
6)	[41 MU.MEŠ	MAN- <i>ta</i> *) DÙ- <i>uš</i> *
7)	[1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -SAG- <i>i-ši</i> A* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -GAL- <i>bi</i>	[5] MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
8)	[1 GIŠ.KU- <i>ti</i> -A- <i>Ē-šár-r</i>]a	A* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -SAG- <i>i-ši</i>
9)	[32 M]U.MEŠ	MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
10)	[1 <i>Aš+šur</i> - <i>d</i>]a(n)-an	DUMU 1 GIŠ.KU- <i>ti</i> -A- <i>Ē-šár-ra</i>
11)	[23] MU.MEŠ	MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
12)	[1 ^d IM]-ERIM.DÁĤ A* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> - <i>da</i> (n)-an	21 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
13)	[1 GIŠ.KU- <i>t</i>]i- ^d MAŠ A* ^d IM-ERIM.DÁĤ	7 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN
14)	[1 <i>Aš+šur</i>]-PAB- <i>ir</i> *-DUMU.UŠ	DUMU 1 GIŠ.KU- <i>ti</i> - ^d MAŠ
15)	[25] MU.MEŠ	MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÙ- <i>uš</i>
16)	[1 ^d DI- <i>ma</i>]- <i>nu</i> -MAŠ A* 1 <i>Aš+šur</i> -PAB-A*	35 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*

TRANSLITERATION

Khors. List

iv 22) 35 MU.MEŠ

LUGAL-*ta** DÙ-*uš**23) 1 ^d*Šam-ši-d*IMDUMU 1 ^d*DI-ma-nu-MAŠ*

24) 13 MU.MEŠ

LUGAL*-*ta* DÙ-*uš*25) 1 ^dIM-ERIM.DÁḪDUMU* 1 ^d*Šam-ši-d*IM

26) 28 MU.MEŠ

LUGAL-*ta** DÙ-*uš**27) 1 ^d*DI-ma-nu-MAŠ*

DUMU* 1 U*-ERIM.DÁḪ

28) 10 MU.MEŠ

LUGAL-*ta** DÙ-*uš**29) 1 *Aš+šur-da(n)-an*ŠEŠ-šú *ša** 1 ^d*DI-ma-nu-MAŠ*

30) 18 MU.MEŠ

LUGAL*-*ta* DÙ-*uš*31) 1 *Aš+šur-ERIM.DÁḪ*

DUMU* 1 U-ERIM-DÁḪ

32) 10 MU.MEŠ

LUGAL-*ta** DÙ-*uš**33) GABA.RI ^{URU}BAL.BE^{KI}34) ŠU 1 *Kan-dāl-a-nu* ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR É DINGIR35) *ša qí-rib* ^{URU}4-DINGIR^{KI}36) ITU *Lu-lu-bi-e* UD.20.KAM37) *li-mu* 1 ^dIM-EN-DU38) ^{LÚ}*šá-kìn* ^{URU}ŠÀ-URU39) *ina 2-e lim-me-šú*

TRANSLATION

Khors. List	SDAS List	Sequence of Kings
i 1	i 1	1. Tudija,
2	1	2. Adamu,
2	2	3. Jangi,
3	2	4. Kitlamu,
3	3	5. Harḫaru,
4	3	6. Mandaru,
4	4	7. Imšu,
5	4	8. Harṣu,
5	4	9. Didānu,
6	5	10. Hanû,
6	5	11. Zuabu,

TRANSLITERATION

SDAS List

iv 17)	[1 ^d Šam-š]i- ^d IM	DUMU 1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ
18)	[13 M]U.MEŠ	MAN*- <i>ta</i> DÛ- <i>uš</i>
19)	[1 ^d IM-ERIM.DÁḪ A* 1 ^d Šam-ši- ^d IM	28 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
20)	[1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ A* 1 ^d I]M*-ERIM.DÁḪ	10 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
21)	[1 Aš+šur- <i>da(n)-a</i>]n	ŠEŠ-šú šá* 1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ ¹
22)	]18 MU.MEŠ]	MA[N*- <i>ta</i> DÛ- <i>uš</i>]
23)	[1 Aš+šur-ERIM.DÁḪ A*] ¹ U ¹ -ERIM.DÁḪ	10 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN*
24)	[1 G]IŠ.KU- <i>tí-A-Ē-šár-ra</i>	DUMU 1 Aš+šur-ERIM.DÁḪ
25)	18 MU.MEŠ	MAN- <i>ta</i> DÛ- <i>uš</i>
26)	1 ^d DI- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ	DUMU 1 GIŠ-KU- <i>tí-A-Ē-šár-ra</i>
27)	5 MU.MEŠ	MAN- <i>ta</i> DÛ- <i>uš</i>
28)	GIM LIBIR.RA-šú šà- <i>tír ba-ri(m)</i>	
29)	<i>tup-pi</i> 1 EN-MU-AŠ LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ ^{URU} BAL.BE ^{KI} - <i>u</i>	
30)	[ša] <i>it-ab-bal-lu</i> ^d Šá- <i>maš lit-bal-šu</i>	

TRANSLATION

Khors. List	SDAS List	Sequence of Kings	
i 7	i 6	12.	Nuabu,
7	6	13.	Abazu,
8	7	14.	Belû,
8	7	15.	Azarah,
9	8	16.	Ušpia,
9	8	17.	Apiašal.
10	9	Total of 17 kings who dwelled in tents.	
11	10	26.	Aminu son of Ila-kabkabī,
12	11	25.	Ila-kabkabī son of Jazkur-ilu,
13	12	24.	Jazkur-ilu son of Jakmeni,
14	13	23.	Jakmeni son of Jakmesi,

TRANSLATION

Khors. List	SDAS List	Sequence of Kings	
i 15	i 14	22.	Jakmesi son of Ilu-Mer,
16	15	21.	Ilu-Mer son of Ḫajānu,
17	16	20.	Ḫajānu son of Samānu,
18	17	19.	Samānu son of Ḫalê,
19	18	18.	Ḫalê son of Apiašal,
20	19	17.	Apiašal son of Ušpia.
21	20		Total of 10 kings whose fathers (are known?).
22	21	27.	Sulili son of Amini,
23	22	28.	[K]ikkia,
23	22	29.	Akia,
24	23	30.	[Puz]ur-Aššur (I),
24	23	31.	Šallim-aḥḥê,
25	24	32.	[Ilu-š]ūma.
26	25		Total of 6 kings [who occur? on?] bricks, whose eponymies are destroyed?.
27	26	33.	[Er]išu (I) son of Ilu-šūma,
28	27		[whose eponymie]s? (are known?), 40 years he ruled.
29	28	34.	[Ikûn]u son of Erišu (I)
30	29		[x years] he ruled.
31	20	35.	[Šarru-kîn (I)] son of Ikûnu
32	31		[x year]s he ruled.
33	32	36.	[Puzur]-Aššur (II) son of Šarru-kîn (I)
34	33		[x] years he ruled.
35	34	37.	[Na]râm-Sin son of Puzur-Aššur (II)
36	35		[x] years he ruled.
37	36	38.	[E]rišu (II) son of Narâm-Sin
38	37		[x] years he ruled.
39	38	39.	[Šam]šī-Adad (I) son of Ila-kabkabī
40	39		[at the t]ime of Narâm-Sin
41	40		[to Kardunia]š he went. In the eponymy of Ibnī-Adad
42	41		[Šamšī]-Adad (I) from Karduniaš
43	ii 1		[he came up], Ekallâte he seized,
44	2		and 3 years in Ekallâte he resided.
45	3		In the eponymy of Âtamar-Ištar Šamšī-Adad (I)
46	4		from Ekallâte he came up,

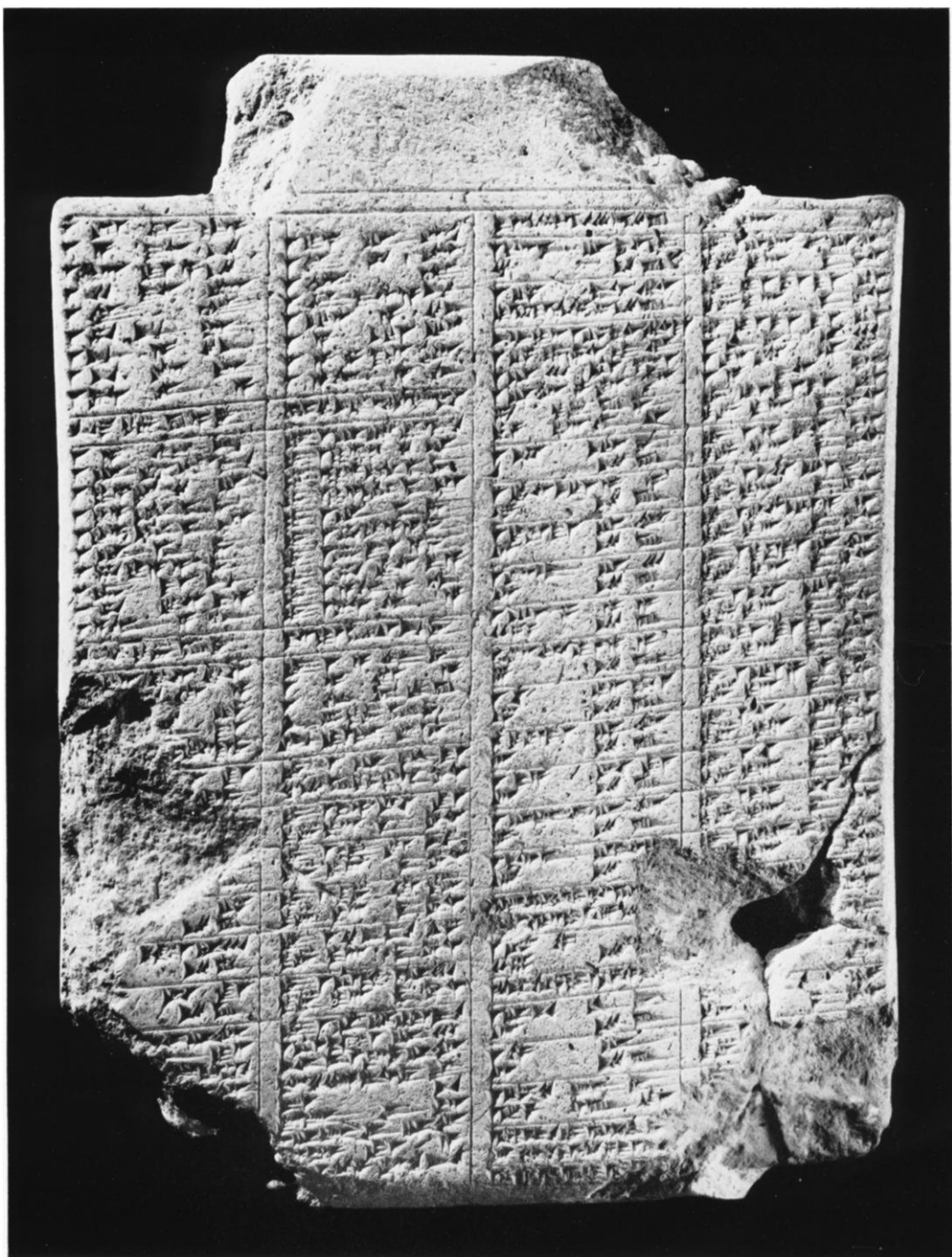
TRANSLATION

Khors. List	SDAS List	Sequence of Kings	
i 47	ii 5		Erišu (II) son of Narâm-Sin he deposed from the throne,
ii 1	6		the throne he seized, (and) 33 years he ruled.
2	7	40.	Išmê-Dagan (I) son of Šamši-Adad (I)
3	7		40 (or 50) years he ruled.
4	8	41.	Aššur-dugul son of a nobody,
5	8		not an occupant of a throne, 6 years he ruled.
6	9		Also the time of Aššur-dugul son of a nobody
7	10	42.	Aššur-apla-idî,
7	10	43.	Nāšir-Sin,
8	10	44.	Sin-namir,
8	10	45.	Ibqī-Ištar,
9	11	46.	Adad-šalūlu,
9	11	47.	Adasi,
10	12		6 kings son(s) of a nobody
11	12		. . . . ruled.
12	13	48.	Bêlu-bānî son of Adasi
13	13		10 years he ruled.
14	14	49.	Libaja son of Bêlu-bānî
15	15		17 years he ruled.
16	16	50.	Šarma-Adad (I) son of Libaja
17	16		12 years he ruled.
18	17	51.	Ip?-tar-Sin son of Šarma-Adad (I)
19	17		12 years he ruled.
20	18	52.	Bazaja son of Bêlu-bānî
21	18		28 years he ruled.
22	19	53.	Lullaja son of a nobody
23	19		6 years he ruled.
24	20	54.	Kidin-Ninua son of Bazaja
25	20		14 years he ruled.
26	21	55.	Šarma-Adad (II) son of Kidin-Ninua
27	21		3 years he ruled.
28	22	56.	Erišu (III) son of Kidin-Ninua

TRANSLATION

Khors. List	SDAS List	Sequence of Kings	
ii 29	ii 22		13 years he ruled.
30	23	57.	Šamši-Adad (II) son of Erišu (III)
31	23		6 years he ruled.
32	24	58.	Išmê-Dagan (II) son of Šamši-Adad (II)
33	25		16 years he ruled.
34	26	59.	Šamši-Adad (III) son of Išmê-Dagan brother of Šarma-Adad (II)
35	27		son of Kidin-Ninua, 16 years he ruled.
36	28	60.	Aššur-nîrârî (I) son of Išmê-Dagan (II)
37	28		26 years he ruled.
38	29	61.	Puzur-Aššur (III) son of Aššur-nîrârî (I)
38	29		24 years he ruled.
39	30	62.	Enlil-nāšir (I) son of Puzur-Aššur (III)
40	30		13 years he ruled.
41	31	63.	Nûr-ili son of Enlil-nāšir (I)
42	31		12 years he ruled].
43	32	64.	Aššur-šadûni son of Nûr-ili
44	32		1 month (of days) [he ruled].
45	33	65.	Aššur-rabî (I) son of Enlil-nāšir (I) [Aššur-šadûni from the throne]
46	34		he deposed, the throne he seized, (and) [x years he ruled].
47	35	66.	Aššur-nādin-aḥḥê (I) son of Aššur-rabî (I)
47	35		[x years he ruled].
iii 1	36	67.	Enlil-nāšir (II), his brother, from the throne he de[posed him]
2	36		(and) 6 years he ruled.
3	37	68.	Aššur-nîrârî (II) son of Enlil-nāšir (I)
4	37		7 years he ruled.
5	38	69.	Aššur-bêl-nišešu son of Aššur-nîrârî (II)
6	38		9 years he ruled.
7	iii 1	70.	Aššur-rîm-nišešu son of Aššur-bêl-nišešu

PLATE XIV



KHORSABAD KING LIST, OBVERSE

PLATE XV



KHORSABAD KING LIST, REVERSE

PLATE XVI



SDAS KING LIST, OBERSE

PLATE XVII



SDAS KING LIST, REVERSE

TRANSLATION

Khors. List	SDAS List	Sequence of Kings	
iii 8	iii 2		8 years he ruled.
9	3	71.	Aššur-nādin-aḥḫē (II) son of Aššur-rīm-nišēšu
10	3		10 years he ruled.
11	4	72.	Erība-Adad (I) son of Aššur-bēl-nišēšu
12	4		27 years he ruled.
13	5	73.	Aššur-uballiṭ (I) son of Erība-Adad (I)
14	5		36 years he ruled.
15	6	74.	Enlil-nîrārî son of Aššur-uballiṭ (I)
15	6		10 years he ruled.
16	7	75.	Arik-dên-ili son of Enlil-nîrārî
16	7		12 years he ruled.
17	8	76.	Adad-nîrārî (I) brother of Arik-dên-ili
18	8		32 years he ruled.
19	9	77.	Šalmānu-ašarid (I) son of Adad-nîrārî (I)
19	9		30 years he ruled.
20	10	78.	Tukulti-Ninurta (I) son of Šulmānu-ašarid (I)
20	10		37 years he ruled.
21	11	79.	While Tukulti-Ninurta (I) was alive?, Aššur-nādin-apli, his
			son,
22	12		the throne he seized (and) 3 years he ruled.
23	12	80.	Aššur-nîrārî (III) son of Aššur-nāšir-apli
24	13		6 years he ruled.
25	14	81.	Enlil-kudur-ušur son of Tukulti-Ninurta (I)
26	14		5 years he ruled.
27	15	82.	Ninurta-apil-Ekur son of Ilu-iḥadda
28	15		descendant of Erība-Adad (I), to Karduniaš he went,
29	16		from Karduniaš he went up, the throne he seized,
30	17		(and) 3 years he ruled.
31	18	83.	Aššur-dan (I) son of Ninurta-apil-Ekur
31	18		46 years he ruled.

TRANSLATION

Khors. List	SDAS List	Sequence of Kings	
iii 32	iii 19	84.	Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur son of Aššur-dan (I)
33	19		. . . . he ruled.
34	20	85.	Mutakkil-Nusku, his brother, with him he fought,
35	21		to Karduniaš he deported him;
36	22		. . . . Mutakkil-Nusku the throne he held, then he died.
37	23	86.	Aššur-rêš-išî (I) son of Mutakkil-Nusku
38	24		18 years he ruled.
39	25	87.	Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (I) son of Aššur-rêš-išî (I)
40	26		39 years he ruled.
41	27	88.	Ašarid-apil-Ekur son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (I)
42	28		2 years he ruled.
43	29	89.	Aššur-bêl-kala son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (I)
44	30		18 years he ruled.
45	31	90.	Erîba-Adad (II) son of Aššur-bêl-kala
45	32		2 years he ruled.
iv 1	33	91.	Šamši-Adad (IV) son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (I)
2	34		from Karduniaš he came up, Erîba-Adad (II)
3	35		son of Aššur-bêl-kala from the throne he deposed,
4	36		the throne he seized, (and) 4 years he ruled.
5	iv 1	92.	[Aššur-nāšir-apli (I) son of] Šamši-Adad (IV)
5	1		19 years he ruled.
6	2	93.	Šulmānu-ašarid (II) son of Aššur-nāšir-apli (I)
7	2		12 years he ruled.
8	3	94.	Aššur-nîrārî (IV) son of Šulmānu-ašarid (II)
8	4		6 years he ruled.
9	5	95.	Aššur-rabî (II) son of Aššur-nāšir-apli (I)
9	6		41 years he ruled.
10	7	96.	Aššur-rêš-išî (II) son of Aššur-rabî (II)
11	7		5 years he ruled.
12	8	97.	Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (II) son of Aššur-rêš-išî (II)

TRANSLATION

Khors. List	SDAS List	Sequence of Kings	
iv 13	iv 9		32 years he ruled.
14	10	98.	Aššur-dan (II) son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (II)
15	11		23 years he ruled.
16	12	99.	Adad-nîrārî (II) son of Aššur-dan (II)
17	12		21 years he ruled.
18	13	100.	Tukulti-Ninurta (II) son of Adad-nîrārî (II)
18	13		7 years he ruled.
19	14	101.	Aššur-nāšir-apli (II) son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II)
20	15		25 years he ruled.
21	16	102.	Šulmānu-ašarid (III) son of Aššur-nāšir-apli (II)
22	16		35 years he ruled.
23	17	103.	Šamši-Adad (V) son of Šulmānu-ašarid (III)
24	18		13 years he ruled.
25	19	104.	Adad-nîrārî (III) son of Šamši-Adad (V)
26	19		28 years he ruled.
27	20	105.	Šulmānu-ašarid (IV) son of Adad-nîrārî (III)
28	20		10 years he ruled.
29	21	106.	Aššur-dan (III) brother of Šulmānu-ašarid (IV)
30	22		18 years he ruled.
31	23	107.	Aššur-nîrārî (V) son of Adad-nîrārî (III)
32	23		10 years he ruled.
—	24	108.	Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (III) son of Aššur-nîrārî (V)
—	25		18 years he ruled.
—	26	109.	Šulmānu-ašarid (V) son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (III)
—	27		5 years he ruled.

Subscription of the Khors. List:

- iv 33 Copy of Aššur.
 34 Hand of Kandalānu, the scribe of the temple
 35 which is in Arbela.
 36 Month of Lulubû, 20th day,

TRANSLATION

- iv 37 eponymy of Adad-bél-ukîn,
38 the governor of Aššur.
39 In his second eponymy.

Subscription of the SDAS List;

- iv 28 According to the original written (and) collated.
29 Tablet of Bél-šum-iddin, the MAŠ.MAŠ-priest of Aššur.
30 [Who] removes (the tablet), may Adad remove him.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



OLD AKKADIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM: Texts of Legal and Business Interest

Author(s): IGNACE J. GELB

Source: *Fieldiana. Anthropology*, Vol. 44, No. 2, OLD AKKADIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM: Texts of Legal and Business Interest (JUNE 30, 1955), pp. 161-163, 165, 167-338

Published by: [Field Museum of Natural History](#)

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TEXTS OF LEGAL AND BUSINESS INTEREST

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FIELDIANA: ANTHROPOLOGY

VOLUME 44, NUMBER 2

Published by

CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM

JUNE 30, 1955

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM PRESS

Preface

It is an old and well-known story that not alone the ancient tells of the Near East, but also our modern museums are fertile soil for the would-be discoverer of antiquities. Dug up from their ancient resting place and shipped along with a host of other objects to a museum, valuable items are sometimes stored away and forgotten for years until a lucky stroke of fortune brings them to light again.

The rediscovery of the now famous Babylonian Chronicle telling of the fall of Nineveh is a case in point. Excavated and brought to the British Museum in London toward the end of the last century, it lay hidden and unrecognized for years before it was finally brought out of its oblivion and published in 1923. Immediately it became evident that this long-lost document was of fundamental importance for the correct understanding of the historical events in the last days of the Assyrian Empire.

A similar discovery, though not of such epoch-making proportions, has been made in Chicago Natural History Museum. Shortly after the first World War the late Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Patterson, D.S.O., British Army of Occupation in Iraq, purchased a collection of cuneiform tablets from an Arab at Babylon. In 1925 he presented these tablets to the Museum. There they remained in oblivion until they were found in the latter half of 1936 by Mr. Richard A. Martin, at that time Curator of Near Eastern Archaeology, now Curator of the Department of the N. W. Harris Public School Extension, who then requested me to investigate the collection and ascertain its importance.

From the very first there has never been any question about the importance of the collection. The tablets are inscribed in a dialect of the Old Akkadian language and date back over four thousand years, almost to the very beginning of written history in Mesopotamia. Their importance is immediately apparent from several points of view.

In the first place, the texts provide a most important source of material for the study of the oldest Akkadian dialect. At the same time they make possible the clarification of many problems con-

nected with the reconstruction of Proto-Semitic. The texts likewise greatly further our understanding of the development of social institutions in the Near East, for their subject matter is largely legal and administrative in nature. Containing, as they do, many words attesting to the existence of certain tools and implements used in industry and agriculture, the texts shed light on these activities of the ancient Akkadians as well. And, finally, the personal names mentioned in the texts help in the reconstruction of the ethnic background of the area in which the tablets originated.

Contrary to the normal procedure in text publications of this sort, the tablets are here presented in the form of photographs rather than in autographed copies. Since Old Akkadian texts are usually written in a clear, legible script, it is hoped that this will inflict no hardship upon the reader. The plates show the tablets in their actual size.

Elsewhere in this monograph (pp. 169ff.) it is suggested that the tablets of the Museum ultimately originated in the region of the Diyala River, east of the Tigris. Since almost no tablets of the Old Akkadian period from this region have as yet been made public, it is more than fortunate that I have had access to materials from the Diyala region in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. They have been most useful for comparison with the Museum tablets. To Professor John A. Wilson, the past Director of the Oriental Institute, I owe a debt of gratitude for his kind permission to use this material in the present monograph.

To Colonel Clifford C. Gregg, the Director of Chicago Natural History Museum, I wish to express my thanks and gratitude for giving me the opportunity to study the collection and for approving its publication by the Museum press. Both Dr. Paul S. Martin, Chief Curator of Anthropology in the Museum, and Mr. Richard Martin have been helpful in technical matters pertaining to the publication of this study. Professors Frederick W. Geers and Thorkild Jacobsen of the Oriental Institute were kind enough to read the manuscript and offer valuable suggestions. To each of these scholars I express my sincere appreciation of their kind help.

The manuscript of the work here presented had been completed in 1941, when several conditions, all indirectly evolving from our entry into the Second World War, interrupted its publication. In the few years after the war my preoccupations with the administration of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary project and with the publication of the Oriental Institute Diyala tablets (issued in the mean-

time in my *Sargonic Texts from the Diyala Region* [Chicago, 1952]) caused a further delay in bringing the Museum project to a speedy and successful conclusion. This delay was rather fortunate in one respect, however. A thorough study of the Oriental Institute materials enabled me to solve a number of difficult problems in the Museum texts, which were not clear to me before.

December, 1954

I. J. GELB

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Notes on Transliteration

Akkadian words are transliterated in italics, with doubtful elements in roman. Sumerian words and signs are transliterated in roman capitals, with doubtful elements in italic capitals. Doubtful elements in the English translation are in italics.

All syllabic signs have been transliterated with their first and most common value. Thus, the form *taprus* is transliterated as written, *da-ap-ru-us*, and not as *tá-ap-ru-us*. Signs with the initial sibilant *s*, as *sa*, *si*, *su*, etc., are transliterated as such and not as *ša_x*, *ší*, *šu_x*, respectively, in spite of my belief, expressed in *AJSL* LIII (1936/37) 34, that the Old Akkadian written *s* was pronounced as *š*. This has been done partly to avoid a superabundance of diacritic marks and partly in order not to anticipate Thureau-Dangin's new and revised system of transliteration before it is accepted by all the scholarly world. Wherever diacritic marks were absolutely necessary, as in distinguishing such partially homophonous signs as those for *áp*, *ù*, *gi₄*, *má*, Thureau-Dangin's system of transliteration as expounded in his *Le syllabaire accadien* (Paris, 1926) and *Les homophones sumériens* (Paris, 1929) has been followed.

The so-called logograms or word signs appear transliterated with their Sumerian values, owing to the numerous difficulties in ascertaining the correct Akkadian forms for the early period in which these tablets were written. Of course, it would have been easy and safe to transliterate such signs as Sumerian ARÁD with *wardum*, or Sumerian DINGIR with *ilum*. But the problem of Sumerian EN, for instance, is another matter. Is its Old Akkadian equivalent *be^lum* or *bēlum*? Or, to cite another example, is Sumerian DUMU to be transliterated by *mar^uum*, *mer^uum*, or by a different form? Because of these and other similar difficulties all Sumerian logograms in the texts have been retained as such in the transliterations. However, in the English translations, whenever possible, the Sumerian logograms occurring in personal names have been replaced by their Akkadian equivalents.

The following symbols are used:

[]	wholly lost	<	develops out of
[]	partially lost	>	develops into
[]	erased by scribe	x	a single lost or un- readable sign
< >	omitted by scribe	...	lost or unreadable signs, number uncertain or unessential
<< >>	pleonastically written by scribe	^	long vowel resulting from contraction (as in <i>dīnum</i> , <i>dānum</i> , <i>idīn</i> , <i>rabī</i>)
()	supplied by the author	-	morphologically long vowel (as in <i>maḥārum</i> , <i>māḥīr</i>)
*	reconstructed form		
/	alternate reading		
!	sign abnormal in form, but must be read as transliterated		

Very few determinatives are used in our texts: ^d for divine names, ^{GIŠ} for trees and wooden objects, ^{KUŠ} for objects made of leather, and ^{TUG} for garments. The determinative ^{KI} is used after geographic names. In the discussions referring to tablets of later periods also the determinatives ^m for masculine and ^f for feminine personal names and ^{URU} for cities are found. The transliteration of determinatives here followed is provisional; a revision of the whole system is badly needed.

Introduction

THE TABLETS

Originally the collection comprised fifty-four tablets bearing the Field Museum numbers 229201–54. Later, when no. 229229 was joined to no. 229225, this total was reduced to fifty-three.

There are now no fragments in the collection. All the tablets are complete, except for some which have chipped edges. The majority are well preserved, and the signs on them are easily readable; some are, however, so badly worn in spots that successful decipherment is impossible.

A few of the tablets were badly incrustated with salt crystals, which, however, disappeared upon chemical treatment. Most of the tablets range in color from light brown to red. Some of them are blackish, and these are usually more elegant in appearance than the tablets in other colors.

The tablets vary considerably in size. The largest, no. 229201, is about 12 cm. long and about 8 cm. wide, while the smallest, no. 229208, is only about 4 cm. long and less than 3 cm. wide. Normally, however, the tablets vary but little in width; the greatest variation is in length. In other words, the small tablets approach the shape of a square, while the larger ones are rectangular, with their length often twice their width.

On many tablets, particularly on good specimens, obverse and reverse exhibit distinctly different profiles, that is, a flat obverse and a convex reverse. But this is not always the case; as a result, in some instances, notably in the tablets containing lists, it is difficult to distinguish the obverse from the reverse.

DATE AND PROVENIENCE

It has already been stated in the Preface that the tablets here published did not come to the Museum by way of a scientifically controlled excavation. Since they were obtained through private channels and without any definite information about their

provenience,¹ only internal evidence offered by the tablets themselves can be used in an attempt to reconstruct their ultimate origin.

Even the most superficial inspection of the sign forms, of the orthography, and of the language used in the tablets of the Museum collection leaves no doubt that they belong to the Old Akkadian period. Since none of the tablets in this collection are dated, it is of course impossible to assign them with any degree of certainty to any single king of the Old Akkadian dynasty. However, our tablets exhibit so many resemblances to the published and unpublished tablets bearing dates of Narâm-Sin and Šar-kali-šarri in other collections that it is permissible to assume that ours likewise were written about the time of these two Old Akkadian kings, or about 2261–2199 B.C.² The newly published tablets from Nippur dated to Sargon, the first king of the Old Akkadian dynasty,³ show so many differences in orthography⁴ that they may be safely excluded from comparison.

So much for the date of the tablets. In order to ascertain their provenience it is necessary to study several larger groups of excavated tablets of similar type, also from the Old Akkadian period, and to compare them with the Museum collection.

In the land of Sumer in southern Babylonia several sites, such as Lagaš,⁵ Adab,⁶ and Nippur⁷ as well as some others of less importance, have yielded a considerable number of Old Akkadian tablets. The main characteristic of the texts from this region is that they

¹ The Arab who sold the tablets to Lieutenant Colonel Patterson (see the Preface) told him that they had been dug up "somewhere southeast of Babylon." Anyone who has had any experience with purchased oriental antiquities knows how unreliable such general statements from the natives can be.

² Owing to present uncertainties concerning the older chronology of Mesopotamia, an exact date for the reigns of these two kings cannot be given. V. Christian and E. F. Weidner's approximate date of 2448–2387 B.C. for these two kings, proposed in *AOF* V (1928/29) 140, and Thorkild Jacobsen's date of 2536–2474, proposed in *AS* no. 11, Table II, seem to be too high. The dates here reconstructed are based on Jacobsen's figures minus 275 years required by the "low" chronology now generally favored.

³ A. Pohl, *TMH* V 85, 151, 181.

⁴ In this connection note especially the characteristic forms of the ŠU and DA signs. The tablets dated to Sargon have the first vertical wedge written with an upward stroke, and they are thus linked epigraphically to the Pre-Sargonic period. Tablets written after Sargon show this vertical wedge made with a downward stroke. Pohl's statement, *op. cit.*, p. 7, on the forms of these two signs should be corrected in respect to Sargon's period.

⁵ Published chiefly in F. Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* and *ITT* I; H. de Genouillac, *ITT* II Part 2 and V.

⁶ D. D. Luckenbill, *OIP* XIV.

⁷ Chiefly in G. A. Barton, *PBS* IX Part 1 and A. Pohl, *TMH* V.

employ very little Akkadian (being written mostly in Sumerian) and that the persons occurring in them bear predominantly Sumerian, not Akkadian, names.

In northern Babylonia, in the land of Akkad, relatively few sites have been excavated. Our scarce material for the Old Akkadian period in this area comes chiefly from Sippar¹ and Kiš.² From the region of Kiš comes the famous Obelisk of Maništušu.³ As expected, the Akkadians predominate in this area.

Southeast of Babylonia lies Elam with its capital, Susa, excavated by the French. From there we have several dozen Old Akkadian tablets,⁴ written for the most part in Akkadian. The population seems to have been also chiefly Akkadian, with some Sumerian and native Elamitic admixture.

North of Babylonia, in the region of the Diyala River, several sites have recently been excavated by expeditions of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Of these, Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Tell Agrab have furnished a large amount of valuable material from the Old Akkadian period. The tablets are normally written in Akkadian and contain almost exclusively Akkadian names.

Several groups of Old Akkadian tablets come from the north in Assyria and Mesopotamia proper. The largest group consists of tablets excavated at Gasur, later called Nuzi, situated east of the Tigris in the neighborhood of Kirkuk.⁵ Much smaller collections come from Assur, the ancient capital of Assyria,⁶ and from Chagar Bazar⁷ and Tell Brak,⁸ two small sites south of Mardin in central Mesopotamia. The language of the texts is Akkadian. The great majority of the personal names are Akkadian, with a few sporadic examples of Sumerian names. A number of other personal names, whose linguistic affiliations are difficult to identify but which are clearly non-Akkadian and non-Sumerian, are also found in the texts.

On the basis of the facts presented above we may try to reconstruct the ethnic background in the region of the Tigris and Eu-

¹ H. V. Hilprecht, *BE* I pls. VIff.

² L. C. Watelin and S. Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* III (Paris, 1930) pl. XI, W. 1929, 160 and Langdon in *RA* XXIV (1927) 90 and 96 (letters).

³ V. Scheil, *Mém.* II.

⁴ Chiefly in V. Scheil and L. Legrain, *Mém.* XIV.

⁵ T. J. Meek, *HSS* X.

⁶ See the remarks by A. Falkenstein in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* XC (1936) 714 and n. 2.

⁷ C. J. Gadd in *Iraq* IV (1937) 178 and 185.

⁸ *Idem* in *Iraq* VII (1940) 42, 60f., and 66.

phrases in the Old Akkadian period. To be sure, the following ethnic picture is drawn solely from our knowledge of the languages used in the texts and of the linguistic affiliations of the personal names found in them, but, lacking any other indications, this must suffice for the present.

In Sumer, in southern Babylonia, we find the Sumerians with a limited admixture of Akkadians, while in Akkad, in northern Babylonia, and in the Diyala region, we find a small Sumerian element among the predominantly Akkadian population. Elam, in the southern wing, presents a mixture of Akkadians, Sumerians, and natives. To the north, around Gasur, and also to the west of the Tigris, the Akkadians predominate, but they occur there together with a certain non-Akkadian and non-Sumerian stock.

To return to our original inquiry, it may now legitimately be asked how the Museum collection fits into this picture. As has already been mentioned, the language employed in the Museum texts is Akkadian throughout, and the personal names mentioned are largely good Akkadian, with scarcely any names of Sumerian or foreign origin.

Thus, it is self-evident that, lacking as it does almost all trace of a Sumerian element, the population represented by the Museum tablets must have lived in a region outside of southern Babylonia. Similarly, the tablets cannot have originated in or near Elam, since no Elamitic names have been discovered in our texts. In like manner, the far north may be eliminated as their possible home, because the texts contain no foreign, that is, non-Akkadian or non-Sumerian, elements.

This leaves only two possibilities, the land of Akkad and the Diyala River region. It so happens that the texts from both of these areas, like those of the Museum tablets, indicate a thoroughly Akkadian population. The question then arises, which of these is the one and only possibility? To answer it we must turn to the geographic and divine names in our texts.

Turning first to the largest and perhaps the most important tablet, no. 33, we find that it contains lists of various objects and provisions delivered to certain places. Among the geographic names mentioned are Ibrime (written *Ib-ri-me*), Banga (written *Ban-ga*^{KI}), and Kite (written *Ki-dè*^{KI}). Of these, Banga (the possibilities are B/pang/k/qa) is unknown to me from outside sources. But the other two cities, Ibrime and Kite, are well attested in the inscriptions

from Tell Asmar in the Diyala River region.¹ Since geographic names mentioned in economic texts usually refer to localities within a small area around the site where the texts originated, we may legitimately assume that at least no. 33 of the Museum collection originated at some site in the Diyala River region.

However, the fact that one tablet comes from a certain area does not mean that the whole collection must necessarily have originated there. It must be borne in mind that the collection was purchased from an Arab, who could easily have obtained the tablets from several different sources.

Here can be brought to bear on our investigation one of the divine names found in the Museum collection, namely *Tišpak*. This god is found in our collection in the theophorous names *Pu-Tišpak* (no. 4:4? and 10) and *Warad-Tišpak* (no. 13:2) as well as in the phrase "gate of *Tišpak*," in the texts nos. 7:26 and 51 rev. x+2. *Tišpak* is the chief god of Ešnunna (modern Tell Asmar) and occurs frequently in texts of all periods from Diyala region.² This method of identification may be applied in linking several other tablets of the Museum collection with the Diyala region.

Further evidence favoring the unity of origin of the collection is provided by the names of persons involved in the texts. Thus, the name Ginunu is found on ten tablets, and in at least seven cases it denotes evidently the same person, judging by the similarity in type of the documents in which he is concerned. Also, the recurrence again and again of the same witness names in the legal business transactions favors the assumption that the tablets represent archives of one or more private individuals living in the same locality.

It is noteworthy also that the personal names in the Museum collection find more correspondences in the tablets from the Diyala region than in any other group of texts. Elsewhere in this study are discussed the correspondences between certain names of rare occurrence. To these might be added many more correspondences between common names. Often the similarity is a striking one. For

¹ See notes to no. 33:25, 32, and 50.

² See the study of Jacobsen in H. Frankfort, T. Jacobsen, and C. Preusser, *Tell Asmar and Khafaje. The First Season's Work in Eshnunna, 1930/31* ("Oriental Institute Communications," no. 13 [Chicago, 1932]) pp. 51-59. In scanning through the Old Akkadian material at my disposal I could find no reference to *Tišpak* outside of the Diyala River region. The occurrence of *Tišpak* in the personal name *A-bi-d Tišpak* in a tablet published by H. F. Lutz in *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology* IX pp. 204f., no. 83 means simply that that tablet, too, comes from the Diyala region, as best indicated by the occurrence of *Išnun* (=Ešnunna) *ibid.* l. 46.

instance, our tablet no. 3:5 mentions a certain *Ma-šum* son of *Maš-tum*; on a tablet from Tell Asmar (published in *MAD* I 96: 4f.) two men named *Ma-šum* and *Ma-āš-tum* appear side by side. Evidence of this character is naturally not of decisive importance, but it can and should prove very profitable when added to other considerations of greater weight.

The language of the Museum texts is Akkadian, and to all intents and purposes it is identical with the language employed in the tablets from the Diyala region. From the grammatical standpoint, the only difference lies in the use of the subjunctive in *-a* (discussed under no. 1:12), not found as yet outside of our collection.

When all the facts are marshaled together, the evidence pointing toward the Diyala River region as the place of origin of the Museum collection seems convincing; but the exact locality from which it comes within this region must remain unknown for lack of sufficient comparative material.

CONTENTS

Like most texts from the Old Akkadian period, those in the Museum collection are predominantly of legal, business, and administrative character. There are probably also some school tablets and two private letters. There are no tablets of a literary, religious, or historical nature.

Perhaps the most important group of tablets in the collection is that of the legal documents (nos. 1–19). The main external characteristic of these is the appearance of witnesses. As P. Koschaker¹ observed, throughout the whole of Assyro-Babylonian history the legal business document was a witnessed document. If one recalls that among the entire Gasur material are found only two legal documents with witnesses² and that elsewhere in this period this class of documents is very sparsely represented, it is easy to see that the legal documents in our collection form a welcome and important addition to our knowledge.

The documents in this class can be divided into several smaller groups. The first and largest group (nos. 1–7) consists of legal transactions of the type: "These are the witnesses (to the fact) that A gave (sold etc.) something to B." The second group (nos. 8–11) contains declarations with the usual phraseology of the type: "These

¹ In *OLZ* XXXIX (1936) 150f.

² Discussed *ibid.* col. 150.

are the witnesses (to the fact) that A said (swore, etc.) thus to B.”¹ Interesting is no. 8, in which both a declaration by a certain man and a transaction are attested by witnesses. Nos. 12 and 14 mention the witnesses, but the tablets are in such bad condition that it is impossible to determine in which group of documents they should be classed. The witnesses are usually mentioned at the beginning in the text, but sometimes, as in nos. 4 and 7, they are listed at the end. The variation shows that the form of legal documents had not yet become firmly fixed in this period.

The texts of nos. 15–19 have one characteristic in common. They first enumerate the names of certain persons and then describe the transaction made between certain other persons. I do not know how else to interpret these inscriptions but to consider the names of the men listed at the beginning of the inscription as being those of witnesses to the transaction. The omission of the word “witnesses” (invariably included in nos. 1–14) in these texts should not be too difficult to explain in view of the general brevity of the inscriptions in question. Observe that in all those cases in which the word “witnesses” is omitted even the verb describing the transaction is lacking. Thus in no. 15 it is stated that the barley of A (is) with B, in no. 16 that A (received) barley, in no. 17 that A (gave) barley to B (and similarly in nos. 18 and 19). The omitted words can usually be surmised. Again the lack of a firmly established legal phraseology is evidenced by these examples.

Next in order come the administrative texts (nos. 20–39), in which likewise several classes are represented. No apparent order or formula governs the composition of these documents. Usually absolute brevity of expression prevails. Certain texts are so terse as to give the impression that they are private memoranda. Also the personal tone (“I gave this and this”) of some of the texts (as in nos. 21 and 35) tends to support this supposition. It is interesting to compare tablet no. 32, recording the loan of a lamb and of a certain amount of barley to two individuals, with tablet no. 15, attested by witnesses and referring to a loan of barley by one person to another. While the first text is an administrative document or a memorandum

¹ With but slight modifications in form both groups of documents are well represented in the later periods. See Koschaker and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* VI (Leipzig, 1923) 153, n. to no. 1769 (for Old Babylonian); Koschaker, *Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit* (“Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften” XXXIX, no. 5 [Leipzig, 1928]) p. 23 (for Middle Babylonian); M. San Nicolò and A. Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden* I (Leipzig, 1935) 607ff. (for New Babylonian).

for private use, the other is a legally binding business document because it is witnessed.

The tablets nos. 20–24 concern mainly the distribution of barley among various individuals. Such documents are found frequently in all periods. Two rather important tablets, unfortunately badly preserved in spots, give us the dimensions of certain fields (nos. 25 and 26). Three tablets enumerate personal names, evidently those of workers who were supposed to perform certain services for certain other persons (nos. 27–29). One tablet lists persons designated as ŠEŠ.SAL and *kuluwū* (no. 30). Another discusses certain property in Agade (no. 31), and still another refers to the loan of a lamb and of a certain amount of barley to two individuals (no. 32).

Perhaps the most important group of tablets after the witnessed documents (nos. 1–19) is the group of administrative texts containing lists of various objects such as metals, skins, and provisions, sometimes accompanied by the names of the persons for whom they were destined and sometimes not (nos. 33–39). The importance of these tablets lies chiefly in the extensive vocabulary for provisions and various objects of daily life employed in them.

Nos. 40–44 are difficult to interpret. For the most part it is not so much that they are difficult to read but that they are so difficult to understand. Some of them may possibly be lists like nos. 33–39, discussed above; others may be school tablets. The most troublesome of this group is no. 40, the obverse of which is perfectly readable yet completely unintelligible.

Nos. 45–51 comprise tablets which are either so badly preserved that hardly a word can be read with safety, or well preserved in general but so badly damaged in some essential parts of the inscription that their character cannot be ascertained.

Finally, at the end of the volume are published two private letters from one individual to another (nos. 52 and 53). Because of their richness in vocabulary and grammatical forms they are valuable for the reconstruction of the Old Akkadian dialect. But like most ancient letters they also present their difficulties of interpretation. The introductory formula in our letters is the same as that in other letters of the Old Akkadian period: “Thus (says) A to B.” No salutation or date ever accompanies the Old Akkadian letters.

THE WRITING

The texts are in cuneiform writing, developed by the Sumerians and adapted by the Akkadians for writing their own language.

The epigraphic and orthographic features of the Museum tablets are identical with those known from other tablets of the same period. Local peculiarities occasionally manifest themselves, but in general one system of writing prevails during this period and throughout the entire area from Susa in the south to Chagar Bazar in the north.

This uniformity in writing is evidenced most strikingly in the standardization of the sign forms. Thus, a person well versed in Old Akkadian inscriptions from Susa, for example, would encounter no difficulty in reading the signs on the tablets in our collection. Slight deviations are observable in the writing of some signs, such as ŠUBUR (cf. the occurrence in nos. 33:15 and 39:1 with the normal forms in no. 33:20, 23, 55), DUN (nos. 16:2, 37:6, 38:3), ŪR (no. 33:3 and 54), DUBBIN (no. 33:34). Tablet no. 34 uses several signs which deviate in form from the normal usage (MU, ŠAKAN, TÚG, GÍD).

From the esthetic point of view the Old Akkadian writing is perhaps more beautiful than that of any other period. In regularity of form, attention to detail, and elegance of appearance it can hardly be matched in all the long history of cuneiform writing.¹

The so-called phonetic indicators are used very sparsely in our texts. See, for example, AB + ÁŠ-bu-ut, AB + ÁŠ-bu-tum, and AB + ÁŠ-bu-zu, discussed under no. 1:9 (but also AB + ÁŠ alone is found), SIPA-ì-tum, SIPA!-tum, as compared with Ri-ì-tum (discussed under no. 6:4), DUMU-a in no. 2:12 (as against the commonly used DUMU), and ŠÁM-me (no. 10:9) or ŠÁM-mu-su (no. 33:62).

As compared with other tablets of similar type and from the same period, the tablets in the Museum collection employ phonetic-syllabic writing to a much greater degree. The order of signs in the syllabic writing is firmly established, and deviations from this order are no longer permitted in the Old Akkadian period.

The lines of writing are regularly separated by horizontal rulings. The text normally reads from top to bottom of the obverse, around the lower edge, down the reverse, then along the left edge and finally the right edge of the tablet. Variations occur, of course. Sometimes only the obverse is inscribed. Often, too, only obverse and reverse are inscribed and the lower edge is left blank. Or the left edge may

¹ It may be mentioned here that this regularity of form conveniently enables the decipherer to read badly preserved signs, even when their outlines alone are visible and all details are broken away.

be used but not the upper edge. Occasionally, long lines on the obverse may run onto the right edge of the tablet.

Sometimes, when the sense of an inscription is obscure, it is difficult to determine which side is the obverse and which the reverse. In some cases, the shape of the tablet itself furnishes a clue in that the obverse is usually flat and the reverse convex.¹ This failing, it may be possible to ascertain which is the obverse by observing the position of the left edge. Judging from such tablets as nos. 7, 8, 10, 37, and 40, whose arrangement is well fixed, the writing on the left edge begins at a point near the left bottom of the obverse.²

Only one tablet in the entire collection (no. 33) is divided into columns, perhaps because it is the only one large enough to require columnar arrangement. In the Sargonic period large tablets pertaining to administration are arranged in columns very frequently.

Some of the tablets have blank spaces between one section of the inscription and the next. Thus in no. 3 a list of the names of four men is divided by a blank space from the description of the business transaction, which those four men witnessed. Similar observations can be made on the basis of nos. 1, 9, 15, 30, 36, and in some other, less clear cases. Uninscribed spaces of this type serve the same function as our modern division into paragraphs. Sometimes double horizontal rulings are used to separate sentences, as in no. 33.

In the Pre-Sargonic period numbers are expressed by forms which are not far removed from the old pictorial stage of cuneiform writing. By the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, however, these signs had already developed the forms which they were to bear in all the succeeding stages of cuneiform writing. The Old Akkadian period, being intermediate between these two periods in time, therefore represents the transitional stage in the writing of numbers. Thus in the tablets of the Museum collection both old and new forms appear. This is best shown by text no. 36, in which 30 SÍG MA.NA is written with the old type of numbers in line 18 and with wedges in line 26.³ Similarly, the number "one," used as the personal name determinative,⁴ is written indiscriminately in the old and in

¹ See also above, page 169.

² It is to be noted that this was not necessarily the rule elsewhere, and perhaps not without exception even in our collection. Thus both of the examples from Susa (Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 7 and 45) and three of the Gasur tablets (Meek, *HSS X* 6, 9, 162) exhibit the same left edge position as do our tablets, while one Gasur tablet (*ibid.* no. 5) does not.

³ Similar variations appear also in no. 26.

⁴ On this see later, pages 324f.

the new form (cf. for example, no. 6 with no. 8). By and large, however, the old type of writing numbers predominates in the Sargonic period.

It may be pertinent to discuss here some other orthographic features in which the Museum tablets diverge from the general practices of the period.

Double consonants are usually written singly in Old Akkadian. But there are several exceptions to this rule in our tablets: *Al-lu-lu* (no. 25:4), *al-lum* (no. 33:16), *Al-lum* (no. 9:2), *at-ti-kum* (no. 8:13; but *i-ti-nam* and ¹*a-ti-šum* in no. 35:10f.), *Ib-bu-bu* (no. 3:11), *Mim-ma-sa* (no. 37:5), *mim-ma-su* (no. 8:14), *su-tu-uḫ-ḫa-tim* (no. 52:6), and *te-er-rí-iš* (*ibid.* line 8). Such cases as *A-ḫu-li-bur-ra* (no. 28:4) or *Li-bur-rí-im* (no. 30:5) cannot, of course, be considered as forms in which double consonants were intended (see n. to no. 28:4). Expression of double consonants by means of "broken" writing in such cases as *A-dam-u*, *A-nin-u*, *Dar-e-tum*, and *Dar-u-ma* is discussed under no. 18:20.

Thureau-Dangin long ago established the rule that the Old Akkadian written *š* usually corresponds to Proto-Semitic *t*, while written *s* corresponds to Proto-Semitic *š* and *š*.¹ In the Old Akkadian period the two consonants *š* and *s* are normally well distinguished; only in the later period of the Third Dynasty of Ur are these two sounds frequently interchanged.

In contrast to this general rule, the texts in the Museum frequently show the interchange of writings with *s* and with *š*: *Su-ni-tum* (nos. 17:5, 10; 19:11; 20:6; 33:24) and *Šu-ni-tum* (nos. 18:6 and 21:6); *si-tim* (no. 10:9), ¹*si-tum* (no. 53:7), and *ši-tum* (no. 9:27, not sure); *al-su* (no. 7:27), *mim-ma-su* (no. 8:14), *É-ti-su₄-nu* (no. 36:29), and *ma-ḫa-ar-šu-nu* (nos. 8:16; 12:16).²

THE LANGUAGE

The language used in the Museum texts is Akkadian, or Assyro-Babylonian. To be more specific, it is a local Diyala dialect of Old Akkadian, which differs but slightly from the Old Akkadian spoken elsewhere.

It is impossible to give here all the characteristics of the Old Akkadian dialect as evidenced by the Museum texts. Nevertheless, some of the new and interesting facts pertaining to grammar and

¹ In *RA* XXIII (1926) 28.

² For interchange of *su* and *su₄* cf. *ik-su-ra* (no. 14:30) with *ik-su₄-ra* (no. 36:9).

vocabulary may be briefly pointed out, together with references to the more detailed discussions.

As far as the grammar is concerned, the noun shows no important irregularities. Case endings are regularly used, and mimation is always preserved. Some seeming exceptions in personal names are discussed under nos. 25:2 and 49:12. The dual is used regularly in this period, as, for example, in *a-za-an* (no. 33:5), *zu-zu-la-an* (no. 7:19), *DUMU-a* (construct state, no. 2:12), *sa-ti-da* (no. 49 rev. x+3). The interesting *fu^cullā^um* formation is discussed under no. 49. Unique and important is the use of the subjunctive ending *-a* beside the normal ending *-u* (discussed under no. 1:12). The verbal form *eppiš* (discussed under no. 53:15) is the same as that of the Old Babylonian period. The declension of the determinative-relative pronoun *šu* can be observed in many cases (nos. 7:22; 21:5; 31:4; 36:7; 43:7; and perhaps 44:6f.). The occurrence of *quddušiš* (discussed under no. 47:11) testifies to the use of the *-iš* formation so popular in the Old Akkadian period. In regard to phonology note the *m > n* development discussed under no. 36:5.

The vocabulary likewise has its peculiarities. Thus, words may occur with meanings that are either completely unknown or infrequently attested in other periods. Cf. the discussions of the nouns *enūm* (no. 7:21), *kišamarum* (no. 52:7), *šutuḥḥatum* (no. 52:6), and the verbs *kašārum* (no. 36:2), *šadādum* (no. 1:12), etc.

Perhaps the most important single negative result deriving from our study of the texts is that Sumerian influence is totally lacking in them. Not a single Sumerian nominal or verbal form and not one single Sumerian legal expression is to be found anywhere in the Museum texts. This fact is in complete agreement with our conclusion that the Sumerians as an ethnic group were non-existent in the region of the Diyala River (see pp. 172ff.).

THE CULTURE

The extant texts do not furnish us with a complete, straightforward account of the government, religion, agriculture, or industry of the Diyala River region in the Old Akkadian period. But they do give us hundreds of words which are, indirectly, of great help in reconstructing the conditions under which the people of our texts lived.

It is of course self-evident that many objects used in daily life will not be found in the following description, not because they were

not used at the time when our texts were written, but simply because the available material upon which our description is based is not comprehensive enough. Other objects are known to us from texts outside our collection. However, even if all the written material of the period were at hand, our knowledge would still be incomplete, for it does not necessarily follow that everything pertaining to the daily life would be recorded.

Social and religious conditions can be reconstructed only very sketchily owing to the inadequacy of the sources. The highest local official was the governor (EN_x.SI, nos. 11:14; 14:9; 46:2), who, to judge from what we know about his functions from elsewhere, was directly responsible to the king. The city council was composed of the elders (AB + ĀŠ URU^{KI}, *passim*). The presence of a military class is attested by the occurrence of soldiers (UKU_x.UŠ, nos. 47:9; 52:4) and of a high officer (GAL.UKŪ, no. 12:2). Justice was dispensed by judges (DI.TAR, no. 7:27), probably—as so often in the ancient Orient—at the city gates (KĀ, nos. 7:26; 51 rev. x+2), which were guarded by gate-keepers (NI.DU₈, no. 43:13). The MAŠKIM-official was probably the bailiff of the judge (nos. 7:28; 51 rev. x+1). It was up to the SAG.ZUG₇ official, “land registrar,” to keep the official records relating to property (no. 51 rev. x+7).

Temple activities are evidenced by the occurrence of several classes of priests and temple officials, such as SANGA (nos. 1:1; 18:19; 27:8), MAŠ.MAŠ (nos. 2:6; 25:1), and GUDŪ (no. 8:5).

The Museum tablets in conjunction with many other sources published elsewhere show that the Old Akkadian society was mainly an agricultural one. The country outside of the cities was subdivided into estates (É) of various sizes owned by the king, his family and officials, by the temple, or by private individuals. The estate included serfs, who as smiths, carpenters, masons, etc. specialized in their various professions, and slaves. The estate was administered by the superintendent (ŠABRA É, nos. 44:6; 46:4), to whom were responsible the overseers (NU.BANDA, no. 4:11) and the lower-ranking foremen (UGULA, nos. 12:17; 39:11). In proportion to serfs, the number of slaves (ARĀD, *passim*) and slave girls (GEMÉ, *passim*) is rather limited. It is interesting to note that even the latter had the privilege of serving as witnesses to legal transactions (nos. 8:4; 9:9f.; 16:2f.).

The estate provided the people with monthly rations of grain or flour, oil, and perhaps straw. The barley rations (ŠE.BA É, no. 44:13) vary from 60 QA for a grown man to 10 QA for a baby,

with intermediate quantities of 30–40 QA for women, 30 QA for boys, and 20–30 QA for girls. The exact data concerning rationing of barley must be obtained from sources outside our collection, but they are supported indirectly by our nos. 20, 23, and 24. The picture of a feudal society based on private property, as briefly reconstructed above, does not take account of theories that have been proposed in the past by various scholars in support of public ownership of land and of an etatistic and/or a theocratic organization of the Mesopotamian society. This very important subject should be thoroughly discussed in the near future.

The cities, besides being centers of public administration, had highly organized arts and trades. Much information can be obtained from observations of the occurrences of professions which are mentioned along with the personal names. Thus, we find bakers (MU-ĤALDIM, no. 48:9), barbers (ŠU.I, nos. 21:2; 22:2), carpenters (NAGAR, nos. 9:9; 13:2; 39:11; 43:8), fowlers (MUŠEN.DÛ, nos. 2:15; 12:7? and 14; 50:5), fullers (*ga-zi-ru*, no. 51 rev. x+9; perhaps TÛG, no. 16:7; also a female, SAL.LÛ.TÛG, no. 36:11), maltsters (LÛ.MUN_x(BULÛG), no. 9:8), masons (*i-ti-num*, no. 40:16), merchants (DAM.KÂR, no. 16:4), physicians (*asûm* in the name DINGIR-*a-zu*), potters (EDIN, no. 36:5), sailors (MÂ.LAĤ₄, no. 12:3), shepherds (SIPA UDU, no. 16:6; cf. also Rē'itum among personal names), shoemakers or leather-workers (AŠGAB, nos. 43:19; 44:12; 45:6; 48:2), smiths (SIMUG, no. 44:3), and upholsterers (TÛG.DU₈, no. 36:13).

The people lived in houses (Ē, nos. 1:11; 5:12; 10:8; 31:3; 36:10, 12, 29) made of bricks (SIG₄, nos. 44:17; 45:7?; brick moulds [*nalbanātum*] are mentioned in no. 43:6) and logs (for the roof, GIŠ.ÛR, no. 33:3, 54, and GIŠ *u-ri-i*[*m*], no. 39:2; cf. also GIŠ. IŠ.DĒ, nos. 2:1; 4:2?). The houses had doors (cf. the difficult expressions discussed under nos. 33:10f.; 43:15f.) and window shutters in the form of wooden or clay grilles (*naktamāt aptim*, no. 41:1). What a "chair house" (Ē.GU.ZĒ, no. 8:18) means we do not know.

Of the various kinds of grain, barley (ŠE, *passim*) is by far the most common in the Old Akkadian period. Flour (ZĪD.ŠE and ZĪD.GU) was milled from it, and from flour bread (NINDA, *passim*) was prepared. Other grades or classes of barley are ŠE.UD.UD (no. 22:3) and ŠE.⁴INNIN (no. 42:3). One other grain, emmer (ĀŠ.AN), is mentioned just once in our texts (no. 47:2) as is also flour made of a legume called GÛG (no. 48:5).

Next to barley, the most commonly mentioned provision is oil of different kinds, as oil, without any descriptive adjective (IĀ, *passim*), *thin* oil (IĀ.SIG.A, no. 38:6), and sesame oil (IĀ.¹GIŠ¹, no. 47:1). The fact that sweet butter is mentioned only once (IĀ.NUN.DÛG, no. 34:5) indicates that milk and its products played a relatively small role in the life of the people. That the ancients knew beer is shown by the occurrences of KAŠ (no. 46:1?, 5?) and NINDA.BAPPIR (no. 33:1, 18, 54), the well-known ingredient in beer-making. Such secondary products as straw (IN.U, no. 37:17) and reeds (GI, nos. 23:7; 41:5) are also mentioned. Salt as condiment is found perhaps in no. 44:16.

Many varieties of trees occur in the texts, such as tamarisk, myrtle, and laurel, to mention only the ones which can be translated with any degree of certainty. A great number of them appear in texts nos. 33 and 39, particularly.

Of the domestic animals, sheep and goats were most common (nos. 32:1; 34:1; 37:1, and 5). Oxen (GUD, no. 37:3) and calves (AMAR, nos. 38:4; 41:13) occur rarely. Also, swine are found in nos. 16:2; 37:6; 38:3, although the interpretation of DUN is not quite sure. The existence of dogs is attested by the personal name Kalbum (no. 29:1), and of mice by Ḫulium (no. 1:5). Equids are represented by two terms which still remain obscure (ANŠE.BAR. AN, no. 31:1, and ANŠE.LIBIR.SAL, no. 21:4).

Silver (KUG.BABBAR) is the most frequently mentioned metal, which is only natural in view of the fact that silver was money in ancient times. Copper (URUDU, nos. 7:1; 39:4; 45:5), bronze (UD.KA.BAR, nos. 7:2; 16:8), and gold (KUG.GI, nos. 33:61; 44:8) are also mentioned. The standard measure of weight is the "stone of silver" (NA₄ KUG.BABBAR, no. 36:19).

A great number of garments are named in nos. 4, 7, 34, 35, 37, 38, but unfortunately English translations for the names of the individual pieces of apparel cannot yet be given. Wool (SÍG) for cloth is mentioned several times (nos. 34:6?, 9?; 36:18, 26). Carded wool (GIŠ.NI, no. 47:13) and an unknown kind of material called *kutnum* (no. 11:13) occur also.

Many tools and implements pertaining to all walks of daily life appear in the texts. Plows were certainly used in this period, although their occurrence in our texts is questionable (GIŠ.APIN in no. 38:7). Reference is made to another agricultural implement in a text which mentions the "teeth" or pegs attached to threshing boards (*šinnāt kišzappī*, no. 33:17, 31, 36). Parts of chariots (*na-*

ba-tum, no. 33:13) and wagons (GIŠ.KA DUBBIN, *ibid.* line 34) point to the use of these vehicles. Among wooden implements we know of pegs (GIŠ.K[A], no. 33:6), hoes (*allum*, *ibid.* line 16), spades (GIŠ.MAR, *ibid.* lines 7, 53), boards (GIŠ.DA, *ibid.* line 8), trays (GIŠ.KID₅, *ibid.* lines 9, 33, 39f.), poles (*tirkullum*, *ibid.* line 22), staffs (GIŠ.GÍD, no. 34:8), *distaffs* (GIŠ.ZUM+TÚG, no. 7:20), and baskets (*sussulum*, *ibid.* line 19).

We know of leather made of the skins of goats (KUŠ MÁŠ, no. 34:1), oxen (KUŠ GUD, no. 37:3), and pigs (KUŠ DUN, no. 38:3). Out of leather were made sandals (KUŠ.ŠUḪÚB, no. 44:5), sacks (KUŠ.(LAL.)A.GÁ, nos. 33:41; 34:7; 48:3, 6), skin buckets (*maš-lum*, no. 7:10), and water skins (EDIN.A.SU, nos. 7:11 and 34:4). An object of leather was the *dabašinnum* (no. 7:14). The function and material of certain other receptacles, such as AN.ZA.MU (no. 34:3), ŠAKAN (*ibid.* line 5), *madla²um* (no. 37:8), *ḥupšašūm* (no. 41:7), *nama³um* (no. 43:3), *kapturru³m* (*ibid.* line 4), and GUR (nos. 41:4; 43:14) have not yet been ascertained.

Finally, there are the doubtful occurrences of a drum for musicians (*tiggūm*, no. 41:14) and of a mirror (*mašālum*, no. 7:1), which may attest to the gayer side of life. The occurrence of wicks (*bušinnum*, no. 41:6) proves the existence of oil lamps for purposes of illumination.

TABLES OF MEASURES

For the sake of convenience the following sets of equivalents, taken from Thureau-Dangin, "Numération et métrologie sumériennes," RA XVIII (1921) 123–42, are offered. It is to be noted that the tables contain only those measures which are found in our texts.

1. Linear Measures

		1 ŠU.BAD=	0.2475 meter ¹
	1 KÙŠ=	2 ŠU.BAD=	0.495 meter
	1 GI=6 KÙŠ=	12 ŠU.BAD=	2.97 meters
1 ĒŠ.GÍD ² =	20 GI=120 KÙŠ=	240 ŠU.BAD=	59.4 meters
1 GUD ³ =6 ĒŠ.GÍD=	120 GI=720 KÙŠ=	1440 ŠU.BAD=	356.4 meters

¹ One meter=1.0936 yards.

² Provided ĒŠ.GÍD corresponds to ĒŠ in Thureau-Dangin's tables. See n. to no. 25:1.

³ Provided GUD corresponds to UŠ in Thureau-Dangin's tables. See n. to no. 26:1.

2. Surface Measures

	1 SAR=	35.2836	square meters ¹
	1 GÁN= 100 SAR=	3528.36	square meters
1 BUR=18 GÁN=1800 SAR=	63510.48		square meters

3. Measures of Capacity

	1 QA=	0.842	liter ²
	1 PI= 60 QA=	50.52	liters
1 GUR=5 PI=300 QA=	252.6		liters

4. Measures of Weight

	1 GÍN=	0.0084167	kilogram ³
	1 MA.NA= 60 GÍN=	0.505	kilogram
1 GÚ=60 MA.NA=3600 GÍN=	30.3		kilograms

¹ One square meter=1.196 square yards.² One liter=1.0567 quarts.³ One kilogram = 2.2046 pounds.

Transliterations, Translations, and Notes

1 (FM 229237)

A very well-preserved tablet recording the measuring of a house by Mututu for Ilum-asû. The measuring was witnessed by eight men, whose names are listed at the top of the document. On the problem of measuring see the note to line 12.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1) 1 <i>Ī-lī</i> -GAL SANGA	1 Ili-rabî the priest,
2) 1 <i>Zu-zu</i>	1 Zuzu,
3) 1 <i>Ī-lu-lu</i>	1 Ilulu,
4) 1 <i>E-nam-ra</i>	1 Enamra,
5) 1 <i>Ĥu-li-um</i>	1 Ĥulium,
6) 1 <i>Ī-la-la</i> (erasure)	1 Ilala, (erasure)
Lo. E. 7) [1] <i>Ē-a-ì-lī</i>	[1] Ea-ili,
Rev. 8) [1] <i>Dan-ì-lī</i> (space)	[1] Dan-ilī. (space)
9) ŠU.NIGÍN 10 LAL 2 AB+ĀŠ-bu-ut	Total of 8 witnesses (to the fact)
10) <i>Mu-tu-tu</i>	that Mututu
11) <i>Ē a-na</i> (erasure) DINGIR-a-zu	the house for Ilum-asû
L. E. 12) <i>iš-du-da</i>	measured.

NOTES

Line 3.—The reading of NI.LU.LU as *Ī-lu-lu* is based on comparison with *I-lu₅-lu₅* in Meek, *HSS* X 153 vi 15. On the use of the sign LUL with the value *lu₅* see also the remarks by the author in *AJSL* LIII (1936/37) 38 top. In conformity with the reading of NI.LU.LU as *Ī-lu-lu*, the name NI.LA.LA in line 6 is read as *Ī-la-la*. Cf. also the remarks on the reading of Izaza under no. 30:4.



Obverse



Reverse



Lower Edge



Left Edge

TABLET 1 (FM 229237)

Line 9.—It has long been conjectured that the logogram AB+ĀŠ means “witness” and that its corresponding Akkadian form is *šibum*. Cf., for example, among the older references B. Hrozný in *WZKM* XXI (1907) 25ff. and XXIII (1909) 193ff. and more recently Koschaker in *OLZ* XXXIX (1936) 151 and in *ZA* XLIII (1936) 200, n. 1. However, real proof for the reading of AB+ĀŠ was lacking prior to the discovery in our collection of several occurrences of this logogram with the phonetic indicators *-bu-ut* (nos. 1:9; 4:14; 6:7), *-bu-tum* (no. 9:12), and *-bu-zu* (no. 14:11).

The Akkadian word *šibum* means “gray,” “old,” “old man,” or “elder” (of village or city). The meaning “witness” developed

evidently from the fact that it was usually the older men or elders who served as witnesses to legal transactions. The distinction between "elder of the city" and "witness" is normally expressed in our texts by the writing AB+ĀŠ URU^{KI} for the former and AB+ĀŠ alone for the latter.

The construction *šibūt Mututu . . . išduda*, "witnesses (to the fact) that Mututu . . . measured," is correct from the standpoint of Akkadian grammar. Cf. the parallel construction *awât iqbû*, "the word he said," cited in A. Ungnad, *Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik* (2nd ed.; München, 1926) § 16a. The other possible construction, *awâtam ša iqbû* (*ibid.*), is found in Old Akkadian in the phrase ŠU.NIGÍN 5 AB+ĀŠ-bu-tum šu-ut en-ma Be-li-sa-tu a-na Gi-nu-nu, "total of 5 witnesses (to the fact) that thus (said) Bêli-šadû to Ginunu" (no. 9:12-15).

Line 10.—*Mu-tu-tu* as a personal name appears also in Meek, HSS X 154 v 15. The name can be interpreted as Mututu, a partially reduplicated form of the class discussed below (p. 325).

Line 11.—There is a trace of an erased sign in front of DINGIR.

Line 12.—The primary meaning of *šadādum* is "to pull," "to drag." Its secondary meaning, "to measure," seems to have developed from the use of this verb to denote the pulling of a cord for the purpose of measuring fields and buildings. Perhaps the clearest example of *šadādum*, "to measure," is found in an Old Babylonian letter translated by Ungnad, BB no. 135, which gives measurements of the dirt excavated in the digging of a certain canal.

In the Old Babylonian period this verb is frequently found in the well-known phrase *ûm ebûrim eqlam ana pî šulpišu* (var. *šulpišunu*) *išaddadûma*, but its translation is an old *crux interpretum*. However, today most scholars seem to follow B. Landsberger in his translation of *šadādum* in these clauses as "to measure" (WZKM XXVI [1912] 127-30); cf. A. Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen* ("Leipziger Semitistische Studien" VI 4-6 [Leipzig, 1917]) pp. 201f.; Koschaker and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* VI 108ff. For other opinions see B. Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht* (Leipzig, 1893) p. 141 ("zurückgeben"); M. Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts* (Leipzig, 1913) pp. 177f. and 551 ("eggen" or "abernten"); W. Schwenzner, *MVAG XIX 3* (1915) pp. 82ff. ("aufrechnen"). Further literature is cited in all these references. Cf. also Landsberger in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* VIII (1949) 280, n. 106.

Use of the verb *šadādum* is rare in the Old Akkadian period. Outside of our text we find it in nos. 2:4 (“A *iš-du-ud* for B logs for a house”) and 8:21 (“A *iš-du-ud* for B a ‘chair-house’ for the price of barley”). Outside of our collection only one Old Akkadian tablet (*MAD* I 336), referred to below in the discussion on no. 8:18, uses this verb (“4 men *iš-du-tu* for B 4 ‘chair-houses’ ”). The structure of the Old Akkadian texts which employ the verb *šadādum* is rather simple. A man (or men) measure(s) a certain building (or logs for a building) for a certain person; in all cases a number of witnesses are present.

That these texts cannot be explained simply as documents testifying to the act of measuring the buildings is evident from our no. 8, in which a certain person “measures” for another person a house for the price of barley. It seems hardly likely that one would pay for services rendered in measuring a house. On the other hand, neither can an outright sale be concerned, since sale documents have a different phraseology, best exemplified in our no. 4: “A gave to B so much silver as the price of an object.” It seems plausible therefore, to assume that our tablets represent the intermediate stage between “measuring” and “selling,” that is, they are documents testifying to the fact that A measured a certain building with the intention of selling it to B. It is possible that another real sale contract was drawn up at a later time. But it is also possible that the contract mentioning the measuring sufficed for the purpose. The verb *šadādum* could then be interpreted as “to measure with the intention of selling” or as “to measure off.” The semantic development of *šadādum*, “to measure,” “to measure off,” used with reference to the linear measurement of buildings or fields would be parallel to the development of the meaning of *madādum*, “to measure,” “to measure out,” used with reference to measures of capacity, as in the case of grain or flour. A similar semantic development can be observed in *šaḡālum*, “to weigh,” and also “to weigh out” (“to pay”), used with reference to metals. At a later time the verb *šadādum* is used with reference to providing a man (*amēla išaddad*) for another man, as in the Nuzi text translated by H. Lewy in *Orientalia*, n. s. X (1941) 329f.

The emphasis placed upon “measuring” in the transfer of property finds its natural explanation in the fact that a sale could be contested at a later time if the property bought proved to be smaller than had been agreed upon. Cf. M. San Nicolò, *Die Schlussklauseln der altbabylonischen Kauf- und Tauschverträge* (München, 1922) pp. 206f. To protect himself against such an eventuality the

seller drew up a memorandum naming the men who witnessed the measuring of the property before the actual sale. In the case of future litigation he could call upon them to testify in his behalf. The importance of measuring property is attested by the existence of official surveyors called LÚ.ÉŠ.GÍD in the time of Maništušu (see Scheil, *Mém.* II 29 and 31) and Urukagina (see Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* [Leipzig, 1907] p. 48 iv 2), discussed by Hrozný in *WZKM* XXV (1911) 319.

The form in *-a*, found in *iš-du-da* of our tablet, occurs in the following texts of our collection:

- 1) ŠU.NIGÍN 10 LAL 2 AB+ÁŠ-*bu-ut* *Mu-tu-tu* É *a-na* DIN-GIR-*a-zu* *iš-du-da*, "total of 8 witnesses (to the fact) that Mututu measured the house for Ilum-asû" (no. 1:9-12).
- 2) AB+ÁŠ 1 (PI) ŠE *Gi-nu-nu a-na Dar-e-tum i-ti-na*, "witnesses (to the fact) that Ginunu gave 1 PI of barley to Dar-etum" (no. 3:7-10).
- 3) *in* É *ši uš-da-a-bí-la*, "in the house, in which I had reconsidered (the matter)" (no. 10:8).
- 4) *šu a-na Šu-ni-tum a-ti-na*, "that which I gave to Šunitum" (no. 21:5ff.).
- 5) ŠE.ĤAR.AN *È-ni-um šu Na-bí-um in i-te-su ik-su₄-ra*, "the ĤAR.AN-barley of Enium which Nabium with his . . . -ed" (no. 36:6-9). Cf. also *ik-su-ra* in a broken context in no. 14:30.

Most of the examples cited above occur in clear context and lead to the unescapable conclusion that the forms in *-a* represent the subjunctive. Now, of all the Semitic languages only Arabic has a subjunctive in *-a*; in Akkadian, as is generally known, the subjunctive ends in *-u*.

Besides the subjunctive in *-a* the tablets in this collection use also the normal subjunctive in *-u*, as in *e-mu-ru* (plur., no. 6:10), *it-ba-lu* (no. 7:24), [*á*]š-*tu-ru* (no. 53:5). It is important to note that no examples of the subjunctive in *-a* can be found in any other Old Akkadian texts outside of our collection. Evidently this is a characteristic not of the Old Akkadian period in general, but solely of the region in which our collection originated. The occurrence of the subjunctive in *-u* in the texts of this collection may have to be explained as being due to an outside dialectal influence.

2 (FM 229227)

The contents of this text are simple. Six men, identified by their professions or genealogies, are witnesses that Îdâ-pi-ilî measured for Bêli-bânî certain logs for a house.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 2 (FM 229227)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	1½ GIŠ.IŠ.DÈ É	1½ IŠ.DÈ-logs of the house
2)	<i>I-da-bî-î-li</i>	Îdâ-pi-ilî
3)	<i>a-na Be-lî-ba-ni</i>	for Bêli-bânî
4)	<i>iš-du-ud</i>	measured.
5)	^d KA-Me-ir	Pu-Mer
6)	MAŠ.MAŠ	the incantation priest,
7)	<i>I-nin-¹nûm</i>	Ininnum,
Rev. 8)	<i>A-bî-bî</i>	Abibi,
9)	2 X	2 ,
10)	<i>Ku-ru-ba</i>	Kuruba,
11)	<i>Ti-ni-na</i>	Tinina,
12)	2 DUMU-a	2 sons
13)	<i>Ra-bî-DINGIR</i>	of Rabî-îlum,
14)	<i>Im_x(DU)-da-lik</i>	Imtalik
15)	MUŠEN.DÛ	the fowler.
16)	AB + ĀŠ <i>Da-bi-lum</i>	Witnesses of Dabilum.

NOTES

Line 1.—GIŠ.IŠ.DÈ occurs in some Ur III texts, as in De Genouillac, *ITT* II 4508:1, 4, 6 and 4646 rev. 4f. Cf. also 1 GIŠ.IŠ.DÈ GIŠ.ĦAŠHUR, “1 IŠ.DÈ—log of an apple tree,” in De Genouillac, *ITT* V 9273:3, which shows that GIŠ.IŠ.DÈ are not trees but presumably logs for a building. 1 GIŠ.IŠ.DÈ occurs perhaps in no. 4:2. For an additional Old Akkadian example cf. n. to no. 36:5.

Line 2.—The name *I-da-BÍ-NI-li* can be interpreted either as *Îdâ-pi-ilî*, “he knows the word of my god,” or as *Îdâ-pi-ilî*, “obey the word of my god!” The Old Akkadian genitive form is *ilî*, not *ilija*, as can be seen from many examples, best of which is [a]-na *Si-ĦUR.SAG be-li ù a-bî*, “to Š. my lord and my father,” in *MAD* I 191:4f.

Line 5.—The personal name ^dKA-*Me-ir* occurs also in Scheil, *Mém.* II pl. 4 v 3, Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 6 ii 1, Meek, *HSS* X 13 ii 9, and as KA-*Me-ir* below in no. 9:4 and *MAD* I 162:4. The interpretation as -*ka-me-ir* from *kamārum* by Ungnad in *MVAG* XX 2, pp. 58f. is impossible since the KA sign does not have a syllabic value *ka* in Old Akkadian.

Line 7.—The name *I-nin-¹nûm* is reconstructed on the basis of *I-nin-nûm* in *MAD* I 163 viii. Cf. also *I-nin-um* in Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 10 rev. ii x+9 and 72 iii 8.

Line 9.—The unread sign in this line is a perplexing one. It should represent the profession of the two men mentioned in lines 7 and 8.

Line 12.—The form DUMU-*a Ra-bî-DINGIR*, referring to the names in lines 10 and 11, is probably to be read as *mar^a Rabî-ilum*, construct state of the dual *mar^aān* from *mar^um*, “son.” On the latter form see Gelb, *OIP* XXVII pp. 21ff.

Line 14.—The name DU-DA-UR occurs frequently in Old Akkadian texts, for example, in Scheil, *Mém.* II p. 43, Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV p. 127, Meek, *HSS* X p. xxx. On the reading *Im_x-da-lik* cf. *MAD* II under the sign DU.

Line 16.—The form *Da-bi-lum* in line 16 is most probably a short form for *I-da-bî-î-li*.

3 (FM 229230)

Four men are witnesses that Ginunu gave (sold) a certain amount of barley to Dar^{et}um.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	<i>E-gi</i>	Egi
2)	<i>šu Tab-si-ga</i>	of Tabšiga,
3)	<i>Eš₄-dar-sa-tu</i>	Eštar-šadû,
4)	<i>ARÁD-^dInnin</i>	Warad-Innin,
5)	<i>Ma-šum</i>	Mašum
6)	<i>DUMU Maš-tum</i>	son of Mašdum.
Rev.	(space)	(space)
7)	<i>AB + ĀŠ 1 (PI) ŠE</i>	Witnesses (to the fact) that 1 PI of barley
8)	<i>Gi-nu-nu</i>	Ginunu
9)	<i>a-na Dar-e-tum</i>	to Dar ^{et} um
10)	<i>i-ti-na</i>	gave.
11)	<i>GEMÉ Ib-bu-bu</i>	Slave girl of Ibbubu.



Obverse



Reverse



TABLET 3 (FM 229230)

NOTES

Line 1.—The expression *šu* “he (of somebody)” does not stand for paternal relationship, as has been suggested some years ago, but denotes a clan affiliation. See n. on page 324. In the following such expressions are translated as “of.”

Line 2.—The personal name *Tab-si-ga* sounds very much like *Dub-si-ga*, found frequently in the Old Akkadian inscriptions

(Meek, *HSS* X p. xxx; Scheil, *Mém.* II p. 43; *CT* XXII 7 R.E. 12; etc.); in the later period this name is found in the form *Tupšikka* at Nuzi; see Gelb, Purves, and MacRae, *OIP* LVII 159. On the interchange of TAB and DUB cf. for example, ^d*Ak-dub-bi-tum* and *Āk-tab*^{KI} in an inscription published by A. Poebel in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LVII (1937) 367:1. On the -a ending see below, under no. 25:2.

Line 3.—My reading of the name of the famous Mesopotamian goddess as Eštar, not Ištar, is based on the one hand on the fact that I do not know of any spelling of this name with the IŠ sign for the early periods. On the other hand, in favor of the reading eš may be cited not only the old traditional spelling *Eš₄-dar*, but also *Šu-Eš-dar* (*CT* V 46b 20; Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* 355:5; G. Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh* [Berlin, 1901] p. 51 [under *Šu-eš-sí(dar)*]), *Puzur-Eš-dar* (*CT* V 46:3; Reisner, *op. cit.* p. 50 [under *Sú-ša-eš-sí(dar)*]), etc.

Line 11.—The line containing the words “slave girl of Ibbubu” is poorly connected with the rest of the inscription. Evidently, the scribe, having forgotten to write these words in the correct place, was forced to add them at the end of the inscription. Probably they belong after the personal name *Dar-e-tum*, which is found among fem. names in the Old Akkadian tablet *MAD* I 7 x+i.

The personal name *Ib-bu-bu* is found also in Scheil, *Mém.* II pl. 9 vi 1; Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* I 1350:6; Meek, *HSS* X 108:14.

4 (FM 229205)

Sale of lumber by Pu-*Tišpak* to Ilum-dan. Five men witnessed the transaction.

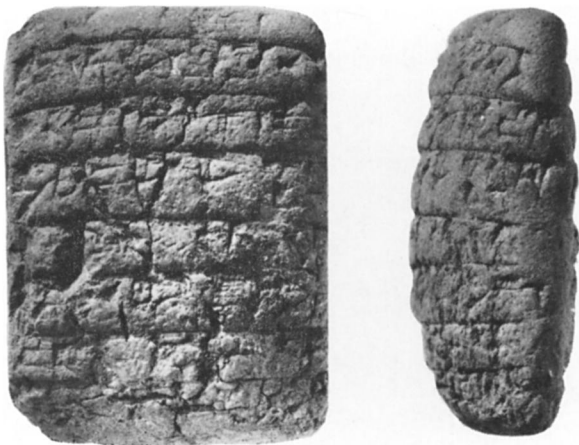


Obverse

TABLET 4 (FM 229205)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	11 GÍN KUG.BABBAR	11 shekels of silver,
2)	a-na ŠÁM 1 GIŠ.IŠ.DÈ 1 GÍN	for the price of 1 IŠ.DÈ-log at 1 shekel of
3)	DINGIR-dan	Ilum-dan
4)	a-na Pù- ^d Tišpak	to Pu- <i>Tišpak</i>
5)	i-ti-in	gave.
6)	1 I-gu-núm	1 Ikûnum
7)	'DUMU' I-ni-um	'son' of Inium,



Reverse

TABLET 4 (FM 229205)

Rev. 8) 1 Šu-BĀD	1 Šu-dûrī
9) DUMU Ši-ir-e-si-na	son of Šir ^o ešina,
10) 1 Pu-Ti ^d špak UGULA	1 Pu-Tišpak the . . . ,
URU	
11) NU.BANDA I-lī-iš-	the administrator Iliš-takal,
da-ga[l]	
12) 1 'ARĀD'-Tu-tu	1 'Warad'-Tutu
13) DUMU Be-lī-GUR ₇	son of Bēlī-GUR ₇ .
14) AB + ĀŠ-bu-ut	Witnesses
15) 'gu'-su-ra-im	of the <i>transaction</i> .

NOTES

Line 2.—For the discussion of GIŠ.IŠ.DÈ cf. no. 2:1.

Line 15.—With AB + ĀŠ-bu-ut 'gu'-su-ra-im of our text cf. AB + ĀŠ.AB + ĀŠ gu-su₄-ra-im (Louvre AO 8638 end) and AB + ĀŠ-bu-ut gu-su[r-r]a-i[m] (*MAD* I 179 end). The noun *g/kušurrāum* may mean “contract” or “transaction,” possibly from the root G/KŠR “to reinforce.”

5 (FM 229238)

The tablet is rather difficult to interpret owing mainly to my inability to read line 13. In lines 1–3 it is stated that a person named Maššāršu has received (borrowed) 4 shekels of silver. Then—if my interpretation is correct—seven witnesses are named who saw that, presumably *in* the house of somebody named in line 13, he—namely, Maššāršu—gave (*returned*) 2 shekels of silver to Iğini. It is not sure that line 13 contained a personal name. Iğini seems to be the person who lent money to Maššāršu.



Obverse



Lower Edge

TABLET 5 (FM 229238)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	4 GÍN ⅓ ŠA KUG.	4⅓ shekels of silver
	BABBAR	
2)	<i>Ma-za-ar-su</i>	Maššāršu
3)	<i>im-ḫur</i>	received.
4)	DINGIR- <i>dan</i>	Illum-dan,
5)	<i>I-gu-núm</i>	Ikûnum,
6)	<i>Î-lî-sa-liq</i>	Ilî-šaliq,
7)	<i>Ur-Su-da</i>	Ur-Šudda,
8)	UD- <i>kum</i>	UD-kum,
9)	<i>I-bî-bî</i>	Ibibi,
Lo. E. 10)	<i>A-dam-u</i>	Adam ^u .



Reverse

TABLET 5 (FM 229238)

Rev. 11) AB + ĀŠ.AB + ĀŠ	Witnesses (to the fact)
12) [x] É	that (<i>in</i>) the house
13) X-su-du-um	of . . . šudum
14) 2 GÍN BABBAR.	2 shekels of silver
KUG	
15) a-na I-gi-ni	to Igini (<i>he returned</i>).

NOTES

Line 1.—Underneath the sign GÍN there are traces of wedges which may best be interpreted as $\frac{1}{3}$ ŠA, that is, “one-third of a shekel.”

Line 2.—*Maššārum* means “security,” “pledge,” but this does not fit into the context.

Line 5.—The name *I-gu-nūm*=Ikūnum, found in this tablet and also in nos. 4:6 and 53:2, occurs frequently in the tablets from Gasur. The reading *I-gul-um* and its interpretation as *Ikān-ilum* in Meek, *HSS X p. xxxii* are not justified.

Line 6.—For occurrences of the personal name *Ī-lī-sa-liq* see Ungnad, *MVAG XX 2* (1916) p. 74. Cf. also the spelling *Ī-lī-sa-lī-iq* in *CT VII 27*, no. 18376 rev. 11.

Line 7.—The divine element Šudda, “the light of heaven,” in the personal name *Ur-Su-da* is very rare. It occurs in the personal

name *Puzur-Šu-da* in an unpublished tablet of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Oriental Institute A 2980:8, and in several names of the Kassite period, such as ^aŠu-ud-da-e-pir^{ir}, Šud-da-ki-tum, ^aŠu-ud-da-ri-man-ni, listed in A. T. Clay, *PNCP* p. 133. See also A. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum* (Roma, 1914) nos. 2865, 2866, 2868, 2870, 3154 and Tallqvist, "Akkadische Götterepitheta," *Studia Orientalia* VII (1938) 449f.

Line 8.—The name UD-*kum* occurs also on several Old Akkadian tablets from Tell Asmar; cf. *MAD* I p. 224. Read perhaps *Tam-qum*=Damqum?

Line 10.—The personal name A-*dam-u* occurs also on three Old Akkadian texts listed in *MAD* I p. 178.

6 (FM 229245)

Six witnesses to a transaction in barley belonging to Nāšir-ilī. The text offers some difficulties in line 8, on which see later.



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 6 (FM 229245)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	1 <i>Da-lim</i> UGULA URU	1 Talīm the
2)	ù 1 GEMĒ-zu	and 1 Amassu,
3)	1 <i>Ip-ti-um</i>	1 Ipti-um,
4)	1 SIPA-ì-tum	1 Rē'itum,
5)	1 <i>Ma-šum</i>	1 Mašum
6)	1' <i>Ì-la-la</i>	1' Ilala.
Rev. 7)	ŠU.NIGÍN 6 AB+ÁŠ- bu-ut	Total of 6 witnesses
8)	ŠE.GA.KÚ	of the sale,
9)	ŠE ša <i>Na-zi-ir-ì-li</i>	the barley of Nāšir-ilī
10)	<i>e-mu-ru</i>	examined.

NOTES

Line 1.—Our personal name *Da-lim* corresponds to Talīm(u), well known in the late period (Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* p. 211). On its meaning see Koschaker in *ZA* XLI (1933) 64–68; on the form see the discussion on no. 49:12.

The signs standing for the title UGULA URU are perfectly preserved both in our text and in no. 4:10. These two signs occur also in E. Burrows, *Archaic Texts* ("Ur Excavations Texts" II [London, 1935]) pl. XLVIII, no. 33 end, pl. L, no. 49 end, and—as

Dr. Jacobsen points out—in E. Chiera, *Selected Temple Accounts from Telloh, Yokha, and Drehem* (no date) 10 *passim*, and L. Legrain, *Business Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur* (“Ur Excavations Texts” III [London, 1937]) no. 1554 rev. ii *passim*, where they clearly stand for a word denoting the profession of a woman in charge of a group of women engaged in weaving. Jacobsen in *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen dicata* (Hauniae, 1953) p. 182 reads the two signs as PA GIŠGAL and compares Deimel, *ŠL* II 295:81.

Line 2.—Similar cases, such as *Šu-a-tum ù Da-da SAL*, “Šuatum and Dada (his) wife,” in no. 20, indicate that Amassu in our text is probably the wife of Talim.

Line 4.—The reading of PA.LU.NI-*tum* in this text as SIPA-*ì-tum* and of PA.LU!-*tum* in no. 10:3 as SIPA!-*tum* and comparison with *Ri-ì-tum* in no. 30:10 was suggested to me by Dr. Jacobsen. It must be noted that a simple reading *Pa-lu-ni-tum* (*Pa-lu-lì-tum*) or *Pa-ku-tum* (*Pa-lu!-tum*) for these names is not permissible, because the sign PA does not have the syllabic value *pa* in our texts. On the other hand, a name *†Ri-i-tum*, “shepherdess,” occurs in later texts (see Clay, *PNCP* p. 120).

Line 5.—Our name *Ma-šum* is evidently Mašum, “twin brother,” found frequently in the Akkadian onomastic material. Cf. *Ma-šum*, *Ma-a-šum* in H. Ranke, *EBPN* p. 123; N. Schneider in *Orientalia* XXIII (1927) 161f.; *VAS* XVI 54:5; and the discussion in Gelb, Purves, and MacRae, *OIP* LVII 323.

Lines 7–10.—Comparison with ŠU.NIGÍN 10 LAL 2 AB+ÁŠ-bu-ut *Mu-tu-tu É a-na DINGIR-a-zu iš-du-da*, “total of 8 witnesses (to the fact) that Mututu measured the house for Ilum-asû” (no. 1:9–12), suggests that ŠU.NIGÍN 6 AB+ÁŠ-bu-ut ŠE.GA.KÚ ŠE ša *Na-zi-ir-ì-lì e-mu-ru* in this text should be translated as “total of 6 witnesses (to the fact) that Šegaku examined the barley of Nāšir-ilī.” However, since I can find no evidence for this personal name in cuneiform literature I prefer to interpret ŠE.GA.KÚ as an abstract noun with the meaning of something like “sale-transaction;” this meaning may be derived from an original expression *še gaku*, “may I eat the barley.” *Amārum* with the meaning “to see” or “to examine (legally)” occurs also in *MAD* I 336 end and is frequent in later periods.

7 (FM 229246)

In lines 1–20 the tablet lists various kinds of metal objects, garments, utensils, and provisions. In line 21 these items are designated as the *movable property* of Nabium, which Gišum had carried away. In respect to this property Nabium swore in the gate of Tišpak that he stated the truth. The tablet ends with a list of witnesses for Gišum. This text resembles in appearance no. 36, both being written presumably by the same scribe.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	[1 ma-ša-lu]m URUDU	[1 mirro]r of copper,
2)	[x G]Ū 1 MA.NA UD. KA.BAR	[x ta]lents 1 mina of bronze,
3)	1 TŪG ¹ .GU.ZI.DA GAL	1 large GU.ZI.DA-garment,
4)	1 TŪG.A.SU GAL	1 large A.SU-garment,
5)	1 GI.NI.SÁ	1 ,
6)	1 TŪG.ŠAG ₄ .GA.DÛ	1 ŠAG ₄ .GA.DÛ-garment,
7)	6 TŪG ⁶ bar-ru šu-ut SAG	6 coverings for the head,
8)	7 TŪG.BAR.SIG GAL	7 large BAR.SIG-garments,
9)	1 E.GI ₄ xGI ₄ .DU.SU É.BA	1 ,
10)	3 KUS ³ maš-li-a-tum	3 skin buckets,
11)	4 EDIN.A.SU	4 water-skins,
12)	2½ QA IÀ	2½ QA of oil,
13)	20 (QA) ZÍD.[ŠE]	20 QA of [barley] flour,
14)	1 KUS ¹ da-ba-si-num	1 dabašinnum,



Obverse

TABLET 7 (FM 229246)

Rev. 15) 2 KUŠ [. . .]	2 skins [. . .],
16) 1 (GUR) ZÍD [. . .]	1 GUR of flour [. . .],
17) 1 (GUR) ZÍD [. . .-l]um	1 GUR of flour [. . .],
18) 1 (PI) [. . .]	1 PI [. . .],
19) 2 ^{GIŠ} zu-zu-la-an	2 baskets,
20) 2 GIŠ.ZUM + TÚG [. . .]?	2 distaffs.
21) e-nu Na-bi-u[m]	(In respect to) the <i>utensils</i> of Nabi ^u um
22) šu-ut Gi-šum	which Gišum
23) il-gi-am-ma	took and
24) it-ba-lu	carried away,
25) Na-bi-um	Nabi ^u um
26) KĀ ^d Tišpak it-ma	in the gate of Tišpak swore.
27) ^l 1 DINGIR-al-su DI.TAR	^l 1 Ilum-alšu the judge.
28) 1 DINGIR-dan šu GUD.GUD PA.RIM ₄	1 Ilum-dan Of GUD.GUD the bailiff.
29) 1 E-ru-ru šu AB + ĀŠ URU ^{KI}	1 Eruru Of the elder of the city,
30) 1 I- ^l gu ^l -nūm DUMU Ē-[n]i-um	1 Ikūnum son of Enium.
L.E. 31) [2] AB + ĀŠ [Gi]-šum	[2] witnesses of [Gi]šum.

NOTES

Line 1.—The only visible traces of signs in this line are those of the end of the sign LUM and the URUDU sign. The reconstruction to [1 ma-ša-lu]m URUDU is based on the frequent occurrence of *ma-ša-lum* UD.KA.BAR in texts of the Third Dynasty of Ur. For the references see Deimel, *ŠL* II 342:109. The occurrence of 1 *ma-ša-lum* UD.KA.BAR in the Old Akkadian period (Luckenbill, *OIP* XIV 100:1 and elsewhere) is very important because its spelling with š shows that the corresponding Arabic sibilant is *t*, as in Arabic *maṭala*. In antiquity, mirrors were normally made of UD.KA.BAR “bronze”; I do not know whether they were made also of copper, if this is the exact translation for URUDU.

Line 3.—With 1 TÚG.GU.ZI.DA GAL, “1 large GU.ZI.DA-garment,” in our line cf. TÚG.GU.ZI.DA. *SĪG*, “a woolen GU.ZI.DA-garment,” in no. 34:6. GU.ZI.DA is most probably an artificial Sumerian logogram for the Akkadian *kusitum*-garment. Cf. such parallels as Sumerian TU.DI.DA (Scheil in *RA* XVII [1920] 211–14



Reverse



Left Edge

TABLET 7 (FM 229246)

and *passim*), TU.TI.DA (Luckenbill, *OIP* XIV 105:7), and DU.TI.DA (in an unpublished Ur III tablet, Oriental Institute A 5834) = Akkadian *dudittum*, "pectoral," Sumerian AR.ZA.NA (Deimel, *ŠL* II 451:14) = Akkadian *arsānum*, some kind of flour, Sumerian DAM.ĜA.RA (Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI* p. 38 i 26) = Akkadian *tam-ḥārum*, "battle," Sumerian MAŠ.GA.NA (Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* p. 170 b iv 10) = Akkadian *maškanum*, "settlement," etc. All these artificial Sumerian logograms are loan words from Semitic, or, to be more exact, from a Semitic language which had not yet developed either the case ending or mimation (see also n. to no. 25:2). In favor of equating GU.ZI.DA with Akkadian *kusitum*, note also the occurrence of TÚG *gu-zi-ti*-[im] in no. 48:12f. and the comparison of TÚG.GU.ZI.DA *SÍG* in no. 34:6 with *kusitum*, made of wool, in the late Babylonian text published in J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1890) 7:7, 10, 13.

The exact translation of *kusitum* is not sure. It certainly represents a garment, especially a woman's garment. Often it is translated as "turban" but without much convincing evidence. Cf. Delitzsch, *AHWB* pp. 342f.; C. Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar* (Heidelberg, 1926) p. 145; H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (Leipzig, 1915) p. 36; Deimel, *ŠL* III 2 p. 212 (where also various logograms for *kusitum* are noted).

Line 5.—The logogram GI.NI.SÁ is not understandable to me, but it is clear from the context that it should denote some kind of garment. GI.NI of the Pre-Sargonic documents, cited in Deimel, *ŠL* II 85:85, is hardly comparable, because GI.NI there forms an ingredient used in making a special kind of oil. One possibility would be to separate GI.NI.SÁ into two words, and to take SÁ as Akkadian *šalmum*, "intact," "whole," "complete." This is the word found in the Old Akkadian phrase *a-na ni-ki-im SÁ*, "for the complete libation," in Meek, *HSS* X 5:22. Since the sign DI never has the value *di* in Old Akkadian, Meek's interpretation as *ni-ki-im-di*, *op. cit.* p. xix, is impossible. The remaining word, GI.NI, could possibly be identical with TÚG.NI, "NI-garment," in the Old Akkadian tablets published in *MAD* I 169:4 and 187:21; we should interpret perhaps TÚG.NI as a "wool NI-garment" in parallelism to GI.NI a "reed NI-garment."

Line 7.—The Akkadian *bar-ru* or *pár-ru*, nom. plur., is in agreement with *šu-ut*.

Line 8.—Spelled TÚG.BAR.SI, this word appears frequently in the texts; see Deimel, *ŠL* II 74:243. The spelling TÚG.BAR.SIG,

as on our tablets, occurs, for example, in *CT* XVIII 9:33f., referred to by Deimel, *ŠL* II 74:367. The corresponding Akkadian word is *paršigum*, spelled with *p*, not *b*, as shown by *pa-ar-ši-gu* in *CT* XVIII 13, K 275:1; 19, K 4377 x+12, and elsewhere. In the Old Akkadian text from Elam this word appears several times in the form *ba-ar-si-gu-um* (Scheil, *Mém.* XXVIII 526).

The word *paršigum* (written TÚG.BAR.SIG) is equated with *ši-in-du šá A.SU* in *CT* XVIII 9:33f., referred to above. The word *šindu* or *šindu* from the root ŠMD, "to bind," means "band" or "bandage" (as used by physicians). The word *paršigum* has a similar meaning; sometimes it is used for "headband," perhaps "turban." For *šindum* in Old Akkadian see no. 35:9.

Line 9.—With the spelling 1 E.GI₄xGI₄.DU.SU É.BA in our text we may compare 1 E.GI₄xGI₄.SU É.BA in an Old Akkadian text, *MAD* I 169:4, in which this word appears likewise among garments. 1 E.GI₄xGI₄.BA occurs also in Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 7:9. The meaning of the word is unknown to me. É.BA may be compared with É.BA.AN of Deimel, *ŠL* II 324:6.

Line 10.—The word ^{KUŠ}*maš-li-a-tum* is fem. plur. of *mašlīum*, which is frequently found in the texts. See Deimel, *ŠL* II 7:61 and 64, for the forms ^{KUŠ}*maš-li-um*, ^{KUŠ}*maš-lu-um*, and *maš-lu-u*. For ^{KUŠ}*maš-li-um* see P. E. van der Meer, *Mém.* XXVII 190:3 (also ^{KUŠ}*maš-li-um*, *ibid.* no. 231:3).

The object called *mašlīum* or *mašlū* is made of leather, as the determinative shows. It is equated with *mašku*, "leather," in a synonym list (see W. von Soden in *ZA* XLIII 242:236). Since the word *mašlīum* is a *nomen instrumenti* based on the root ŠL₇, "to dip," "to submerge," it is probable that the noun in question refers to an implement used for drawing water, such as a skin bucket.

Line 11.—For *EDIN.A.SU* see the discussion on no. 34:4.

Line 14.—In the same synonym list in which *mašlū* is equated with *mašku*, a word *da-ba-ši-in-nu* is equated with *šat-tu-u* (line 235). Its meaning is unknown.

Line 19.—The writing 2 GIŠ^z*zu-zu-la-an* provides a good example of the nom. dual of the noun *sussulum*, "basket."

Line 20.—For the form of the sign ZUM+TÚG see Deimel, *ŠL* II 555:1. For some occurrences of this word in early texts see GIŠ.ZUM+LAGAB GIŠ.TÚG in A. de la Fuyé, *Documents pré-sargoniques* (Paris, 1909) 75 rev. ii 2, and Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 7:12. For the translation as "distaff" see Deimel, *ŠL* II 555:1 and 11.

Line 21.—The word *e-nu*, plur. in the construct state, seems to be the general term applied to all the objects and provisions enumerated in lines 1–20. I know of only one word which might possibly fit here. This is the word *e-nu-um*, which occurs in a Cappadocian tablet published in Clay, *BIN* IV 24:11, in the phrase 1 ANŠE *ša-la-mu-um* ù *e-nu-um*. Comparable also is 2 ANŠE *ša-lá-me* ù *e-nu-sú-nu* in S. Smith, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum* II (London, 1924) 34:5f., and 1 ANŠE ù *ú-nu-sú*, *ibid.* IV (London, 1927) 42c 3f. and *passim*. In the Cappadocian tablets the variant forms *enûm*, *enûtum*, and *unûtum* mean not so much utensils as the trappings of a donkey. In other Akkadian texts *unûtum* normally means “utensils,” “implements,” “equipment,” but sometimes the word is also used as a general term corresponding to our “movable property.” This may be the required translation of *e-nu* in our case. Also the occurrence of É.DÛ.A *mu-ša-ab-ša qa-du e-na-ti-šu* in Scheil, *Mém.* XXII 131:4f., where the *enûtum* of a residence clearly refer to its utensils or movable property, speaks in favor of the interpretation given above.

Comparable is perhaps also GIŠ *e-ni* Û.URU.A in our text no. 33:42.

Line 22.—The personal name Gišum occurs also in Meek, *HSS* X 160 i 7, Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* I 1471:2 and 1475:2, and *MAD* I pp. 198f.

Line 26.—A similar oath appears in no. 51 rev. x+2f.

Line 27f.—Judges and bailiffs as witnesses of an oath are attested also in *MAD* I 135 end and in an unpublished text at Oxford, numbered Kish 1930, 170d rev.

Line 28.—The personal name GUD.GUD could possibly be read as *Gu₄-gu₄* and compared with *Gu-gu* discussed under no. 33:47. Cf. also GUD.GUD=*qarrādu* in Deimel, *ŠL* II 297:64.

8 (FM 229254)

In spite of its good state of preservation this tablet was difficult to interpret at first. Explanation of some of the difficulties involved is given in the discussion on line 18. However, it now seems to me that I can offer a reasonably good interpretation of the text. Six men, whose names, genealogies, and titles are given in lines 1–8, are witnesses to the fact that Ginunu sold to Dan-ilī, for a certain amount of barley, two persons, named Ilī-aḥī and Warassuni. After the deal had been closed Ginunu remarked that Dan-ilī had no barley left. The rest of the tablet apparently concerns the freeing of Ilī-aḥī, who came to an agreement with Dan-ilī by “measuring” (that is, giving) for him a “chair house” (see discussion on line 18) in place of the barley for which he was originally sold.



Obverse

TABLET 8 (FM 229254)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	1 A-dam-u DUMU Pū-ì-lí	1 Adam ^u son of Pu-ilī,
2)	[1] Al-ì-lí	[1] Al-ilī
3)	DUMU Su-ba-è	son of Šubae,
4)	1 Zu-zu ARÁD ^d Innin	1 Zuzu slave of Innin,
5)	1 Ĥu-mi-zum UĤ.ME	1 Ĥumizum the GUDU-priest,
6)	1 E-da-da	1 Edada
7)	DUMU DINGIR- KĀR	son of Ilum-KĀR.
8)	AB + ĀŠ en-ma	Witnesses (to the fact) that thus (said)



Reverse



Left Edge



Right Edge



Lower Edge

TABLET 8 (FM 229254)

Rev. 9)	<i>Gi-nu-nu a-na</i>	Ginunu to
10)	<i>Dan-ì-li</i>	Dan-ili:
11)	<i>Ì-lì-a-ḫi</i>	Ili-ahī
12)	<i>ù ARÁD-zu-ni</i>	and Warassuni
13)	<i>a-na ŠE at-ti-kum</i>	I gave (sold) to thee for barley.
14)	<i>a-ni-me mim-ma-su</i>	Now thou
15)	<i>la ti-su</i>	hast nothing of it (left).
16)	<i>ma-ḫa-ar-šu-nu</i>	Before them
17)	<i>a-na ŠÁM ŠE</i>	for the price of barley
Lo. E. 18)	<i>1 É.GU.ZÉ</i>	1 "chair house"
L. E. 19)	<i>Ì-lì-a-ḫi</i>	Ili-ahī
20)	<i>a-na Dan-ì-li</i>	for Dan-ili
R. E. 21)	<i>iš-du-ud</i>	measured.

NOTES

Line 7.—With our name DINGIR-KÂR cf. *Ì-lum-KÂR*, DIN-GIR-su-KÂR (Ungnad, *MVAG* XX 2, pp. 32f.), *Be-lì-KÂR* (*ibid.* p. 46), *Sar-ru-KÂR* (Meek, *HSS* X 169:2 and 6), ^d*Ìr-ra-KÂR*

(*MAD* I 163 viii 8), *Eš₄-dar-KÂR* (*MAD* I 163 x 13), etc., in which KÂR probably represents a logogram with an unknown Akkadian equivalent. The interpretation of *qar* as being from *waqar* or *jaqar* is possible but for the present not provable.

Line 12.—The frequently used personal names Warassuni and Amassuni (see Index) are archaisms from a period in which such a compound was conceived as *warad* ("slave," nom. in construct state) and *šuni* ("of them," in gen.). The normal form for "their slave" in the Old Akkadian period is *warassunu* in the nom. and *warassuni* in the gen.-acc. (but also *warassunu* is already used). These examples show again that personal names frequently preserve older forms no longer used in the contemporary language. On other archaistic features see the discussion under no. 49:12.

Line 14.—Our *a-ni-me* corresponds most probably to the Nuzi expression *a-an-ni* or *a-an-ni-mi* used in direct discourse, with the meaning "now." Cf., for example, *um-ma* ^m*Ku-a-ri-ma a-an-ni-mi* 7 ANŠE A.ŠAG₄ *a-šar* ^m*Ge-el-te-šup ik-ta-la-mi*, "thus (said) Kuari: 'Now I (sic!) held back 7 *imēr* of field from Kel-tešup'," in E. Chiera, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi* (American Schools of Oriental Research, "Publications of the Baghdad School," Texts), IV (Philadelphia, 1934) 340:13ff.; cf. also the occurrence of this word in similar passages in lines 20 and 27. For other occurrences see C. H. Gordon in *Orientalia*, n.s. VII (1938) 228, who translates the word as "yes."

Use of the particle *-mi* (written as *-me*) for direct discourse is frequent in the Old Akkadian period. Cf. the examples cited in Ungnad, *MVAG* XX 2, p. 66, under *mimmû*, where Ungnad's *šalam mi-me* and *šum mi-me* are to be interpreted, following Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV (1924) 216, as *šalmî-me* and *šumî-me* respectively.

The sign *su* is not very clear on the tablet; nevertheless, it can be safely read in view of such forms as *mi-im-ma-šu* in the later period (see, for example, von Soden in *ZA* XL [1931] 204). On the construction *mimma išû*, "to have anything," see Delitzsch, *AHWB* 418b. Cf. also the personal name *Mim-ma-sa*, discussed under no. 37:5.

Line 18.—The sense of the whole tablet hinges upon the correct interpretation of the expression 1 Ê.GU.ZÊ. Originally I took it to be a personal name, Eguze, inserted on top of line 1 as an addition to the list of witnesses. Against this interpretation militated the fact that I could find no such personal name in any other sources.

Furthermore, such an explanation, involving, as it did, a later insertion of the name, and that in an unusual place on the tablet, seemed forced. And finally, it would mean that in taking *ma-ḫa-ar-šu-nu a-na ŠĀM ŠE Ī-lī-a-ḫi a-na Dan-i-li iš-du-ud*, "before them for the price of barley he (namely, Ginunu) measured out Ilī-aḫī for Dan-ilī," we would be forced to reckon with the omission of the name Warassuni in this phrase. Observe that according to lines 11–13 two men, Ilī-aḫī and Warassuni, were sold to Dan-ilī for barley.

The new interpretation proposed below is based on comparison with an Old Akkadian tablet concerning ŠU.NIGÍN 4 É.GIŠ.GU.ZA *šu-ut* (names of 4 men) *iš-du-tu*, "a total of 4 É.GIŠ.GU.ZA which (4 men) measured" (*MAD* I 336:6–12). It seems very probable that the É.GIŠ.GU.ZA of *MAD* I tablet is comparable to the É.GU.ZÉ of our tablet. The omission of the determinative is attested in the example É.GU.ZA (De Genouillac, *ITT* III 5626:2) and in 1 É.GU.ZA KUŠ SI.GA (*RA* XVI 20 x, xii, xiii; the latter example shows that É.GU.ZA can be covered with leather).

In Old Akkadian the word for "chair" appears in 30 *gu-zī-ù* TUR, "30 small chairs," in Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 8:4. This word appears also in Cappadocian in the form *kussi^{um}*, as, for example, in Gelb, *OIP* XXVII p. 57 n. to line 28. The Old Akkadian and Cappadocian form *kussi^{um}* presupposes the existence of a Sumerian form ending in *-i* or a similar vowel. Sumerian GU.ZA would have resulted in *kussa^{um}* in Akkadian, which is found in the dialectal form *ku-za-ú* in *CT* XVIII 3 v 2. Our form GU.ZÉ (the reading GU.ZÍ or the like, is possible) is evidently the one which corresponds to the Akkadian *kussi^{um}*.

In the New Babylonian period *bīt kussī*, "chair house," written É.GIŠ.GU.ZA, is frequently found in connection with *bīt sīsī*, "horse house," and *bīt narkabti*, "chariot house" (*VAS* 128:10; XV 3:14; Clay, *Legal Documents from Erech*, "Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan" II [New York, 1913] 10:12; *PBS* II 65:14). Ungnad in Glossar to San Nicolò and Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden* I (Leipzig, 1937) p. 76, translates *bīt kussī* as "Stuhlhaus" (possibly "Weberei"). W. Eilers in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* XXXVII (1934) 94, understands the three New Babylonian expressions as representing three different types of feudal bondage.

For the sake of completeness it may be noted that some Old Akkadian texts (for example, *MAD* I 226, 233, 234) mention men

belonging to GIŠ.GU.ZA or GIŠ.GIGIR (for example, 1 Ša-at-be-DINGIR 1 Û-da-tum ša [dual] GIŠ.GU.ZA).

Line 21.—On the meaning šadādum, “to measure” and “to measure off,” see n. to no. 1:12.



Obverse

TABLET 9 (FM 229206)

9 (FM 229206)

Obverse is very well preserved; reverse has signs preserved only at beginning and end of each line. This tablet may have been written by the same scribe as the one who wrote tablet no. 14 (*q.v.*).

Five men, identified by their genealogies and professions, bear witness that Bêlî-šadû made a statement under oath to Ginunu. The contents of this oath are difficult to reconstruct because of the bad preservation of the reverse. The tablet ends probably with the phrase “the rest of the silver is upon him,” that is, he owes the rest of the silver (lines 26–29).

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) 1 Šu-Na-na
 2) DUMU Al-lum
 3) 1 DINGIR-na-zi-ir
 4) DUMU KA-Me-ir
 5) DUMU Ī-me-Dur-ùl
 6) 1 Zé-zé
 7) DUMU Im_x(DU)-da-lik
 8) LÚ.MUN_x ši Šu-na-ak-pum
 9) 1 Be-lî-AN.DÛL NAGAR
 10) ARÁD Du-du ši E-la-me-tum
 11) Šu-um IB
 (space)
 12) ŠU.NIGÍN 5 AB + ÁŠ-bu-tum
 13) šu-ut en-ma
 14) Be-lî-sa-tu
 15) a-na Gi-nu-nu



Reverse

TABLET 9 (FM 229206)

TRANSLITERATION

- Rev. 16) BÂD A-ga-dè^{KI}
 17) ù-[. . .]?-ma
 18) Šu[m-ma-s]a
 19) ARÁD [Gi-nu-u]š-sa-am
 20) il_x-[. . .]-nu
 21) im-[d]u-ud
 22) DAM-[. . .]-x
 23) lu-[. . .]-al-kum
 24) su-m[a-. . . . t]u-gi-il

- 25) KUG.BABBAR *b[u-. . .] lu da-za-bu*
 26) ù KUG.B[ABBAR . . . G]ÍN KUG.BABBAR
 27) *ši-[. . .]?-tum*
 28) *al-[. . .]?-su*
 29) *i-ba-se*₁₁

NOTES

Line 4.—For the personal name KA-*Me-ir* see n. to no. 2:5.

Line 8.—The profession LÚ.MUN_x(BULÛG) probably corresponds to the more common LÚ.MUN_x.SAR. Cf., for example, MUN_x alone in the list of professions in Meek, *HSS* X 222 ii 6, and the common MUN_x.SAR in Meek, *op. cit.* p. xl. Since MUN_x means “malt” (see n. to no. 33:1), LÚ.MUN_x must mean “maltster,” that is, “maker of malt.”

The sign PUM in the personal name *Šu-na-ak-pum* here as well as in no. 14:8 differs somewhat from the normal form, but in spite of the difficulties surrounding the interpretation of the name as a whole, the reading of this particular sign seems sure. I see now that this name occurs also in the form *Šu-na-ak-pu* in texts of later date published in *CT* VIII 10b 2 and 14a 2.

Line 11.—The personal name *Šu-um* is possibly to be interpreted as *šu>um*, “ram.”

The title or profession IB occurs also in Chiera, *Selected Temple Accounts from Telloh, Yokha, and Drehem* (“Cuneiform Tablets in the Library of Princeton University” [no date]) 14 i 6 and 16 i 5. For IB.GAL with the Akkadian equivalent *mu>irru*, “director,” see Deimel, *ŠL* II 535:22.

Line 16.—With our BÂD *A-ga-dè*^{KI} cf. BÂD-^{1d1}*A-ga-dè* in an Old Akkadian tablet from Susa published in Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 8 rev. 4, and in a later text ^{URU}BÂD-*A-ga-ti* in Scheil, *Mém.* XXVIII 533:25.

Line 24.—With *tu-gi-AN* in our text cf. *u-gi-AN* in Meek, *HSS* X 94:11. The reading *tu-kí-ìl* or *u-kí-ìl* seems probable.

Line 25.—Instead of *lu da-za-bu* we might read ^{ù1}*-da-za-bu* and interpret it as *ûtaššapû*, a II 2 formation of ²⁶ŠP, “to increase,” “to add.”

10 (FM 229233)

Declaration of Manunu before four witnesses of his willingness to pay the rest of a price to Ginunu. Although the tablet is imperfectly preserved, the reading of all the signs is relatively certain.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1) <i>I-da-ra-ak</i>	Itarrak,
2) <i>Šu-um</i>	Šu ^u um,
3) <i>SIPA!-tum</i>	Rē ^u itum,
4) <i>Ma-šu[m]</i>	Mašu[m].
5) <i>AB + ÁŠ en-ma</i>	Witnesses (to the fact) that thus (said)
Rev. 6) <i>Ma-nu-nu</i>	Manunu
7) <i>a-na Gi-nu-nu</i>	to Ginunu:
8) <i>in É ši uš-da-a-bi-la</i>	In the house, in which I had <i>reconsidered (the matter)</i>
9) <i>a-na si-tim ŠÁM-me</i>	the rest of the price (literally: to/for the rest, the price)
10) <i>lu-uš-ku-ul-kum</i>	let me weigh out for you.
11) <i>al-kam-ma</i>	Come and
L. E. 12) <i>ba-dam</i>	.....

NOTES

Line 3.—The text has PA.KU-*tum*, which is most probably to be emended to PA.LU!-*tum*=SIPA!-*tum*. For this name see n. to no. 6:4.

Line 8.—The verb *šutābulu*, “to think over,” “to consider,” for which see T. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* II (Leipzig, 1933) 84, and *idem* in *ZA* XLII (1934) 168, n. 1, does not fit our case, since the expected form in Old Akkadian should be *uštūbila*, because of such forms as *ušūši* (see Ungnad, *MVAG* XX 2, p. 53). I am inclined to interpret our form as derived from the root ^uPL.

On the subjunctive form ending in *-a* see the discussion to no. 1:12.

Line 12.—In view of the polyphonic character of the signs it is not easy to find the verb which underlies the writing *ba-dam*. Possibly the form is the imperative of B₇T or B₇D, “to spend the night.” Some such translation as “come and spend the night” would fit the context. Although the expected imperative with allative should



Obverse



Reverse



Left Edge

TABLET 10 (FM 229233)

not be *bâtam* but *bitam*, because of such existing preterit forms as *ibîl*, Arabic has both *jabātu* and *jabîtu*, and it is possible that Old Akkadian too may have formed a preterit *ibât* besides later *ibit*. However, until such forms can be attested for Old Akkadian the translation "to spend the night" must remain doubtful.

11 (FM 229220)

The interpretation of this tablet presents no little difficulty, chiefly because of the uncertainty in determining which is the obverse and which the reverse of the tablet.

Originally I understood the tablet as dealing with two excavations, one in the back, the other in the front of a certain spot. Ur III tablets dealing with excavations are well known. Some of them are noted in Deimel, *ŠL* II 371:8. Militating against this interpretation was, first, the resultant abnormal order in which the inscription would have to be read by considering as obverse the side which should be taken as the reverse and, second, the lack of a parallel example which might justify taking *Gu-ut-nu-um* as a personal name.

I believe that by reading the inscription in its normal order, as proposed here, a better understanding of the inscription is made possible. If we eliminate *Gu-ut-nu-um* as a personal name, no other possibility remains but to take it as an appellative noun *kutnum* (*q/g* and *d/t* also possible), which occurs twice in an Old Babylonian document discussed by P. Kraus, *MVAG* XXXVI (1932) p. 192. This word there denotes some kind of woolen cloth for making garments.

According to this new interpretation, then, the tablet enumerates the names of four witnesses who testify that they heard that Ginunu declared something to a man whose name ends in *-ratum*. What Ginunu said is mentioned in lines 8–15. In lines 8–13 is mentioned the cloth together with its measurements. What became of this cloth or what was to be done with it is stated in lines 14f., which are unfortunately so badly preserved as to be unintelligible.

The size of the cloth is given as being about 6 meters long and 1.5 meters wide in the back, and 1.5 meters long and 1.5 meters wide in the front. Hence it seems to have been in two pieces.

A parallel to our text is found in a New Babylonian tablet published in T. G. Pinches, *Inscribed Babylonian Tablets in the Possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart.* (London, 1888) no. 2, according to which a certain man owes a temple a specified amount of linen, to be returned within two months in two lots of three pieces each; each piece is to be 12 cubits long and 4 cubits wide.



Obverse



Reverse



Left Edge

TABLET 11 (FM 229220)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	ARÁD-zu-ni	Warassuni,
2)	Ba-pù-zum	Babuzum,
3)	Sa-[ti]-um	Šadium,
4)	ARÁD- ^d Innin	Warad-Innin.
5)	[ŠU.NIGÍN 4] AB + ÁŠ šu-ut	[Total of 4] witnesses (to the fact) that
6)	[en-ma] Gi-nu-nu	[thus] (said) Ginunu
7)	[a-na . . .].-ra-tum	[to . . .].-ratum:
Rev. 8)	ʾ2 ¹ GI UŠ	ʾ2 ¹ GI long,
9)	4 KÜŠ ŠU.BAD DAGAL	4 KÜŠ (and 1) ŠU.BAD wide
10)	a-na ur-ki-im	in the back,
11)	3 KÜŠ	3 KÜŠ (long),
12)	3 KÜŠ a-na ra-si-im	3 KÜŠ (wide) in the head (or front)
13)	gu-ut-nu-um	cloth.
L.E. 14)	[x] Šum-ma-sa PA. TE.SI	[. . .] Šummaša the governor,
15)	[. . .]. al Ī-l- ¹ DIRIG	[. . .] upon Ili-watar.

NOTES

Lines 5ff.—The reconstruction of these lines is made possible by comparison with similar occurrences, such as ŠU.NIGÍN 5 AB + ÁŠ-bu-tum šu-ut en-ma Be-lī-sa-tu a-na Gi-nu-nu, “total of 5 witnesses (to the fact) that thus (said) Bēlī-šadū to Ginunu” (no. 9:12–15).

Line 10.—Since in the text *ur-ki-im* and *ra-si-im* are regarded as opposites, it is clear that the former cannot be from the root ʾ₁RK, “to be long,” but from the root ʾ₆RK, “to be behind.” The form *rašum* or *rāšum* for “head” is of course the expected old form of *rēšum*. The same old form occurs in an inscription of Samsu-iluna: *ra-si-šu-[nu]* and *[ra]-si-in* in the dual in L. W. King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi II* (London, 1900) 69 and 103, as compared with *re-ši-šu-nu* and *re-ši-in* in a variant text published in *VAS I* 33 iii 17 and iv 16.

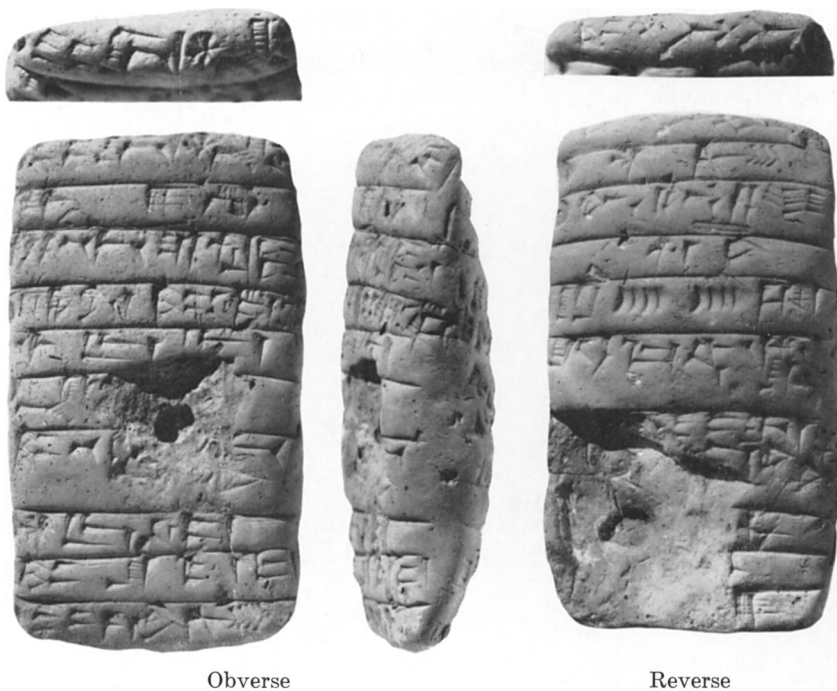
Line 14.—There is space for one sign only in front of *Šum-ma-sa*. Supply perhaps *al*, *su*, or *ù*? In taking *Šum-ma-sa* as a personal name I follow the advice of Dr. Jacobsen. A name *Šum-ma-sa* occurs possibly in an Old Akkadian tablet, *MAD I* 282:9 and above in no. 9:18. On the ending *-ša* cf. note to our no. 33:40.

12 (FM 229222)

The inscription begins with a list of eight men, with genealogies and professions, who serve as witnesses “(to the fact) that before them thus (said) Îdâ-pi-ilî the foreman [to *Ginu*]nu” (lines 16–18). What he said was set forth in lines 19f. of the inscription, but this unfortunately is now mostly destroyed.

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) 1 *I-da*-^dEN.ZU
 2) GAL.UKÛ
 3) 1 *A-ti-e* MĀ.LAĤ₄
 4) 1 EDIN DUMU *Pù-pù*
 5) šî UR.UR
 6) 1 *En*-[. . .]
 7) DUMU *Be-l*[i-da-t]i ¹MUŠEN¹.DÛ
 8) 1 DINGIR-UR.SAG
 9) DUMU Šu-*Ma-ma*
 10) 1 *I-dur*-GI
- Rev. 11) DUMU *Bu-bu*
 12) 1 DINGIR-GI
 13) 1 *Gu-gu-za-núm*
 14) MUŠEN.DÛ
 15) ŠU.NIGÍN 8 AB + ĀŠ
 16) šu-ut ma-*ḥa-ar-šu-nu*
 17) [en-ma] *I-da*-[b]i-*î-lî* UGULA
 18) [a-na Gi-nu]-*nu*
 19) [. . . -n]a
 20) [. . .]-sa



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 12 (FM 229222)

13 (FM 229243)

Obverse to a great extent readable; reverse mostly worn and undecipherable.

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) DINGIR-SIPA
2) NAGAR ARÁD-^d*Tišpak*
3) *A-bí-bí*
4) *a-hu* NU.BANDA
5) Nu-um *URUDU.X*
Rev. 6) 3 AB+ÁŠ
(rest unreadable)



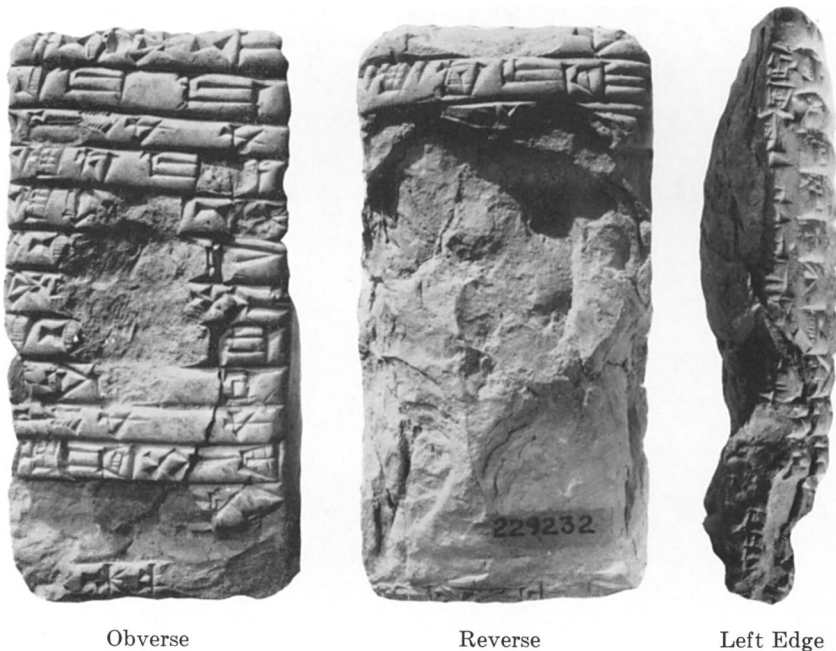
Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 13 (FM 229243)

14 (FM 229232)

Obverse badly preserved, reverse almost entirely broken away. Interesting is the phrase *Gi-nu-nu ù AB+ÁŠ-bu-zu*, "Ginunu and his witnesses," in lines of 10f., recalling the frequent use of reliable witnesses cited by Tehip-tilla, the great "capitalist" of Nuzi, in his numerous business transactions. The handwriting, color of clay, and form of this tablet closely resemble the respective features of no. 9.



Obverse

Reverse

Left Edge

TABLET 14 (FM 229232)

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) *a-na 1 Zum-ti*
 2) *Šu-Ma-ma*
 3) *1 Gi-nu-nu*
 4) *ù Hu-ma-[z]a*
 5) *ù Ša-[a]t-be-DINGIR*
 6) *a-na [. . . .]-ni*
 7) *GEMÉ [. . . .]-bu-ma*
 8) *Šu-na-[ak]-pum*
 9) *PA.TE.SI*
 10) *Gi-nu-nu*
 11) *ù AB + ÁŠ-bu-zu*
 12) *[. . . .]-tim*
 13) *[. . . .]*
 14) *[. . . .] AN PA [. . . .]*
- Rev. 15) *[. . . .]-nu*
 16) *ù Eš₄-dar-UR.SAG*
 17) *. . . .*
 (about 11 lines destroyed)
 29?) *DUMU.SAL DINGIR-ba-ni*
- L.E. 30?) *. . . .-dam ik-su-ra*

15 (FM 229215)

If I understand the inscription correctly, the four men named at the head are witnesses that Ipte^uum borrowed barley from Amat-Innin.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	¹ 1 <i>Dar-u-ma</i>	¹ 1 Dar ^u uma,
2)	1 GEMÊ-zu-ni	1 Amassuni,
3)	1 Î-zi-na	1 Izina,
4)	1 A-li-li	1 Alili.
Rev.	(space)	(space)
5)	ŠE GEMÊ- ^d Innin	(Witnesses to the fact that) the barley of Amat-Innin
6)	iš-dè Ip-te-u-um	(is) with Ipte ^u um.

NOTES

Line 1.—The personal name *Dar-u-ma* occurs also on the Old Akkadian tablet *MAD* I 326:6.

Line 3.—For the personal name Î-zi-na see n. to no. 25:2.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 15 (FM 229215)

16 (FM 229226)

Due to textual difficulties it is very difficult to grasp the sense of the inscription, and I have duly considered several possible interpretations before proposing the one below. According to this interpretation lines 1–8 list five or six men, together with their professions, who served as witnesses to the fact that Gāmirum received 1 PI of barley. This interpretation is supported by the text of no. 3, in which four men are witnesses that a certain person gave (sold) 1 PI of barley to another person.

There is no clear proof that what I ultimately took to be the obverse of the inscription is really the obverse. But if we regard what I have called the obverse as the reverse and the reverse as the obverse, the sense is not improved.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1) DAM <i>Ī-lī-kāra-bī</i>	Wife of Ili-karābī,
2) DUN.Ú	DUN.Ú
3) ARÁD <i>Sa-a-mi-iš</i>	slave of Ša ² amiš,
4) DINGIR- <i>a-zu</i> DAM. KĀR	Illum-asû the merchant,
Rev. 5) <i>Eš₄-dar-al-su</i>	Eštar-alšu
6) SIPA UDU	the shepherd,
7) <i>A-ma-rí-iš</i> TÚG	Amariš the fuller
8) <i>Ba-ni</i> UD.KA.BAR	Bānī the <i>bronze</i> worker. (Witnesses to the fact that)
9) 1(PI) ŠE <i>Ga-mi-ru-um</i>	Gāmirum (received) 1 PI of barley.



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 16 (FM 229226)

NOTES

Line 1.—On such formations as DAM *Ī-lī-kāra-bī*, “the wife of *Ilī-karābī*,” or simply “Mrs. *Ilī-karābī*,” see note in Meek, *HSS* X p. xv. From elsewhere cf. DAM *Ū-ī-lī* in Scheil, *Mém.* XXIV 342:26. The personal name *Ū-ī-lī* alone is found, for example, in Meek, *HSS* X 153 viii 28.

Line 2.—DUN.Ū is a grass-fattened pig, and as such it is often mentioned in the literature; see Deimel, *ŠL* II 467:28. As a personal name it occurs in G. Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh* 149:3. On the unusual form of the sign DUN see above, page 177.

Line 3.—The ending *-iš* of the personal name *Sa-a-mi-iš* occurs also in *A-ma-ri-iš* l. 7, *Sa-a-ni-iš* no. 33:58, and in many other names outside our collection.

Line 7.—The profession TÚG or LÚ.TÚG is usually interpreted as “tailor”; see, for example, Deimel, *ŠL* II 536:76; H. Torczyner, *Altbabylonische Tempelrechnungen* (Wien, 1913) p. 118; B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien I* (Heidelberg, 1920) 256 and 466; P. Kraus, *MVAG* XXXV 2 (1931) 33. Gadd’s translation in *Iraq* VII 33 and 58 and in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1941 p. 285 (and elsewhere?) as “fuller” or “washerman” finds support in the equation *az-la-ag*=LÚ.KU=*ás-la-ku* in the Princeton syllabary published in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LXV (1945) 224:39. For the Old Akkadian period cf. also LÚ.TÚG in *MAD* I 161 x 7, 326 iii 9 and SAL.LÚ.TÚG in our no. 36:11.

Line 8.—One interpretation of *ba-ni* UD.KA.BAR is “maker of bronze.” This profession could hardly apply to Amāriš in l. 7, who is presumably a fuller. It is of course possible for one person to have two professions, but hardly such divergent professions as those involving making clothes and bronze. The root BN₇ means “to build,” “to create,” and also “to make” in general (see Delitzsch, *AHWB* p. 178a). Nevertheless, it is surprising that this verb and not ’PŠ should be used in connection with making bronze. In later periods the bronzeworker is called *nappāh siparri* (see Delitzsch, *AHWB* p. 474b). In view of all these difficulties perhaps the simplest solution is to take *Ba-ni* as a personal name and to interpret UD.KA.BAR as his profession. On the personal name cf. *Ba-ni-i* in Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* pp. 51f. The reading BA NA₄ <UD>.KA.BAR, “measure by the stone of bronze,” (cf. no. 36:19) seems too far-fetched for consideration.

Line 9.—With *Ga-mi-ru-um* in our text cf. *Ga-me-ru-um* in an Old Akkadian text, *MAD* I 176 rev. 4, and in M. V. Nikolskij, *Drevnosti Vostochnyiā* ("Trudy vostochnoi kommissii imperatorskago Moskovskago arkheologicheskago obshchestva," vol. V [Moskva, 1915]) 83:8.

17 (FM 229212)

Some of the personal names on this tablet are identical with those on nos. 18 and 19. All three tablets evidently belong to the same class of documents.

Six persons, listed in lines 1–6, were witnesses who saw that Ašaša gave barley to Ešia (lines 7f.). The reverse is badly preserved, and the signs are much smaller than those on the obverse. I am unable to reconstruct the sense of this part of the text.

TRANSLITERATION

Obv. 1) *Šu-um*

2) *Ú-a*

3) *ARÁD-zu-ni*

4) *Li-li*

5) *Su-ni-tum*

6) *Šu-ì-lì-su*

7) *ŠE A-ša-ša*

8) *a-na E-si-a*

Rev. (space)

9) *šu-ut KUG.BABBAR*

10) *Su-ni-[tum]*

11) *Tab-ni*

12) *Ki-za-za*

13) *A-ša-ša*

14) *Da-ni-a*

15) *GEMÉ-. . .*

16) *[a-n]a AB+ÁŠ URU^{KI}*



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 17 (FM 229212)

NOTES

Lines 7 and 13.—With *A-ša-ša* in our tablets cf. *A-sa-sa* in the Old Akkadian text *MAD* I 116 x+i.

18 (FM 229211)

Some of the personal names in this text are reconstructed from comparison with nos. 17 and 19.

The persons named in lines 1–11 may have served as witnesses to the distribution of barley detailed in two columns separated by a vertical line in lines 12–21. The scribe seems to have used certain abbreviations which cannot be understood today.

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) *Maš-tum*
 2) *Me-ù-[sa]*
 3) ^dUTU-Ē UGULA.[. . .]?
 4) *Sa-am-si*
 5) *Um-mi-Eš₄-dar*
 6) *Šu-ni-tum*
 7) *A-ša-ša*
 8) *E-si-a*
 9) *A-ti-e*
- Rev. 10) *Ū-a*
 11) ARÁD-zu-ni
 (double line)
- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 12) LA | 1 (PI) I. |
| 13) DI | 2 (PI) LU. |
| 14) GEMĒ | 2 (PI) ŠU. |
| 15) A.MA | 3 (PI) NU.BANDA |
| 16) BI | 3 (PI) SI.IM |
| 17) TE.NA-DINGIR | 4 (PI) <i>Da-ni-a</i> |
| 18) <i>A-ti-e</i> | |
| 19) 3 (PI) <i>Ī-lí-GA[L]</i> SANGA | |
- L. E. 20) *A-nin-u*
 21) DUMU . . . -na-bí

NOTES

Line 17.—The personal name TE.NA-DINGIR is found also on the Old Akkadian tablets *MAD* I 7 x + ii and 12 x + ii. Read perhaps *Paluḫ-ilim* and cf. *Ba-luḫ-DINGIR* in Dossin, *Mém.* XVIII 76:5, *Ba-luḫ-Īr-ra* *ibid.* no. 171:11, *Ba-luḫ-Ē* in Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 72 iv, *Ba-lu-úḫ-Ē* *ibid.* 44:4. In later periods we have *Šalim* (SILIM)-*pāliḫ* (TE.NA)-^d*Adad* and the variant *Ša-li-im-ba-li-iḫ*-^d*Adad* in Nuzi texts; see Gelb, Purves, and MacRae, *OIP* LVII s. v.

Line 20.—The name *A-nin-u* occurs also on the Old Akkadian tablet *MAD* I 22 x + i. Comparison with *I-nin-um* and *I-nin-núm*



TABLET 18 (FM 229211)

(discussed under no. 2:7) suggests that the writing *A-nin-u* in our text is intended for Aninnu. Cf. also similar spellings in the names *A-dam-u*, *Dar-e-tum*, and *Dar-u-ma*. Dr. Jacobsen plans to prove in a future article that such broken writings are often intended for double consonants.

19 (FM 229204)

The inscription is incompletely preserved. The damaged personal names can in many cases be reconstructed from comparison with nos. 17 and 18, which contain similar or identical lists of personal names.

The personal names in lines 1–14 may belong to persons who served as witnesses that Ašaša gave something to the elder of the city (lines 15f.). What he gave, in what amounts, and for whom is described in lines 17–20, which are divided into two columns by a vertical line. This inscription, like no. 17, may concern distribution of barley.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 19 (FM 229204)

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) $\dot{U}-a$
 2) $\dot{I}^{\text{h}}-lul$
 3) $\check{S}u-u[m]$
 4) ARÁD-*zu-ni*
 5) $A-\check{s}a-\check{s}a$
 6) $Me-\grave{u}-sa$
 7) $Um-mi-E\check{s}_4-dar$
 8) $Ma\check{s}-tum$
 9) ${}^dUTU-[\acute{E}] [UGULA \dots \dots]?$
 10) $Sa-am-s[i]$
- Rev. 11) $Su-n[i-tum]$
 12) $A-t[i-e]$
 13) $E-si-[a]$
 14) $\dot{I}-zi-na$
 (double line)
 15) $A-\check{s}a-\check{s}a$
 16) $a-na \text{ AB} + \acute{A}\check{S} \text{ URU}^{\text{KI}}$
 (double line)
 17) $\dots \dots 1(PI) E\check{s}_4-dar-GAL$
 18) $\dots \dots 1(PI) E\check{s}_4-dar-du-gul-t[i]$
 19) $\dots \dots 2(PI) \dots \dots$
 20) $\dots \dots 2(PI) \dots \dots$

NOTE

Line 2.—On the relationship of $\dot{I}^{\text{h}}-lul$ to $\dot{I}-lu-lu$ (see Index)
 cf. that of $A-lul$ to $Alulu$ (Schneider in *Orientalia* XXIII 13f.).

20 (FM 229210)

The subject of this text is the distribution of something measured in PI's and QA's among various men and women. Most probably it is grain that is being distributed, and since the most important grain in Babylonia was barley we may further assume that our tablet concerns various allotments of barley.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1) 1 (PI) <i>I-su-GI</i>	1 PI (of barley) Išû-kîn,
2) 40 (QA) <i>AMA-Ga-zur_x</i> (SAG)	40 QA Ummî-Gasur,
3) 1 (PI) <i>Šu-a-tum</i>	1 PI Šuatum
4) ù <i>Da-da</i> SAL	and Dada (his) wife
5) 30 (QA) <i>Hu-ma-¹za¹</i>	30 QA Ḫumaza,
6) 1 (PI) <i>Su-ni-tum</i>	1 PI Šunitum
7) ù <i>Um-mi-Eš₄-dar</i>	and Ummî-Eštar,
8) 20 (QA) <i>A-gi-gi</i>	20 QA Agigi,
Rev. 9) 1 (PI) <i>É.GI.A</i>	1 PI Kallatum,

NOTES

Line 2.—Interesting is the name AMA-Ga-SAG, that is, Ummî-Gasur, “the city of Gasur is my mother.” The writing with the sign SAG, not SAG.GUNU, corresponds with the unique example in Meek, *HSS* X 57:8. (See also the writing GI for GI₄, discussed below under line 9.) Gasur is the well-known city from which have come so many important tablets of the Old Akkadian period, published by Meek in the above-mentioned book. See also above, page 171, and, on the reading Gasur, J. Lewy in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LVIII (1938) 458f. For the cities conceived as fem. beings see the discussion by J. J. Stamm in *MVAG* XLIV (1939) 92.

Line 3.—With our name *Šu-a-tum* cf. the name Šuātu (various spellings); see Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* p. 203.

Line 4.—For SAL, “wife,” in Old Akkadian instead of the usual DAM, cf. SAL EN-*li* in Meek, *HSS* X 153 viii 6, in which, contrary to Meek, *op. cit.* p. xv, n. 33, SAL does not have to be taken as an error for DAM.

Line 5.—The sign *za* in *Ḫu-ma-za* is clear neither in this text nor in no. 14:4. It can be safely reconstructed on the basis of



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 20 (FM 229210)

comparison with *Hu-ma-za* on the Old Akkadian tablet from Tell Asmar published in *MAD* I 30 iii 23.

Line 9.—The personal name É.GI.A is always written É.GI₄.A in other Old Akkadian tablets (*MAD* I p. 194). Since É.GI₄.A is the Sumerian logogram for *kallatum*, “bride,” really “daughter-in-law,” we may assume that our É.GI.A also represents *kallatum*. The omission of GUNU in this sign is paralleled by the omission of GUNU in the sign ZUR_x in the name AMA-Ga-SAG, discussed above. A personal name *Gal-la-tim* in the gen. occurs in Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 7 rev. 3.

21 (FM 229208)

The text deals with quantities of flour given by an unnamed person to Šunitum to be distributed as follows: 1 QA for the barber, 1 QA for a person named Kaspūša, and 1 QA for a *mare*. The possibilities are that both ŠU.I and ANŠE.LIBIR.SAL are personal names. For the former, cf. Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* I p. 23, 1336 and n. 2; for the latter, cf. the "names" ANŠE.BAR.AN and ANŠE.BAR.AN.ARAD in *MAD* I p. 180.

Interesting is the personal touch lent to the document by the writing *a-ti-na*, "which I gave." No. 35:11 is similar in this respect.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 21 (FM 229208)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	ʾ3 ¹ QA ZÍD.GU	(Of the) ʾ3 ¹ QA of GU-flour,
2)	1 QA ŠU.I	1 QA (for) the barber,
3)	1 QA KUG.BABBAR-sa	1 QA (for) Kaspūša,
4)	1 QA ANŠE.LIBIR.SAL	1 QA (for) the <i>mare</i> ,
Rev. 5)	šu a-na	is that which to
6)	Šu-ni-tum	Šunitum
7)	a-ti-na	I gave.

NOTES

Line 1.—The logogram ZÍD.GU is translated as "e. feineres Gerstenmehl" by Deimel, *ŠL* II 536:296, following Hrozný, *Das Getreide im alten Babylonien* I (Wien, 1913) 200, a translation for which I can find no clear evidence.

Line 3.—With our name KUG.BABBAR-*sa* cf. *Gas-bu-ša*, “her money,” discussed by Stamm, *MVAG* XLIV 301f., and the note on *A-ḫa*-KUG.BABBAR-*sa* in no. 28:7.

Line 4.—The logogram ANŠE.LIBIR with the Sumerian reading DUSÚ and Akkadian equivalent *agalu* is translated by B. Meissner, *AS* no. 4, pp. 2f., and *idem*, *Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie* III (“Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft” XI 1/2 [1937]) pp. 3f., as “Maulesel,” English “hinny,” that is, an animal resulting from the union of a stallion and a she-ass. G. Meier in *ZA* XLV (1939) 201 and 211 translates the word in question as “Maulesel” and defines it as “Reitesel.”

Certain points can be brought to bear against the interpretation of ANŠE.LIBIR as “hinny.” The word occurs frequently in texts of the Old Akkadian period, and if it actually means “hinny” we should expect to find both horses and donkeys mentioned in the texts. But while donkeys are known from the texts, horses (ANŠE.KUR.RA) are never mentioned in the written documents of that period. Furthermore, in our tablet we find a female ANŠE.LIBIR, in other tablets male ANŠE.LIBIR, as in the *MAD* I 288:1, Meek, *HSS* X 202 i 7, etc. Even more indicative are cases in which ANŠE.LIBIR.AMA, that is, mother-animals, are mentioned, as in the unpublished Oriental Institute text A 3012 and elsewhere. This distinction between female and male ANŠE.LIBIR in the texts shows that neither mule nor hinny could be meant. Since, normally, mules and hinnies, male or female, are not used for reproduction, there seems to be no reason for defining their sexes in the texts.

Landsberger in *ZA* XLI (1933) 224f. and in *AOF* X (1935/36) 159 n. 82 translates the word in question as “onager” (“wild ass”). This is the *Equus onager hemippus* Lydekker, discussed fully by Max Hilzheimer, *Animal Remains from Tell Asmar* (“Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization,” no. 20 [Chicago, 1941]) pp. 2–20. Many skeletal remains of this onager were found at Tell Asmar (*ibid.* pp. 47f.). According to Hilzheimer, “these remains belong to animals undergoing change of teeth or to animals in the prime of life. This would indicate that the remains are those of wild animals taken in chase and brought to Tell Asmar to serve as food; for one utilizes tame horses or asses as long as possible, and in no case does one slaughter them in the prime of life except for sacrifice” (*ibid.* pp. 19f.). It may also be added that these animals—as in modern times—may have been slaughtered for food. The excellence of

their meat was recognized in ancient as well as in modern times (*ibid.* pp. 2f.).

By way of supplemental commentary to the preceding we may note the information about the ANŠE.LIBIR-animal which can be gathered from several Old Akkadian tablets outside our collection. A number of animals defined as ANŠE.LIBIR.UŠ, ANŠE.LIBIR.SAL, ANŠE.LIBIR.UŠ.AMAR, and ANŠE.LIBIR.SAL.AMAR, ranging from one to four years in age, are distributed to several persons (*MAD* I 6 and 8). Oxen (GUD) and ANŠE.LIBIR.UŠ together with their plows (*MAD* I 47) or oxen and SAL.ANŠE.LIBIR together with their plows (*MAD* I 136) are similarly given to various persons. ANŠE.LIBIR.UŠ together with wagons and plows occur also in Meek, *HSS* X 202 and 206. The textual evidence shows definitely that the ANŠE.LIBIR was a tamed animal and that it was used to draw wagons and plows. It is to be noted that the draft animals found on the Ur Standard and on other contemporaneous artistic representations were defined by Sir C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, vol. II, The Royal Cemetery, Text (London, 1934) pp. 271ff., as wild asses.

The difficulty, alluded to by Hilzheimer, *op. cit.* p. 20, that onagers cannot normally be tamed, does not seem insurmountable, since our knowledge of this animal is insufficient to allow of dogmatic conclusions. Hilzheimer himself takes into account the possibility that the Sumerians may have mastered the art of taming onagers, an accomplishment all the more remarkable because, so far as it is known to Hilzheimer, the onager has nowhere since been tamed on an extensive scale. But Meissner, *Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie* III p. 4, referred to above, knows of a Persian custom of catching wild asses in wolf traps and of taming them in breeding farms. I do not know, however, whether the term "wild asses" refers to real onagers or to runaway domestic asses turned wild (such as are mentioned in Hilzheimer, *op. cit.* p. 2).

The third interpretation for ANŠE.LIBIR, that of "horse," was offered first tentatively by Thureau-Dangin in *ITT* I p. 2, later accepted by Deimel in *ŠL* II 208:48, and defended on archaeological and philological grounds by Hanns A. Potratz, *Das Pferd in der Frühzeit* (Rostock, 1938) pp. 32ff. If this interpretation is accepted it would mean that the old word for "horse," ANŠE.LIBIR *agalu*, was replaced in the course of time by another word, ANŠE.KUR. Ra *sisu*. In comment to this interpretation it may be noted that since ANŠE.EDIN(.NA) *sirrīmu* is definitely "wild ass," the writing

ANŠE.LIBIR should stand for an equid different from “wild ass,” making thus plausible the interpretation of ANŠE.LIBIR as “horse” by the simple process of elimination.

In conclusion we should refer to one Sargonic text (*MAD* I 214), in which a number of ANŠE.LIBIR, distributed to various persons, are summed up as so many ANŠE, that is, “donkeys,” and to two unpublished texts (A 3012 and A 3307), in which a number of ANŠE.LIBIR, ANŠE.BAR.AN, and ANŠE.EDIN are likewise summed up as so many ANŠE. Thus the ANŠE group of animals included according to these texts at least three different varieties of equids. More equids are listed in the text published in Barton, *PBS* IX 1, no. 38.

Line 5.—With the form *šu* used as an accusative cf. ŠE *šu a-na* ŠE.BA *a-si-tu*, “the barley which as rations I had left over,” in Meek, *HSS* X 5:4f., and our text no. 36:7.

Line 7.—On the very important occurrence of the subjunctive form *a-ti-na* see the discussion to no. 1:12.

22 (FM 229224)

I am not certain that the interpretation offered below is the correct one. My understanding of the text is that Amat-Innin the barber gave Dada white barley, probably to be used as seed barley, for the estate.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	GEMÉ- ^d <i>Innin</i>	Amat-Innin
2)	ŠU.I	the barber (gave)
3)	ŠE.BAR _x .BAR _x (UD.UD)	<i>white</i> barley
4)	<i>a-na Da-da</i>	to Dada
5)	MÁŠ.PA.AL.TE	the
6)	ŠE.NUMUN	Seed barley
Rev. 7)	É	of the estate

NOTES

Line 1.—Professor A. L. Oppenheim points out to me the existence of fem. barbers (SAL.ŠU.I) in his *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Wilberforce Eames Babylonian Collection* (“American Oriental Series” XXXII [New Haven, Conn., 1948]) C 1 ii 12.

Line 3.—With ŠE.UD.UD in our text cf. ŠE.UD, translated as “‘white’ barley” by Gadd in *Iraq* VII 29 and 49f., as opposed to ŠE.SUMUN, “‘old’ barley.” Also comparable is ÁŠ.UD.UD, translated as “white emmer” by Hrozný, *Das Getreide im alten Babylonien* I 72, besides ÁŠ.SI₄, “red emmer,” and KAŠ.UD.UD, “white beer,” contrasted with KAŠ.MI, “black beer,” in Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* I 1303 and 1378.

Line 5.—The interpretation of this line is difficult owing to the fact that only the first two signs, MÁŠ and PA, are clear. Then follow two signs which might be read as AL (hardly KAB) and TE. An interpretation of line 5 of our text as giving the profession of Dada, named in line 4, seems indicated.

Line 7.—After the sign É there is a hole in the tablet, but no trace of a sign is visible.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 22 (FM 229224)

23 (FM 229236)

From the standpoint of appearance, this is by far the worst tablet in the entire collection. It is clumsy in form, for it is much too thick in proportion to its size. The signs are badly incised, apparently with a blunt stylus and by an inexperienced hand. Also their forms are peculiarly, often carelessly, written. Several of the signs seem to have been inserted later.

The tablet deals perhaps with distribution of barley (lines 1–6) and reeds (lines 7–11).

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1) 40 (QA) <i>Li-lum</i>	40 QA Lilum,
2) 30 (QA) <i>Um-ma-ni</i>	30 QA Ummānī,
3) 40 (QA) <i>Eš₄-dar-i-mi-ti</i>	40 QA Eštar-imittī,
4) 50 (QA) <i>GEMÉ-zu-ni</i>	50 QA Amassuni,
(space)	(space)
5) 40 (QA) <i>En-na-nu</i>	40 QA Ennanu,
6) 40 (QA) <i>Eš₄-dar-MI</i>	40 QA Eštar-šillī.
(space)	(space)
Rev. 7) <i>GI</i>	<i>Reeds:</i>
8) <i>Zu-zu</i>	<i>Zuzu,</i>
9) <i>Ba-šu-šu</i>	<i>Bašušu,</i>
10) <i>Bi-lá</i>	<i>Bila,</i>
11) <i>Tab-ni</i>	<i>Tabnī.</i>

NOTES

Line 1.—For the personal name *Li-lum* cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* 91 iii.

Line 7.—The sign looks more like ZI than GI; but since ZI gives no sense and GI, “reeds,” occurs also on tablet no. 41:5, it seems plausible to assume that the error is due to the scribe’s ignorance.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 23 (FM 229236)

24 (FM 229242)

Tablet very badly preserved. It seems to concern allotments of grain to various individuals.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed)

Obv. x+1) 20 (QA)

x+2) 20 (QA) *Ba-r[i-i]s-tum*

x+3) 20 (QA) *šu ša-ma-l[i-i]m*

x+4) 10 (QA) *La-ma-as-tum*

(rest destroyed or unreadable)



Obverse



Reverse



Left Edge

TABLET 24 (FM 229242)

25 (FM 229231)

Lines 1–4 contain the linear measurements of a certain field. The personal names in these lines evidently refer to persons whose estates adjoined the northern, southern, eastern and western boundaries of the field in question. In line 5 the area of the field is stated to be 15 GÁN. Although the text is damaged in front of the figure, it is certain that the figure should be no higher, for an area of 15 GÁN is already somewhat greater than the area of the field as calculated on the basis of the linear measurements given in lines 1–4.

Since 1 GÁN corresponds to 3528.36 square meters, 15 GÁN would be 52925.4 square meters, or about 3 acres. My figure for the size of the field is 54315 square meters.

The terms IM.MIR, “north,” IM.U₅, “south,” IM.KUR, “east,” and IM.MARTU, “west,” in this text and—in a different sequence—in no. 26 are those normally used for the cardinal points of the compass in the Old Akkadian period. Cf. Scheil, *Mém.* II p. 12, and elsewhere, for Susa; Hilprecht, *BE* I pls. VIff., for Sippar; Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* I 1406, for Lagaš; *MAD* I 176 and 336 for the Diyala River region; and Meek, *HSS* X 13, 16, and *passim*, for the Gasur region.

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) 4 ÉŠ.GÍD 16 GI IM.MIR KA-*Ma-ma* MAŠ.MAŠ
 2) 3 ÉŠ.GÍD 15½ GI IM.U₅ EZEN
 3) 3 ÉŠ.GÍD LAL 2 GI IM.KUR Á-*ru-kum*
 4) 4 ÉŠ.GÍD 5½ GI I[M.MA]R.TU šu MUŠ.[. . . ? A]l-*lu-lu*
 5) [A.ŠA(G)₄.BI 6] + '6' + 3 GÁN
 (space)
- Rev. 6) [. . .].
 7) šu K[A]-*be-lí*
 8) šu *Zi-ba*
 9) in *m[i]-iḫ-rí* URU-*Gi-tim*



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 25 (FM 229231)

TRANSLATION

- Obv. 1) 4 ÉŠ.GÍD 16 GI, north, Pu-Mama the incantation priest;
 2) 3 ÉŠ.GÍD 15½ GI, south, EZEN;
 3) 3 ÉŠ.GÍD minus 2 GI, east, Arūqum;
 4) 4 ÉŠ.GÍD 5½ GI, west, of Allulu.
 5) [Its area (is) 1]5 GÁN.
 (space)
- Rev. 6) [Field]
 7) of Pu-bêlī
 8) Of Ziba
 9) in front of the city Kite.

NOTES

Lines 1-4.—The measure ÉŠ.GÍD is known to me only from this text, from no. 26 in our collection, and from an Old Akkadian tablet, *MAD* I 176. It may correspond to the ÉŠ found on later tablets. Note that both ÉŠ.GÍD and ÉŠ are linear measures of the next order above GI.

Line 2.—Dr. Jacobsen suggests comparison of EZEN with *Ī-zi-na* (nos. 15:3 and 19:14) and interpretation of both as Isinna. The -a ending found frequently in personal names of the Old Akkadian period (see, for example, *Du-ma-ga* under no. 50:1 and *Dub-si-ga* under no. 3:2, as well as *[D]ar-su-ba*, *E-nam-ra*, *Ku-ru-ba*, *Si-w[i]-ra*, *Ti-ni-na* in Index) and in common nouns (GU.ZI.DA, etc. discussed under no. 7:3) will be treated in a future publication. Cf. also *I-zi-núm* in Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI* p. 168, no. 3; Meek, *HSS* X 186:2; *MAD* I p. 210.

Line 3.—With the personal name *Ā-ru-kum* cf. *A-ru-ki* in gen. in Clay, *PNCP* p. 59.

Line 4.—Instead of an expected personal name this line contains further information about the field, apparently to the effect that the western boundary of the field touched upon the land or structure belonging to a person named [A]llulu. Reconstruction to *[A]l-lu-lu* is suggested by the occurrence of the personal name *Al-lu-lu* on the Maništušu Obelisk; see Scheil, *Mém.* II p. 41.

Line 9.—The phrase in *m[i]-iḫ-rí* URU-*gi-tim* is difficult to interpret. It may mean “as equivalent of the *rigitum*” or “opposite of the *rigitum*.” The spelling *rí-gi-tim* suggests a feminine noun from the root RG/K/Q₇. The only noun which I know to be based on this root is *rigitum*, representing some internal part of the body; the word is frequently encountered in religious literature and New Babylonian texts. But how could it possibly fit into our context? Should we read perhaps URU-*Gí-tim* and compare this place name with *Ki-dè^{KI}* or *Ki-ti^{KI}* discussed under no. 33:50? The latter suggestion is confirmed by the occurrence of URU-*Ki-dè^{KI}* in geographic lists recently published by Selim J. Levy in *Sumer* III (1947) p. 52, no. 61, where the name is misread as úru-DI-NE.

26 (FM 229249)

Lines 1-4 give the measurements of the four sides of a field. The purpose of the additional measurements in lines 5f. is not clear.

Unfortunately line 7, containing the area of the field, is only partially preserved. This line is inscribed upside down; no. 42 presents the same anomaly.

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) [x] GUD 2 ÉŠ.GÍD 3 GI [I]M.MAR.TU
 2) [x GUD x]+1 ÉŠ.GÍD 1 GI [I]M.KUR
 3) 1 GUD 1 ÉŠ.GÍD IM.U₅
 4) 1 GUD 2 ÉŠ.GÍD [x]+1 GI IM.[MIR]
 5) 1 ½ [ÉŠ.GÍD IM].U₅
 6) 3 ÉŠ.GÍD 1 GI IM.MAR.T[U]
 (space)

Rev. 7) [x]+1 GÁN 20 SAR



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 26 (FM 229249)

TRANSLATION

- Obv. 1) [x] GUD 2 ÉŠ.GÍD 3 GI, west;
 2) [x GUD x]+1 ÉŠ.GÍD 1 GI, east;
 3) 1 GUD 1 ÉŠ.GÍD, south;
 4) 1 GUD 2 ÉŠ.GÍD [x]+1 GI, no[rth];
 5) 1 ½ [ÉŠ.GÍD, so]uth;
 6) 3 ÉŠ.GÍD 1 GI, west.
 (space)
- Rev. 7) [x]+1 GÁN 20 SAR.

NOTES

Lines 1ff.—It is possible that the measure GUD, for which I can find no parallels, corresponds to UŠ, but this is not sure. In favor of this supposition it may be noted that UŠ is the linear measure of the next order above ÉŠ (here and in no. 25 written ÉŠ.GÍD).

Line 3.—Note the writing 𒄩U with inscribed SI as against SI.𒄩U in line 5 and in no. 25:2.

27 (FM 229218)

Seven persons are "given," for an unspecified purpose, to the priest of the local temple. Perhaps they are workers hired by the priest to perform certain services. Cf. also the note on no. 28.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 27 (FM 229218)

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) ARÁD-zu-ni
 2) Ī-lī-a-ḫi
 3) Šu-um
 4) Ip-te-u-um
 5) Šu-ī-lī-su
 6) Ū-a
 Rev. 7) Ḫu-ni-zu
 8) a-na SANGA

28 (FM 229219)

A list of names of nine persons, similar in form to no. 27, but even more abbreviated; not only the purpose of the memorandum, but also the name or the title of the person to whom these nine persons are presumably being "given" is omitted.



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 28 (FM 229219)

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) *Eš₄-dar-. . . .*
 2) *Āš-ma-tum*
 3) *DINGIR-na-zi-ir*
 4) *A-ḫu-li-bur-ra*
 5) *Eš₄-dar-dam-ga-at*
 6) *Ī-lī-dan*
- Rev. 7) *A-ḫa-KUG.BABBAR-sa*
 8) *La-á-ra-ab*
 9) *E-lu-sa*

NOTES

Line 4.—The name *A-ḫu-li-bur-ra* lacks mimation, on which see the remarks on no. 49:12, and it can be compared with *Li-bur-rī-im* (in gen.) in our no. 30:5. Because of the spelling *Li-bur-ra-am* in Old Babylonian texts, Stamm, *MVAG* XLIV 155, n. 4, rejected the traditional derivation of this and other such names from the verb *abārum*, “to be strong,” and proposed instead *bārum*, “to be clear, bright.” In favor of this interpretation Stamm offered no convincing evidence. In my opinion, the writing with double consonants in these names as well as in many others, such as *U-bar-rum* for *Ubārum*, ^d*Sin-i-din-nam* for *Sin-iddinam*, is of no consequence as long as no such spellings as **U-ba-ar-rum* or **^dSin-i-di-in-nam* are found. In other words, we may establish a rule that double writing expressed by means of a three-letter syllabic sign plus either a three-letter or a two-letter syllabic sign and conflicting with grammar can normally be disregarded. We may, if we choose, try to transliterate such spellings as *U-ba(r)-rum*, ^d*Sin-i-di(n)-nam*, etc. Since the spellings *-li-bu(r)-ra* and *Li-bu(r)-rī-im* permit the interpretation as *abārum* or *bārum* we must try to find the right interpretation through other considerations. Our choice is against *abārum*, since this word is poorly attested in Akkadian, and in favor of *buārum*, “to be (firm),” parallel to *kuānum* in Old and Middle Assyrian, both in *qal* and in *pi-el*.

Line 7.—Since the reading *A-ḫa-KUG.BABBAR-sa* does not seem to yield a good meaning we may have to consider the possibility of interpreting lines 6f. as *Ilī-dan* brother of *Kaspūša*. For the latter name see no. 21:3.

Line 8.—The personal name *La-á-ra-ab* evidently corresponds to *La-à-ra-ab*, found frequently in the Old Akkadian tablets from Tell Asmar quoted in *MAD* I p. 211.

29 (FM 229235)

Since the complete inscription contains only the names of two individuals together with the names of their fathers, the purpose of this short memorandum must remain unknown. Interesting are the names *Gal-pum*=Kalbum, "dog," and Šubarijum, "Subarian," father of *Gal-pum*. "Subarian" as a personal name appears quite frequently in the published and unpublished tablets of the period. See on these occurrences the index to my *AS* no. 22. A personal name Kalbu occurs also in Gelb, Purves, and MacRae, *OIP* LVII; cf. also the spelling 1 *gal-pum* UD.KA.BAR, "1 dog of bronze," in Luckenbill, *OIP* XIV 103:9.



Obverse

TABLET 29 (FM 229235)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	<i>Gal-pum</i>	Kalbum
2)	DUMU <i>Su-ba-ri-im</i>	son of Šubarijum,
3)	<i>Na-num</i>	Nanum
4)	DUMU <i>Zi-na-num</i>	son of Zin anum.
Rev.	(uninscribed)	

30 (FM 229228)

A list of eight persons, of whom two are designated as ŠEŠ.SAL and three are designated as *ku-lu-ù* at the end of the inscription. The two appellatives are clearly connected with each other.

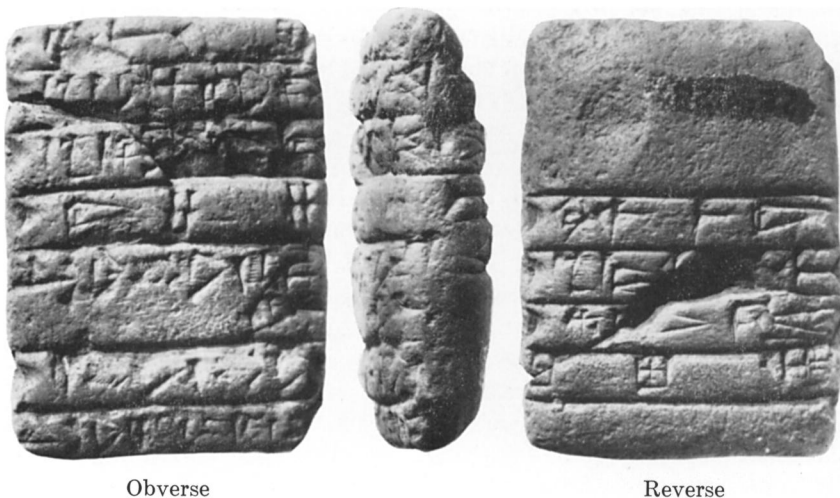
The two persons Izaza and Alili are designated as being the ŠEŠ.SAL of other men. This appellative is known to me only from an Old Akkadian tablet published in Scheil, *Mém.* XXIV 342:7f., where we read *Ma-ma ŠEŠ.SAL Šum-su*, translated as "sister" by Scheil (and possibly from *MAD* I 250 iii 22). The logogram SAL.ŠEŠ for "sister," cited by P. Kraus, *MVAG* XXXVI 113, is most probably SAL.KU=NIN, as is normal in Old Babylonian. Inasmuch as no evidence is known to me for ŠEŠ.SAL or SAL.ŠEŠ=*aḫātu*, "sister," we must search for another interpretation of this logogram. Possibly ŠEŠ.SAL of our text is identical with SAL.ŠEŠ having the Sumerian reading SIŠ and Akkadian equivalent *sik-ri-tu* in the syllabary Rm 2, 26:9, published by Meissner, *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern* (Leiden, 1898), Autographien, pl. 24. This difficult word was first translated as "weibliche Männer" (root ZKR) by Landsberger in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* LXIX (1915) 519ff.; later he abandoned this interpretation and in *AOF* X 145 was inclined to follow the translation "Abgesperrte"="Haremsfrauen" (root SKR) proposed by Ungnad in *ZA* XXXVIII (1929) 194. G. R. Driver and Sir John C. Miles, in a study entitled "The SAL-ZIKRUM 'Woman-Man' in Old Babylonian Texts," *Iraq* VI (1939) 66-70, proposed the translation "eunuch" or "epicene" for SAL-ZIKRUM and differentiated it from ^f*zikrītu* or ^f*sigrī/ēti*, which they translate as "enclosed woman."

The appellative *ku-lu-ù*, applied to three persons listed at the end of the inscription, should correspond to the word *kulu^uum*, discussed by Meissner in *AOTU* I 1 (1916) p. 50 and translated by him as "male prostitute," "lover."

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) 1 A-ti-e
 2) [1] Eš₄-dar-dam-ga-at
 3) [1] Eš₄-dar-ra-bi-at
 4) 1 Ī-za-za
 5) ŠEŠ.SAL Li-bur-ri-im
 6) 1 A-li-li
 7) ŠEŠ.SAL A-bi-bi

- Rev. (space)
 8) 1 *Sá-lim-me-ni*
 9) 1 *Eš₄-dar-du-[gu]l-ti*
 10) 1 *Ri-^l₁-tum*
 11) *ku-lu-ù*



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 30 (FM 229228)

NOTES

Line 4.—The reading of *Ni-za-za* as *Ī-za-za* is based on comparison with the spelling *I-za-za* in T. Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1932) 5:5, *Mém.* XVIII 180 ii 7 and 12, and XXVIII 404:18.

Line 5.—The genitive form *Li-bur-rí-im* as compared with the nominative *Li-pù₁-ru-um*, in no. 49:6 shows that personal names could be declined in the Old Akkadian period. Such cases of declension are rare, however, since, with the exception of *Li-bur-rí-im*, [M]*a-má-tim* (no. 51 x+10), and *Su-ba-rí-im* (no. 29:2), all other examples show lack of declension; cf. the names *Da-bi-lum* (no. 2:16), *Dar-e-tum* (no. 3:9), *E-la-me-tum* (no. 9:10), *I-ni-um* (no. 4:7), *È-[n]i-um* (no. 7:30), *Maš-tum* (no. 3:6), *Šu-na-ak-pum* (no. 9:8), and *Zi-na-num* (no. 29:4), all nominatives in form, genitives in syntax.

Line 10.—For the personal name *Ri-^l₁-tum* = *Rē'itum* see n. to no. 6:4.

31 (FM 229234)

The tablet first enumerates one donkey, one garden, and one house in Akkad and then ends abruptly with *Lu-ga-lu-mu-uk*, which can hardly be anything other than a personal name. In spite of the fact that *šu* is normally singular (but cf. Meek, *HSS* X 198:6), it seems to apply here not only to the house, but also to the donkey and the garden, that is, all three objects were in Akkad. But the relationship of these to Lugalumuk cannot be determined.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1) 1 ANŠE.BAR.AN	1 BAR.AN-donkey,
2) 1 GIŠ.SAR	1 garden,
3) ù 1 É	and 1 house
4) šu A-ga-dè ^{KI}	of (in) Akkad
Rev. 5) <i>Lu-ga-lu-mu-uk</i>	(<i>belonging to</i>) Lugalumuk.



TABLET 31 (FM 229234)

NOTES

Line 1.—ANŠE.BAR.AN occurs frequently in the older texts, but exactly what kind of donkey it denotes is as yet uncertain. For references see Deimel, *ŠL* II 74:182 and 208:24. It may be of importance in future identifications of this animal to note that ANŠE.BAR.AN.SAL and ANŠE.BAR.AN.AMAR.SAL are found distributed together with different classes of ANŠE.LIBIR to various persons in tablets of the Old Akkadian period, *MAD* I 6 and 8 (discussed above under no. 21:4).

Line 5.—*Lu-ga-lu-mu-uk* sounds like a Sumerian name composed of LUGAL plus an unknown element *-umuk*. The logogram ^{LU}U.MUG listed in the glossary to San Nicolò and Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden* I p. 153 (under *šandanakku*) and in Deimel, *ŠL* II 411:146 is to be read as AŠGAB.

32 (FM 229239)

A well-preserved tablet recording the loan without interest of 1 female lamb to Kališ-ṭāb and the loan, evidently at a certain established rate of interest, of 4 PI of barley to Išaša.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 32 (FM 229239)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	1 SILA ₄ .SAL	1 female lamb
2)	<i>iš-dè</i>	(is) with
3)	<i>Ga-lī-iš-DÛG</i>	Kališ-ṭāb,
Rev. 4)	<i>ḫu-bu-da-tum</i>	free of interest.
5)	4(PI) ŠE <i>iš-dè</i>	4 PI of barley (are) with
6)	<i>I-sá-sá</i>	Išaša.

NOTE

Lines 2 and 5.—On the reading and meaning of *iš-dè*, “with,” “from,” in Old Akkadian see Meek in *RA* XXXIV (1937) 63f.

33 (FM 229201)

This is the largest tablet in the collection and the only one inscribed in four columns. The inscription is very well preserved and all the signs are relatively easy to decipher. More difficult is the interpretation of the inscription.

In lines 1–17 are enumerated provisions, trees, and objects of wood. Lines 18–43 contain identical or similar entries, most of which are accompanied by the names of persons for whom they may have been destined. Following a blank space on the tablet, lines 44–50 contain perhaps the names of the individuals who took care of the transportation and the names of the two places to which shipment was made. A separate shipment of provisions, implements, and trees seems to be described in lines 51–55. The last column of the tablet, comprising lines 56–62, seems to list the persons to whom this shipment was made.

Lines 8–17, 33f., and 36 exhibit a feature that is unique among the tablets of this collection, namely, the presence of checkmarks beside certain entries in the list. These ancient checkmarks, like our modern ones, are made in the form of an “×,” except that the strokes are made not from top to bottom but from left to right. Why certain items were thus checked and others not cannot be ascertained.

The custom of checking certain entries in a list is very old. Examples are to be found on some tablets of the Pre-Sargonic period, as in Nikolskij, *Drevnosti Vostochnyia* (“Trudy vostochnoi kommissii imperatorskago Moskovskago arkheologicheskago obshchestva,” vol. III, part 2 [St. Petersburg, 1908]) 41 and 52, and in Barton, *PBS* IX 1, no. 83. This custom is evidenced also in the later period, as in the Old Akkadian tablets *MAD* I 86 and 232; in Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* 96; and in Meek, *HSS* X 51, 187, 188.

The names of the various plants mentioned in the inscription have been translated, following R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* (London, 1949). The untranslated words are given in their Sumerian forms.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Col. i

Obv. 1) 40 (QA) NINDA. BAPPIR	40 QA of beer bread,
2) 2 (PI) ZÍD.ŠE	2 PI of barley flour,
3) 45 GIŠ.ÛR	45 <i>beams</i> ,
4) 2 GIŠ.ŠINIG GAL	2 large tamarisk trees,
5) 2 ^{GIŠ} a-za-an	2 myrtle trees,
6) GIŠ 5 GIŠ.K[A]	wood for 5 pegs,
7) 2 GIŠ.MAR	2 wooden spades,
8) 2 (erasure) GIŠ.×DA	2 wooden boards,
9) 2 GIŠ. KID ₅ ×	2 wooden trays,
10) 10 ŠU SU.SU×	10 “hands” of <i>door bands</i> ,
11) 2 GÚ SU.×SU	2 “necks” of <i>door bands</i> ,
12) 1 GIŠ.ŠE.Û TUR×	1 small ŠE.Û-tree,
13) 1 na-ba×tum	1 (part of a chariot),
14) 8 GÚ GIŠ.MA.NU×	8 talents of laurel sticks,
15) 4 GIŠ.GÚ.ŠUBUR×	4 ,
16) 1× ^{GIŠ} al-lum	1 hoe,
17) 40 GIŠ.KA ki-iš×za-bi	40 pegs for threshing boards,
18) [40 (QA) NINDA]. BAPPIR	[40 QA] of beer [bread],
(rest of col. i broken away; nothing or at most one line missing)	

Col. ii

19) 2 (PI) ZÍD.ŠE	2 PI of barley flour,
20) 40 GIŠ.ŠUBUR	40 ŠUBUR-trees
21) Du-gul-tum	Tukultum,
22) 20 dir-ku-lí	20 poles,
23) 30 GIŠ.ŠUBUR	30 ŠUBUR-trees
24) Su-ni-tum	Šunítum,
25) 40 ME-Ki-dè	40 (trees) Me-Kite,
26) 40 A-ga-ga	40 (trees) Agaga,
27) 26 Ba-lu-sa	26 (trees) Palûša,
28) 30 GIŠ La-wi-ip-tum	30 trees Lawiptum,
29) 30 Eš ₄ -dar-da-rí	30 (trees) Eštar-dâri,
30) 15 A-li-lí	15 (trees) Alili,
31) 80 si-na-at ki-iš-za!-bi	80 pegs for threshing boards
32) šu-ut Ib-rí-me	of Ibrime,
33) 2 GIŠ.×KID ₅	2 wooden trays,
34) 1×GIŠ.KA DUBBIN	1 (part of a wagon),

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 35) 1 ŠU SU.SU | 1 "hand" of a door band, |
| 36) 40 GIŠ <i>ki-iš-za-bi</i> × | 40 wooden (pegs) for |
| | threshing boards, |
| 37) 4 GIŠ.NAG.BAL | 4 wooden , |



Obverse

TABLET 33 (FM 229201)

Col. iii

Rev. 38)	30 <i>E-zé-zé</i> [. . .]?	30 (trees) Ezeze,
39)	2 GIŠ.KID ₅ <i>Šu-um</i>	2 wooden trays Šu ^u um,
40)	7 KID ₅ ^d UTU-SA	7 (wooden) trays Šamaš-bītī,
41)	2 KUŠ.LAL.A.GÁ	2 sacks,
42)	GIŠ <i>e-ni</i> Û.URU.A ,
43)	4 GIŠ.NISABA (space)	4 soda plants (space)
44)	DINGIR- <i>dan</i>	Ilum-dan,
45)	<i>Šu-Eš₄-dar</i>	Šu-Eštar,
46)	<i>Zu-zu a-na Ban-ga</i> ^{KI}	Zuzu, to (the city of) Banga (brought it).
47)	<i>Gu-gu</i> TUR (double line)	Gugu the Younger, (double line)
48)	<i>Nin-lil-iš-gi-in</i>	Ninliliš-kîn,
49)	<i>Na-bi-um</i>	Nabi'um
50)	<i>in Ki-dē</i> ^{KI} (double line)	(are) in (the city of) Kite. (double line)
51)	ŠU.NIGÍN GŪ <i>Eš₄-dar-UR.SAG</i>	Total load (which) Eštar- qarrād
52)	<i>u-bi-lam</i>	brought:
53)	50 (QA) ZÍD.ŠE 1 GIŠ.MAR	50 QA of barley flour, 1 wooden spade,
54)	2 (PI) NINDA.BAPPIR 4 GIŠ.ÛR	2 PI of beer bread, 4 <i>beams</i> ,
55)	50 GIŠ.ŠUBUR 1 NISABA	50 ŠUBUR-trees, 1 soda plant

Col. iv

(space)	(space)
56) <i>a-na A-ti-ti</i>	for Atiti,
57) <i>Ma-at-na-ḥu-um</i>	Matnaḥum,
58) <i>Sa-a-ni-iš</i>	Ša ^a aniš,
59) <i>Um-mi-mi</i>	Ummimi,
60) <i>ù En-ni-lí</i>	and Enn-ili.
61) KUG.GI (space)	Gold (space)
62) ŠÁM- <i>mu-su</i>	(is) its price.



Reverse

TABLET 33 (FM 229201)

NOTES

Line 1.—BAPPIR here as well as in lines 18 and 54 is the well-known ingredient used in making beer. According to numerous prescriptions of the Pre-Sargonic period beer was made from three main ingredients: (a) emmer or barley, (b) KAŠ+GAR (later ŠIM+GAR or BAPPIR), and (c) MUN_x(BULÛG). Since MUN_x is almost certainly “malt” (cf. Hrozný, *Das Getreide im alten Babylonien* I 154), it follows that BAPPIR cannot be “malt” as taken by some scholars. Since it is made into loaves of bread (NINDA) it cannot be a liquid as proposed by Poebel in ZA XXXIX (1930) 156–60. The exact translation of BAPPIR is as yet unknown. The translation of NINDA.BAPPIR as “beer bread,” here followed, is provisional and noncommittal. On the whole problem, besides Poebel and Hrozný, cited above, see mainly W. Förtsch in OLZ XIX (1916) 101–5; H. F. Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing in the Ancient Orient* (Leipzig, 1922); Deimel in *Orientalia* XXXII (1928) 57ff.; A. Götze in MVAG XXXII 1 (1928) 64–77; E. Huber in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II (1938) 25–28; *idem*, *Bier und Bierbereitung bei den Völkern der Urzeit. I. Babylonien und Ägypten* (Berlin, 1926) (unreliable from the linguistic point of view); L. F. Hartman and A. L. Oppenheim, *On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia, Supplement to the Journal of the American Oriental Society* no. 10 (1950).

Line 3.—The end of the sign ÛR here as well as in line 54 differs from the normal writing. From our text and from other similar texts of the same period (such as MAD I 272) we get the impression that GIŠ.ÛR represented a real tree. Perhaps the secondary meaning “beam” developed as a result of the fact that the wood of this tree was particularly suitable for making beams for the roof.

Lines 5f.—With 2 GIŠ^a-za-an GIŠ 5 GIŠ.K[A], “2 myrtle trees, wood for 5 pegs,” in our text cf. GIŠ.ŠUBUR GIŠ *u-rî-i[m]*, “ŠUBUR-trees, wood for the roof,” in no. 39:1f. On GIŠ.KA, “pegs,” see note to line 17.

Lines 10f.—The logogram SU+SU is used for the Akkadian *ia-ú* (var.: *e-a*) and *kurussu* of a door (also of a plow); see Deimel, *ŠL* II 7:39. The meaning of these words is difficult to determine because of their rare occurrence in the Akkadian sources. Perhaps they denote the leather bands or fastenings by means of which the doors were attached to the wall. See also W. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisch-englisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* (Berlin, 1905) pp. 439f. and Ungnad in ZA XXXI (1917/18) 50f.

ŠU, "hands," and GÚ, "necks," presumably denote certain parts of the door bands, depending on the position in which they were used, but closer identification is as yet impossible.

Line 12.—Our GIŠ.ŠE.Û (also in no. 43:17) is possibly the equivalent of GIŠ.ŠE.Û.KU, the normal Sumerian logogram for "fir cone."

Line 13.—The word *na-ba-tum* may correspond to *na-ba-du ša* GIŠ.MAR, some part of a chariot, in a late syllabary published in *CT* XII 15 rev. ii 22 (also Deimel, *ŠL* II 12:2 and 45). Cf. also *na-pa-du*, made of wood, in J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* I (Leipzig, 1915) no. 13:27, and 62 GIŠ *na-ba-tum* LAM in David W. Myhrman, *BE* III 77:3.

Line 14.—Cf. *x* GÚ GIŠ.MA.NU in Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* 221 vi and 22 rev. ii.

Line 15.—The sign after GÚ is perhaps ŠUBUR; it differs slightly from the ŠUBUR sign in lines 20, 23, and 55, but it resembles the sign in no. 39:1 (see p. 177). What GIŠ.GÚ.ŠUBUR is—if read correctly—it is hard to say.

Line 17.—Comparison of

40 GIŠ.KA *ki-iš-za-bi* in line 17
with 80 *si-na-at* *ki-iš-za-bi* in line 31
and 40 GIŠ *ki-iš-za-bi* in line 36

leads to the conclusion that the expressions GIŠ.KA, *si-na-at*, and GIŠ are more or less synonymous. Since KA is the normal Sumerian logogram for Akkadian *šinnum*, plur. *šinnātum*, "tooth," it seems quite simple to connect the first and second expressions. The third expression gives simply "40 pieces of wood," or, perhaps better, "40 wooden (teeth)," of the type used on an implement called *ki-iš-za-bi*, a form which can be analyzed grammatically only as the oblique case of the plural.

The exact meaning of the entire phrase becomes clear when we compare it with *šin-ni kîr-zap-pi* in a late religious text, *II R* 60:61a and b. The first word is *šinnē* in the oblique case of the plural, and its use is parallel to that of the form *šinnātum* (see Delitzsch, *AHWB* p. 676b). The second word is *kirzappum*, which is usually translated as "footstool" in the existing Akkadian dictionaries.

One logogram for *kirzappum* is GIŠ.GÎR.GUB (Deimel, *ŠL* II 444:46), which, as the individual signs in the logogram show, must mean "a wooden footstand." The other logogram is GIŠ.BAD (Deimel, *ŠL* II 69:74=296:33), which is found also in the combination

KA.GIŠ.BAD.DA, discussed by Landsberger, *Die Serie ana ittišu* (Roma, 1937) pp. 170f. According to him, GIŠ.BAD is an agricultural implement used in connection with threshing (in Akkadian "opening") of the grain; it has "teeth," and it is drawn by oxen. According to Landsberger this would suggest the meaning "threshing board" ("Dreschschlitten") for GIŠ.BAD. The Akkadian equivalent for GIŠ.BAD was unknown to Landsberger.

From the juxtaposition of *si-na-at* (var. GIŠ.KA) *ki-iš-za-bi* in our text, *šin-ni kir-zap-pi* in Rawlinson, *loc. cit.*, and KA.GIŠ.BAD.DA in Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, it is obvious that the terms *ki-iš-za-bi* and *kir-zap-pi* are identical. The dissimilation of two contiguous sibilants into a liquid plus a sibilant in the example *kišzappum* > *kirzappum* can be observed also in Akkadian *kussû* > *kursû*, Syriac *kursajā*, Arabic *kursijjun*, "throne," "chair" (see Meissner in *MVAG* X 4 [1905] 272). Similarly, Hebrew KRSM developed from the *pi-el* form KSM, "to cut" (as suggested to me by the late Prof. S. I. Feigin of the Oriental Institute). On this problem see also C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* I (Berlin, 1908) 243ff.

The "teeth" mentioned in connection with *kišzappum* or *kirzappum* show clearly that this word cannot mean "footstool" in our texts, for it is hard to visualize the possible significance of "teeth" on a footstool. On the other hand, the term "teeth" is perfectly logical in connection with a threshing board. I myself have often seen "toothed" threshing boards in use in Turkey. The following description of threshing in the vicinity of Alishar in Turkey is taken from J. A. Morrison, *A Unit of Land Occupance in the Kanak Su Basin of Central Anatolia* (dissertation at the University of Chicago [Chicago, 1939] p. 39:

Threshing is accomplished with the threshing sled—the *deven*, which, in size and shape, resembles the New England "stoneboat".... It consists of a plank approximately one and one-half meters long and sixty centimeters in width, slightly turned up at one end, and its under side studded with sharp flints....

As soon as a stack of unthreshed grain has been piled as high as it conveniently can be, threshing begins. Enough is pulled off the top of the stack to form a loose layer about forty centimeters thick around its base and extending outward from it some three or four meters. Over this layer around the stack the *deven* is hauled by a pair of bullocks, or more rarely, a horse. Being turned up at its forward end, the *deven* rides on top of the layer. The driver stands or sits on the *deven* to give it additional weight.... As the *deven* goes round and round the stack, the flints in its under surface cut the stalks of grain into short pieces and remove the kernels of grain from their

heads. Every few minutes the layer is stirred and turned, so that no kernel shall be left in its head. When inspection shows that the process is complete, the mixture of chopped-up straw and grain is pulled down from the stack. . . . When the entire stack has been ground up in this manner, the winnowing begins.

The fact that the word *kišzappum* or *kirzappum* means "threshing board" in our texts does not exclude the meaning "footstool" in other texts. In Akkadian, the word denoted originally a footboard, that is, simply the board on which one stood. The secondary meaning "footstool," namely, the board on which one rested one's feet, could easily have been developed from it. In Sumerian, the logogram GIŠ.GÎR.GUB, "footstool," is clearly distinguished from GIŠ.BAD, "threshing board."

Line 20.—For GIŠ.ŠUBUR in this line as well as in lines 23 and 55 in this inscription see Deimel, *ŠL* II 53:4. In a slightly different form this logogram appears also in our text no. 39:1.

Line 22.—*Tarkullum* or *tirkullum* is the pole used as the mainmast on ancient ships. See A. Salonen, "Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien," *Studia Orientalia* VIII 4 (1939) pp. 111f. and 127.

Line 25.—For the element *Ki-dè* in the personal name ME-*Ki-dè* cf. the Old Akkadian personal name NIN-*Ki-dè* in E. Burrows, *Archaic Texts* ("Ur Excavations Texts" II [London, 1935]) pl. XLVIII, no. 33:4, and the geographic name *Ki-dè*^{KI} discussed below under line 50.

Line 32.—With *Ib-ri-me* in our text may be compared the geographical name *Ib-ri-me*^{KI} in two texts of the same period from Tell Asmar (*MAD* I 18:2 and 57 rev. x+2).

Line 34.—Comparison of GIŠ.KA! ÚR+KÍD in our text with GIŠ.SAG DUBBIN in the late syllabary published by Meissner in *AOTU* I 1, p. 59:50f., makes it clear that the sign ÚR+KÍD in our text is a defective writing for DUBBIN (composed of KAD+KÍD+ÚR). According to this syllabary the logogram denotes some part of a wagon, perhaps a part of the wheel. Cf. also x GIŠ.KA [GIŠ. DUBBIN] in *MAD* I 325:2 and KA GIŠ.DUBBIN in Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* I p. 28, 1429.

Line 37.—GIŠ.NAG.BAL occurs often in the Old Akkadian and Ur III texts and denotes some object made from the wood of the ḪAŠḪUR-tree. Cf., for example, GIŠ.ḪAŠḪUR NAG.BAL in De Genouillac, *ITT* II 1, 4644:1, or GIŠ.NAG.BAL GIŠ.ḪAŠḪUR, *ibid.* no. 4646:1 (references supplied by Dr. Geers).

Line 40.—The name ^dUTU-SA is evidently identical with ^dUTU-É in nos. 18:3 and 19:9, although the confusion between SA and the similar in form sign É cannot be epigraphically explained. Cf. ^dUTU-É and ^dUTU-SA (*MAD* I p. 226 *passim*), DINGIR-É (*ibid.* p. 191), ^dEN.ZU-É (*ibid.* p. 195 *passim*), Eš₄-dar-É (*ibid.* p. 196), and Ba-luḥ-É, Ba-lu-úḥ-É (discussed above under no. 18:17). Note the remarks in *MAD* II 62.

The ending -ša in the names Ba-lu-sa (l. 27), KUG.BABBAR-sa (nos. 21:3 and 49:10), Mim-ma-sa (no. 37:5), Šum-ma-sa (no. 11:14), E-lu-sa (no. 28:9), and Me-ù-sa (nos. 18:2 and 19:6) is best explained as the feminine singular pronominal suffix.

Line 41.—The order KUŠ.LAL.A.GÁ here and also in no. 34:7 is unusual as against the normal KUŠ.A.GÁ.LAL (Deimel, *ŠL* II 7:183). The corresponding Akkadian word is *naruqqum*, not “ein Teil des Schuhs” as translated by Deimel, *loc. cit.*, but “sack,” used for carrying and measuring grain and flour. Especially instructive is the comparison of 4 KUŠ.LAL.A.GÁ ZÍD.ŠE, “4 sacks of barley flour,” in our text no. 34:7 with such examples as 6 na-ru-ug qé-mu-um, “6 sacks of flour,” in a Cappadocian tablet published by Clay, *BIN* IV 188:19f., and elsewhere. See also n. to no. 34:4.

Line 42.—I do not understand GIŠ e-ni Û.URU.A. With the first word cf. possibly e-nu in no. 7:21; with the second, the phrase ba-la Û.URU+A in no. 40:6.

Line 47.—Normally we should expect in this line some such verbal form as “they brought” or the like (as in line 52). Since it is impossible to derive such meaning from GU.GU.TUR, it is necessary to assume that the verb was omitted, as so frequently in our schematically written tablets (on this problem see pp. 175f.). Then GU.GU.TUR should express the name of a person. Gugu as a personal name appears frequently in the texts of the Third Dynasty of Ur (see Schneider in *Orientalia* XXIII 39). On the use of GAL, “the Elder,” and TUR, “the Younger,” in personal names see Meek, *HSS* X p. xv.

Line 50.—Our geographic name Ki-dè^{KI} is evidently identical with Ki-ti^{KI}, found frequently in the tablets of the later periods from the Diyala region. See H. Frankfort, S. Lloyd, and T. Jacobsen, *OIP* XLIII 189. For the reading URU-Gi-tim see n. to no. 25:9.

Line 61.—The occurrences of gold are rather rare in Old Akkadian, as the chief metal of exchange commerce was silver. The relationship in value of gold to silver is 8:1 according to the text in

De Genouillac, *ITT* II 2, 4647 and 7½:1 according to an unpublished text Louvre AO 8638.

Line 62.—The spelling ŠÁM-*mu-su* shows that the word for “price” is a *plurale tantum*, as normally in other texts of Old Akkadian period; cf., for example, ŠÁM-*me* above (no. 10:9).

34 (FM 229202)

A list of objects and provisions similar to no. 33 except that there are no accompanying personal names.

Several of the signs in this inscription are peculiarly written; evidently the scribe was not well versed in cuneiform writing. Cf. the sign MU in line 3, ŠAKAN in line 5, TÚG in lines 6, 10, 11, 12, GÍD in line 8 and perhaps also in line 12.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	ᵝx¹+2 KUŠ MÁŠ	ᵝx¹+2 kidskins
2)	nam-ḫa-ru ZÍD.ŠE	containers for/of barley flour,
3)	1 AN.ZA.MU	1 pot,
4)	2 EDIN.A.SU	2 water-skins,
5)	2 ŠAKAN IĀ.NUN. DÙG	2 jugs of sweet butter,
6)	TÚG.GU.ZI.DA. ŠÍG	(1) <i>woolen</i> GU.ZI.DA-garment,
7)	30(QA) ŠE 4 KUŠ. LAL.A.GÁ ZÍD.ŠE	30 QA of barley, 4 sacks of barley flour,
8)	2 GIŠ.GÍD	2 wooden staffs,
9)	[1 M]A.NA ŠÍG ÍB. LAL	1 <i>mina</i> wool-girdle,
Rev. 10)	2 TÚG.ŠAG₄.GA.DÙ	2 ŠAG₄.GA.DÙ-garments,
11)	1 TÚG.ŠÍG	1 coat,
12)	1 TÚG.(erasure)GÍD	1 <i>mat</i> ,
13)	2 ҀI.ҀI.NA	2 ҀI.ҀI.NA-garments.



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 34 (FM 229202)

NOTES

Line 3.—The last sign in AN.ZA.MU is not very clear, but it cannot be AM. The logogram probably corresponds to AN.ZA.AM, Akkadian *asammû*, some kind of vessel, known from tablets of the Third Dynasty of Ur, for example, in Pinches, *The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection* (London, 1915) no. 89 ii 14f.; Hackmann, *BIN* V 2:36, and in a syllabary published in *II R* 44 no. 8; see also Pinches, *op. cit.* p. 110, and Langdon in *RA* XV (1918) 158.

Line 4.—The logogram EDIN.A.SU (also in no. 7:11) is probably identical with SU.A.EDIN.LAL, Akkadian *nādu*, “water-skin” (Deimel, *ŠL* II 7:184 and 579:219). Cf. also KUŠ.EDIN.A.SU in Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* 222 rev. i 7 and 8; 225:3; etc. Similar cases of logograms with and without LAL can be observed in the comparison of KUŠ.LAL.A.GÁ, discussed above under no. 33:41, with KUŠ.A.GÁ in our no. 48:3 and 6 and in an Old Akkadian tablet transliterated in Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* I 1210. Cf. also 9 KUŠ!. A.GÁ and 1 KUŠ.A.GÁ.LAL in Dossin, *Mém.* XVIII 83:5f., which suggests that the two logograms denote two similar but slightly differentiated objects.

Line 5.—ŠAKAN is a jug or pitcher used for carrying butter and other fats; it is used also as a measure. See Deimel, *ŠL* II 428:1–5.

Line 6.—The reading of the sign *SÍG*, although not clear on the tablet, is made plausible by the fact that the *kusitum*-garment is sometimes made of wool. On this problem see n. to no. 7:3.

Line 9.—The reading of [1 M]A.NA *SÍG/TÚG* ÍB.LAL is doubtful but it receives a certain amount of support from the occurrence of 1 *SÍG* ÍB.LAL in an unpublished text in the Yale Museum. ÍB.LAL occurs also below in no. 38:5. For *TÚG*.ÍB.LAL see Deimel, *ŠL* II 207:35; for the translation “girdle” cf. Gadd in *Studia Orientalia* I (1925) 28 and 30.

Line 10.—On the ŠAG₄.GA.DÛ-garment see Deimel, *ŠL* II 536:244, where, however, only the reference to De Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem* (Musée du Louvre, “Textes cunéiformes,” vol. II [Paris, 1911] 5496, is correct. For the older periods see, for example, Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* 102 ii x+4, and in our collection no. 7:6.

Line 11.—The word *TÚG.SÍG* is equated in Deimel, *ŠL* II 536:291 with Akkadian *ulinnu* and *sissiktu*, some kind of coat.

Line 12.—Our TÚG.GÍD (written over erasure) is perhaps identical with TÚG.GÍD, having the Sumerian reading *mudru* and the Akkadian equivalent *burû*, “mat.” See Deimel, *ŠL* II 536:229 and Meissner in *MVAG* XII 3 (1907) p. 162. The signs cannot be read as TÚG.UŠUM.

Line 13.—The same ending as is found in ̕I.̕I.NA occurs in the words ʾà-ku-̕i-na, ̕i-šè-lu-̕i-na, and zi-im-zé-̕i-na, also used in connection with garments, in an Old Akkadian text published in Hilprecht, *BE* I 11. The suffix -̕ina looks foreign and may serve as a gentile-adjectival formation with words denoting the origin or quality of garments. See also Gelb, Purves, and MacRae, *OIP* LVII under -̕ina.

35 (FM 229241)

A very interesting text in view of the fact that the mode of expression changes from indirect to direct discourse. The contents of the inscription are as follows: According to lines 1–6 Šiwira, Tešitum, and Ṭâb-ilī each took certain amounts of silver. Then in lines 7–10 it is said that he—evidently Ṭâb-ilī—gave to me—an unknown person—certain garments and a specified amount of silver. In the last line the unknown person gave to “him”—that is, to Ṭâb-ilī—a certain garment.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	5 GÍN KUG.BABBAR	5 shekels of silver
2)	šu Ši-[w]i-ra	of Šiwira,
3)	1 GÍN KUG.BABBAR	1 shekel of silver
4)	Te-si-tum	(of) Tešitum
5)	1 GÍN KUG.BABBAR	1 shekel of silver
Rev. 6)	Tab-i-lī	(of) Ṭâb-ilī,
7)	1 ^{TÚG} bu-ru-tum	1 <i>burutum</i> -garment,
8)	1 ^{TÚG} na-áš-ba-ar-tum	1 <i>našpartum</i> -garment,
9)	1 ^{TÚG} zi-im-tum	1 <i>šimdum</i> -garment,
10)	1 GÍN KUG i-ti-nam	1 shekel of silver he gave to me.
11)	1 TÚG.BAL 'a'-ti-šum	1 BAL-garment I gave to him.



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 35 (FM 229241)

NOTES

Line 2.—The reconstruction of the name *Si-[w]i-ra* is based on its clear occurrence in *MAD* I 163 iii 29.

Line 6.—The name TAB-NI-NI is taken here as *Tab-i-lî*=*Ṭāb-ilî*, but possibly it could also be interpreted as *Tabnî-ilî* or *Tappā-ilî*.

Line 8.—The *na-āš-ba-ar-tum*-garment is probably identical with the *na-āš-ba-ru-um*-garment frequently found in the tablets of the Old Akkadian period, as in Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* I p. 5, 1082; De Genouillac, *ITT* V 9297:1; *MAD* I 169:3.

Line 9.—For the translation of *šimdum* see the discussion under no. 7:8.

Line 10.—For the writing of KUG.BABBAR as KUG see Deimel, *ŠL* II 468:4. The writings KUG and KUG.BABBAR are both represented in Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* 101 and in *MAD* I 302.

Line 11.—The BAL-garment occurs in the form *TÚG.BAL* in De Genouillac, *ITT* V 6674 x+2, and elsewhere, in the form *TÚG.TÚG.BAL* in *MAD* I 187:22.

36 (FM 229248)

Tablet concerning barley, field, and wool (lines 1–24). Following a small blank space on the tablet, all those items are summarized in lines 25–30. Unfortunately the closing lines are not sufficiently well preserved to allow of an interpretation with any degree of certainty. Tablet no. 36 resembles in appearance no. 7, both being presumably written by the same scribe.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	10 ŠE.GUR ŠE.ĤAR. A[N]	10 GUR of ĤAR.AN-barley
2)	<i>Na-bi-um ik-sur</i>	Nabi ^{um} . . . -ed.
3)	10 (GUR) <i>Na-bi-um</i>	10 GUR Nabi ^{um}
4)	<i>a-na E-na-na</i>	to Enana
5)	EDIN <i>i-dim</i>	the <i>potter gave</i> .
6)	ŠE.ĤAR.AN <i>È-ni-um</i>	Of the ĤAR.AN-barley of Enium
7)	<i>šu Na-bi-um</i>	which Nabi ^{um}
8)	<i>in i-te-su</i>	in/with his
9)	<i>ik-su₄-ra</i>	. . . -ed,
10)	10 (GUR) <i>i[n] É-ti</i>	10 GUR are in the house
11)	<i>La-n[i] SAL.LÚ.TÚG</i>	of Lan[<i>i</i>] the woman-fuller,
12)	5 (GUR) <i>[i]n É-ti</i>	5 GUR are in the house
13)	TÚG.DU ₈	of the <i>upholsterer</i> ,
14)	5 (GUR) <i>[. . .]-lum</i>	5 GUR of . . . <i>lum</i>
Rev. 15)	ù DINGIR-[. . .]	and of Ilum-. . . .
16)	<i>in [. . .]-tim</i>	in [. . .] .
17)	<i>I-[n]a-na-num</i>	Inananum (received).
18)	30 ŠÍG ¹ MA.NA	30 minas of [wool],
19)	<i>in NA₄ KUG.BABBAR</i>	(measured by) the “stone of silver,”
20)	<i>Bi-za-num</i>	Bizatum
21)	<i>wa-bil-si-in</i>	is their porter.
22)	5 (GUR) <i>Bi-za-num</i>	5 GUR (of barley), Bizatum
23)	<i>[w]a-bil-su</i>	is its porter.
24)	‘4’ GÁN (space)	[4] GÁN of field. (space)
25)	ŠU.NIGÍN 45 ŠE.GUR	[Total] 45 GUR of barley,

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 26) [ŠU-NIGÍN] 4 GÁN | [Total] 4 GÁN of field, 30 |
| 30 SÍG MA.NA | minas of wool, |
| 27) [. . . -d]a Na-[b]i-um | [. . .]. Nabium |
| 28) [. . .]-tum a-pù-su | [. . .]tum his father, |
| 29) [šu-ut a]-na É-ti-su ₄ -nu | [which in]to their house |
| 30) [u]-s[á-r]i-ba | [caused to enter]. |



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 36 (FM 229248)

NOTES

Line 1.—ŠE.ĤAR.AN (here and in line 6) denotes probably barley of a certain quality. To my knowledge, this word is attested nowhere else.

Line 2.—*Ik-sur* in this line, *ik-su₄-ra* in line 9, and *ik-su-ra* in no. 14:30 are forms of a verb with radicals G/K/QŠR. There is in Akkadian a verb GŠR, pret. *igšir*, pres. *igaššir*, meaning “to make strong,” “to fasten,” as well as a verb KŠR, pret. *ikšur*, pres. *ikaššar*, meaning “to repair” or the like. But these meanings

seem hardly appropriate in connection with barley. W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* ed. F. Buhl (14th ed., Leipzig, 1905) p. 669a, tentatively connects the Hebrew word QŠR, "to bind," with Akkadian KŠR, "to repair," on the basis of the assumption that the original meaning of the latter may have been "to join." This meaning fits the context of our tablet better.

This verb occurs in the form *a-ga-sa-ar* (also with barley as object) in another Old Akkadian text in Meek, *HSS X 5:15*, translated by Meek, *op. cit.* p. xix, as "I will make it good." Comparable perhaps is also *Ē ki-šè-ir-tim*, *ibid.* no. 10:8. From our text it seems that the verb KŠR expresses some agricultural activity in connection with grain. See also n. on line 8.

Line 5.—On EDIN, "Tonnen-Töpfer," see Deimel, *ŠL II 168:10*.

Our verb *i-dim* might possibly be connected with the verb *adāmum*, meaning "to procure," found frequently in the Cappadocian texts (see J. Lewy in *ZA XXXVIII 249*). But since this verb is found nowhere else in Akkadian literature, and since even in Cappadocian its use is restricted to the permansive, it seems doubtful whether the two passages allow of comparison.

More plausible seems the explanation that *i-dim* stands for *i-din*. This is not so far-fetched as it may appear at first glance, because several other instances in which a word with final *n* is written with a syllable ending in *m* are known. See the writings *iš-kum* and *li-ša-ki-im* from ŠKN or *i-na-di-im* and *i-na-ti-im* from NDN cited by Gelb in *AJSL LIII 184*. Similarly, the geographic name Taškun-Eštar is written three times as *Ta-aš-ku-un-Eš₄-dar*, but once as *Ta-aš-ku-um-Eš₄-dar* in the Old Babylonian tablets referred to by L. Waterman, *Business Documents of the Hammurapi Period* (London, 1916) p. 30. The best parallel to our case is found in ŠU.NIGÍN 10 GIŠ.IŠ.DÈ É *Da-ba-lum a-na Ku-ku i-di[m]*, "total of 10 IŠ.DÈ-logs of a house D. gave to K.," in an unpublished Old Akkadian text Iraq Museum no. 28860.

Line 6.—Although *Ē-ni-um* looks like an adjective construed with ŠE.ĤAR.AN it should be interpreted as a personal name in view of the occurrence of this name in no. 7:30.

Line 8.—The interpretation of *in i-te-su* as *in itēšu*, "within his boundaries," that is, "within his territory," or as *in idēšu*, "in/by his hands/sides," does not seem plausible. Perhaps we have here the agricultural implement *ittû*, on which see Meissner in *AOTU I 1*, p. 34. According to the text discussed by Meissner, *ittû* has a

peg (*sikkatu*), a bowl (*itgurtu*), and a hole (*pilšu*). Still another interpretation would result from translating *in ittišu* as "in his term."

Line 11.—The sign n[i] in this personal name is not clear, but its reconstruction is rendered plausible on the basis of comparison with *La-ni* in Scheil, *Mém.* II p. 47, and Meek, *HSS* X 205:3. On the rendering of LÚ.TÚG as "fuller" see n. to no. 16:7.

Line 13.—The profession TÚG.DU₈ occurs frequently in Old Akkadian and texts of the Third Dynasty of Ur; see Meek, *HSS* X 222 ii 9; Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* I p. 20, 1314; De Genouillac, *ITT* II 3488 rev. 4; 4192:11; etc. Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*, translates the word as "*tisserand*," in English "weaver." Deimel's translation in *ŠL* II 167:40 as "upholsterer" seems to fit some Old Akkadian texts soon to be published.

37 (FM 229250)

The tablet deals with the distribution of animals, skins, garments, etc. to various individuals. The end of the text presents a certain amount of difficulty; if my understanding of the text is correct, the silver was taken by Ginunu, while Bêlî-ṭâb received bread, oil, and straw.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1) 2 MÁŠ	2 kids
2) <i>I-su-GI</i>	Išû-kîn,
3) KUŠ GUD	(1) oxskin
4) <i>Um-mi-Eš₄-dar</i>	Ummî-Eštar,
5) 1 SILA ₄ <i>Mim-ma-sa</i>	1 lamb Mimmaša,
6) 1 DUN	1 pig
7) ARÁD-zu-ni	Warassuni,
8) <i>ma-ad-lá-um</i>	(1) pail
Lo.E. 9) TÚG.TÚG	(and 1) TÚG-garment
Rev. 10) <i>Ma-šum</i>	Mašum,
11) 2 TÚG!.SÍG	2 coats
12) <i>Ī-lî-lî</i>	Ilili,
13) KUG.BABBAR	silver
14) <i>Gi-nu-nu</i>	Ginunu,
15) <i>Be-lî-DÛG</i>	Bêlî-ṭâb
16) NINDA IÂ	bread, oil,
L.E. 17) IN.U	(and) straw.



Lower Edge



Obverse



Reverse



Left Edge

TABLET 37 (FM 229250)

NOTES

Line 5.—The personal name *Mim-ma-sa* occurs also in other Old Akkadian tablets, such as Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 31 x+4 and *MAD* I 163 iii. See also the discussion on *mim-ma-su* under no. 8:14.

Line 8.—The word *ma-ad-lá-um* of our text may possibly be identical with *madlû*, a contracted form found in later texts. For references see Scheil in *ZA* X (1895) 202:10; Thureau-Dangin, *ibid.* XVII (1903) 199f.; and Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisch-englisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* p. 1016a, who all read *šadlû*. Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, p. 106a, reads this word as *madlû*, from the root *DL*₆, “to draw water,” and proposes for the noun, though with due hesitancy, a translation “a receptacle for drawing water.”

Line 9.—TÚG.TÚG occurs also in an Old Akkadian tablet, *MAD* I 171 and possibly in our no. 38:2.

Line 12.—The reading of NI.NI.NI as *Î-li-li* is based on the occurrence of the form *I-li-li* beside *Î-li-li* in the texts from Gasur. See Meek, *HSS* X p. xxxiii. On the reduplicated form see the remarks on p. 325.

Lines 16f.—No other explanation suggests itself for the signs GAR NI IN.U in these lines than to read them as NINDA IÂ IN.U and translate “bread, oil, (and) straw.” The writing IN.U for the normal IN.NU is known in texts of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Cf., for example, IN.U ŠAG₄.GAL GUD.ŠE, “straw for fodder of fattened oxen,” in Hackmann, *BIN* V 228:7, and similarly *ibid.* no. 229:4; C. E. Keiser, *Selected Temple Documents of the Ur Dynasty* (“Yale Oriental Series,” vol. IV [New Haven, 1919]) 256 iv 76; Barton, *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets or Documents from the Temple Archives of Telloh III* (Philadelphia, no date) pl. 122, no. 259:6; Legrain, *Le temps des rois d’Ur*, Planches (Paris, 1912) 376:9 (references supplied by Dr. Geers). From the occurrence of GIŠ.GIGÎR IN.U, “wagon(load) of straw,” in an Old Akkadian tablet in Meek, *HSS* X 203:4 we know that straw was measured by wagon loads, just as in modern farming practice.

NINDA IÂ occurs also in other tablets of this collection, for example, in nos. 42:10 and 48:4. They represent the staple food of the ancient Mesopotamians.

38 (FM 229214)

A small tablet with badly preserved signs. A list of entries with no details of ownership.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 38 (FM 229214)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1) ŠE	<i>Barley,</i>
2) TÚG.TÚG	<i>TÚG-garment,</i>
3) KUŠ.DUN	<i>pigskin</i>
4) 2 AMAR	<i>2 calves,</i>
Rev. 5) ÍB.LAL	<i>girdle,</i>
6) IĀ.SIG.A	<i>thin oil,</i>
7) GIŠ.APIN	<i>plow.</i>

NOTES

Line 2.—The signs look like TÚG.KU, but perhaps they are miswritten for TÚG.TÚG, which occurs in text no. 37:9, *q.v.*

Line 3.—On the form of the sign DUN see the remarks in the Introduction, p. 177. Cf. also KUŠ DUN in *ITT* V 9308 rev. 3. The DUN-animal denotes a pig in the old texts, according to Deimel, *ŠL* II 53:1 and 467:1. Skeletal remains of pigs have been found in great numbers in the Diyala region (see Hilzheimer, *Animal Remains from Tell Asmar* pp. 27–32). In fact, according to Hilzheimer, the largest percentage of skeletal remains found at Tell Asmar were those of pigs (*ibid.* pp. 47f.).

Line 5.—For ÍB.LAL, see n. to no. 34:9.

Line 6.—The Sumerian word SIG has the meanings “weak,” “small,” “thin,” and it is used in connection with grain, bread, and garments; see Deimel, *ŠL* II 592. The meaning “late” (for which see Landsberger in *AOF* III [1926] 164–172), used with reference to oil, that is, oil made from late olives, could also be considered.

39 (FM 229216)

Distribution of pieces of wood, trees, and perhaps alloyed copper to various persons.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

	(3 lines erased)	(3 lines erased)
Obv. 1)	GIŠ.ŠUBUR	ŠUBUR-trees
2)	GIŠ <i>u-ri-i</i> [<i>m</i>]	wood for the roof
3)	<i>Li-bur</i>	Libûr.
	(space)	(space)
Rev. 4)	LÛ.LÛ.URUDU	<i>Alloyed copper,</i>
	(space)	(space)
5)	GIŠ. . . .	. . . -tree
6)	<i>Ad-mar</i>	Admar,
7)	DINGIR-GI	Illum-kîn,
8)	<i>Be-lî</i>	Bêlî
9)	DUMU <i>Bu-bu</i>	son of Bubu,
10)	<i>I-zu-ur-ba-s</i> [<i>u</i>]	Išsur-pašu
L.E. 11)	DUMU AMA.TU	son of AMA.TU 'foreman'
	'UGULA' NAGAR	of the carpenters.

NOTES

Lines 1f.—From comparison with 2 GIŠ *a-za-an* GIŠ 5 GIŠ.K[A], "2 myrtle trees, wood for 5 pegs," in no. 33:5f. we can deduce that GIŠ.ŠUBUR GIŠ *u-ri-i*[*m*] in our text should be translated as "ŠUBUR-trees, wood for the roof." However, cf. also GIŠ *u-ri-e*, "beams" (acc. plur.), in Lutz, *Early Babylonian Letters* ("Yale Oriental Series," vol. II [New Haven, 1917]) 117:17 and 20. Possibly the same word is used for "beams" and "roof" in Akkadian, owing to the fact that in the oriental adobe houses, roofs were made of beams. For GIŠ.ŠUBUR see n. on no. 33:20.

Line 3.—*Li-bur* here and in no. 48:1 is interpreted as a personal name because of its similarity to *Li-bur-ri-im* in no. 30:5 and *Li-pù-ru-um* in no. 49:6. For the formation Libûr, "may he be firm!," cf. Libluṭ, "may he live!," in Old Akkadian texts, *MAD* I 233:4 and 265:17.

Line 4.—The Sumerian logogram LÛ.LÛ corresponds to Akkadian *bullulum*, and it is used with reference to mixing and smelting of metals. See Deimel, *ŠL* II 345:13.

Line 6.—The personal name *Ad-mar* occurs on numerous tablets from the Diyala region (for example, *MAD* I 328:5, rev. x+3, and 336:15).

Line 11.—The personal name AMA.TU occurs also on several Old Akkadian tablets, as in *MAD* I 163 iv 14, v 6, etc.



Obverse



Reverse



Left Edge

TABLET 39 (FM 229216)

40 (FM 229251)

The obverse is well preserved; on the reverse some of the words are only partly readable. Since I am not sure of even one word on the whole tablet, I am forced to assume that it is a school exercise composed entirely of unconnected words. It must be admitted, however, that the tablet is not like a school tablet in form, and the handwriting is better than one would expect to find in an exercise.

TRANSLITERATION

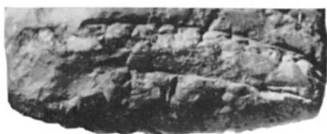
- Obv. 1) *ù-wa-am ù-im*
 2) *za-la-am ZÍD.IM*
 3) *1 NUM*
 4) *ù mu-uš-ti-num*
 5) *1 DU*
 6) *ba-la Û.URU+A*
 7) *ša-ma-ak-tum*
 8) *tu-nu-ar[-x]*
- Rev. 9) *la-gi-tum*
 10) *si-ip-te-[. . .]*
 11) *ma-tim [. . .]*
 12) *me-en-[. . .]*
 13) *a-n[a . . .]-me*
 14) *[. . .] TÚG.SIG₅*
 15) *s[a-t]u-e a-rí-im*
 16) *[. . .]-^dNIN.GAL i-ti-num*
 17) *. . . -num . . .*
- L.E. 18) *a-rí-im*



Obverse



Left Edge



Reverse

TABLET 40 (FM 229251)

41 (FM 229221)

List of objects or perhaps a school tablet. Obverse is readable, reverse badly preserved.



Obverse

TABLET 41 (FM 229221)

TRANSLITERATION

Obv. 1)	<i>na-ak-da-ma-at ap-tim</i>	Rev.	(double line)
2)	KAM	9)	<i>šu a-na x-x</i>
3)	DU ₈ .DU ₈	10)	GIŠ <i>x-x</i>
4)	<i>li-tum GUR</i>	11)	<i>TÚG.TÚG x-a-ni SI.A</i>
5)	GI	12)	<i>TÚG.TÚG É.GAL AL</i>
6)	<i>pù-zé-num</i>	13)	4 AMAR
7)	<i>húp-sa-šum</i>	14)	<i>ti-kum</i>
8)	NISABA	15)	<i>su/zu-mu-uk-tum</i>
		16)	ÉŠ.KÀR
		L.E. 17)	GIŠ.MA



TABLET 41 (FM 229221)

NOTES

Line 1.—The expression *naktamāt aptim*, literally “covers for the window,” probably refers to the wooden shutters or blinds used to protect the window opening. The feminine form *naktamtum* is new; normally the masculine form *naktamum* is used in Akkadian. As suggested by Dr. Jacobsen, these window covers may correspond to the wooden grilles such as are used in the windows of modern oriental houses or as are found in the ancient Old Akkadian houses excavated at Tell Asmar. See H. Frankfort, *Iraq Excavations of the Oriental Institute 1932/33* (“Oriental Institute Communications,” no. 17 [Chicago, 1934]) pp. 13f. See also the picture of the clay window grille from Susa reproduced by G. Contenau in *RA XXXII* (1935) 151.

Line 5.—GI, “reeds,” occurs perhaps also in no. 23:7.

Line 6.—The Akkadian word *bušinnum* denotes originally the plant called in English mullein, candlewick, or high taper, in German Königskerze or Wollkraut, in Latin *Verbascum thapsus*, whose

thick woolly leaves were used for making wicks for candles or oil lamps. Hence in Akkadian the same word is used also for "wick." See discussion by H. Holma in *OLZ* XVI (1913) 291ff.

Line 7.—Our *húp-sa-šum* corresponds to *hupšašûm*, known from syllabaries to denote some kind of pot. See Deimel, *ŠL* II 309:61 and 322:21 and 39. The syllabic value *húp* in the Old Akkadian period is proved by the occurrence of *a-na Húp-nim^{KI}* in Meek, *HSS* X 92:5 (read as *Kab-nim^{KI}*, *ibid.* p. xlii, and as *Húb-nim^{KI}*, *ibid.* p. xlvii) as compared with *Hu-up-ni^{KI}* in Ur III texts, C.-F. Jean, *Sumer et Akkad* (Paris, 1923) VII 3 and the unpublished tablet Oriental Institute A 4316:7. The identity of Old Akkadian *Hupnum* with *Hupni* of the Third Dynasty of Ur is further strengthened by geographic considerations. The Oriental Institute tablet just cited contains also an occurrence of the well-known *GÂN-ḫar^{KI}*, to be read as *Kár-ḫar^{KI}*, because of a variant *Ḫa-ra-ḫar^{KI}* in the unpublished Ur III tablet A 2695 (see Gelb *apud* Frankfort, Lloyd, and Jacobsen, *OIP* XLIII 161 n.* and *AS* no. 22, p. 57). Now, since *Karḫar* or *Ḫaraḫar* is identical with *Ḫarḫar* of the Assyrian historical inscriptions and is situated somewhere east of the Kirkuk region (see the references in R. P. Boudou in *Orientalia* XXXVIff. [1929] 73f.), *Hupnum* of the Gasur tablet should naturally be situated somewhere in the close vicinity of Gasur-Nuzi.

Line 14.—*Ti-kum* is perhaps equivalent to *tig(g)ûm*, some kind of drum.

42 (FM 229207)

The inscription is badly preserved and fails to make sense. School tablet? In line 10 NINDA IĀ is written upside down in relation to the rest of the inscription. Similarly in no. 26.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 42 (FM 229207)

TRANSLITERATION

Obv. 1) *zu-zu-ub-?BI*2) *sá-ù*3) *ŠE.^dINNIN*4) *Zu-zu a-na*5) *GÁN*6) *Ī-lu-lu*7) *[. . .] GI*8) *[. . .]. . . .*Rev. 9) *ma-. . .*10) *NINDA IĀ* (written upside down)

NOTES

Line 1.—The signs look like *zu-zu-ub* not *su-su-ub*.

Line 3.—With our *ŠE.^dINNIN* cf. *[ŠE].INNIN*, a kind of barley, in *MAD I* 297:10.

43 (FM 229209)

The disparate length of the lines and the general lack of any apparent connection in sense between the individual lines give the tablet the appearance of a school tablet. Below are given some notes to words which are at least partly intelligible. Most of the words appear in plural.

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) [X] GIŠ.GIŠ
 2) 'zu-b¹i-nu
 3) na-ma-ù ŠE
 4) kap-tur₇-ru ZÍD.ŠE
 5) ZÍD.ŠE
 6) na-al-ba-na-tum
 7) šu-ut la-ba-ak
 8) NAGAR
 9) [. . .]
 10) [. . . -n]i-ku
 11) [. . .]-bu-ru
- Rev. 12) ki-um
 13) dah₇-hu NI.DU₈
 14) a-ni-ik GUR
 15) ub-bu
 16) DA.NAGAR šu-[x]-ga-e
 17) GIŠ.ŠE.Û TUR
 18) IÀ ù á-si-su
 19) a-na AŠGAB
 20) za-bi-lu



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 43 (FM 229209)

NOTES

Line 1.—For GIŠ.GIŠ=*epinnum*, “plow,” or *nîrum*, “yoke,” see Deimel, *ŠL* II 296:79.

Line 2.—The word *ʾzu/suʾ-bî-nu* may stand for later *suppinnum*, a metal or wooden implement.

Lines 3 and 4.—The words *na-ma-ù* and *kap-tur₇-ru* are used with reference to carrying barley (ŠE) and barley flour (ZÍD.ŠE) respectively and should denote some kind of receptacles. The first word is unknown to me. The second is probably identical with *kapturru* (written *kap-KU-ru*), which occurs in syllabaries and is translated “ein best. Behältniss aus Leder” by Delitzsch, *AHWB* p. 348b.

Line 6.—*Nalbanātum*, plur. of *nalbattum* or *nalbanum*, “brick mould.”

Line 12.—The word *ki-um* occurs also on an Old Akkadian tablet, *MAD* I 274:3, in a list including chariots, trees, pots, etc.

Line 15.—*Uppum* means “drum” or part of a door, perhaps “door-handle.” The latter meaning may be preferred here if the interpretation of the word in the next line as part of a door is correct.

Line 16.—The logogram DA.NAGAR cannot denote a part of an arrow, as proposed by Deimel, *ŠL* II 336:130, since according to the text cited by Deimel (Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 86 *passim*) DA.NAGAR costs five shekels of silver or five times as much as a bow, which costs only one shekel of silver. In rev. col. iii of the same text we note 10+3 DA.NAGAR LAL 3 GIŠ.TI, that is, “10+3 DA.NAGAR minus 3 arrows,” implying that DA.NAGAR contained a standard number of arrows. The word may very well denote a box in which arrows are kept, while GAR DA.NAGAR (*ibid.* no. 7 rev. 7 and 10) would mean “a bread-box.”

In our occurrence of DA.NAGAR *šu-ga-e* there is a break between *šu* and *ga*, but presumably nothing is missing. The word *šu-ga-e* may correspond to Akkadian *šukûm*, *šugûm*, derived from Sumerian *SUKU* and translated as “door-pole” by E. Speiser in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* II (1948) 225ff. As against this correspondence we should note that the expected form in Old Akkadian should be *su-ku-e* not *šu-ga-e*.

Line 17.—GIŠ.ŠE.Û TUR occurs also in no. 33:12, *q.v.*

Line 18.—The signs IÀ ù á-si-su are fairly clear. But how are they to be translated—“oil and its *ašium*?”

Line 20.—The first word can be read as *za/a/e-bí/ne/dè-lu*. Could the second word be a defective DUN₄ or ŠUDUN? Some similar but not identical forms appear in texts of the Third Dynasty of Ur; see Schneider, *Die Keilschriftzeichen der Wirtschaftsurkunden von Ur III* (Roma, 1935) no. 185. Cf. also the use of the verb ZBL with *tupšikkum* in Delitzsch, *AHWB* p. 250b.

44 (FM 229213)

List of provisions and various objects and materials or a school tablet. The tablet is difficult to interpret.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	ŠE.NUMUN	Seed barley
2)	<i>Pù-pù</i>	Bubu
3)	SIMUG	the smith (and)
4)	EDIN	EDIN.
5)	KUŠ.ŠUḪÚB	Leather sandal(s)
6)	<i>tab-ri-um</i> IGI PA.AL É	. . . . of the ŠABRA-official of the estate,
7)	<i>tab-ri-um</i> IGI AB+ÁŠ URU ^{KI}	. . . . of the elder of the city,
8)	KUG.GI KUG. BABBAR	gold, silver,
Rev. 9)	ŠE.NUMUN	seed barley,
10)	<i>iš-gi₄¹-um</i>	(an object of wood)
11)	<i>Éš-ra</i>	Ešra
12)	AŠGAB	the leather worker.
13)	ŠE.BA É	The barley allotment of the estate.
14)	ŠE.NUMUN	Seed barley
15)	<i>A-mur</i> -DINGIR	Amur-ilum.
16)	<i>MUN</i>	<i>Salt.</i>
L.E. 17)	<i>SIG₄</i>	<i>Bricks.</i>

NOTES

Line 4.—EDIN is evidently a personal name in view of the occurrence of EDIN son of *Pù-pù* in no. 12:4. Since the same name is mentioned in our text directly after *Pù-pù*, it is possible that both tablets refer to the same persons.

Lines 6f.—The exact translation of *tab-ri-um* (also perhaps in no. 48:8) is unknown to me. ŠI may be interpreted as a genitive of *šu* or as IGI, “in front.” Could *tab-ri-um* be simply a personal name? Is line 7 a scribal correction of line 6?

Line 10.—Our *iš-gi₄¹-um* probably corresponds to GIŠ *iš-gi₄-u[m]* LIŠ in an Ur III text transliterated in De Genouillac, *ITT* II 4646 rev. 6. But cf. also 1 TÚG.BAR.DÍB IŠ.GI₄ in Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* 203:4.



Obverse



Reverse



Left Edge

TABLET 44 (FM 229213)

45 (FM 229225+229229)

Tablet badly preserved. Only some personal names are understandable.



Obverse



Reverse



TABLET 45 (FM 229225+229229)

TRANSLITERATION

Obv. 1) [...]

2) DUMU ARÁD-zu-ni

3) a-na I-su-GI

4) a-na GUD.GUD
(space)

5) GÍN URUDU

6) AŠGAB

Rev. 7) šu-ut SIG₄

8)

9) Da-ni-a
(space)10) Na-bi-um
(space)

11)-zu

12) Tab-ni

13)-ni

14)-ib

46 (FM 229240)

The tablet is badly written. It was obviously composed by a scribe whose knowledge of cuneiform writing was inadequate.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 46 (FM 229240)

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) KAŠ šu *si-[im]-tim*
 2) ù PA.TE.SI
 3) šu *si-im-tim*
 4) PA.AL É
 5) KAŠ LÚ
 6) ^dINNIN-GUR
 7) Éš-ra
- Rev. 8) ŠE.ĤU
 9) KUG.BABBAR ù *si-im-tim*
 10) GEMÉ-^dInnin
 11) IŠ.NUN.GUR

47 (FM 229217)

Obverse almost completely destroyed; reverse mostly preserved, but the sense of the inscription is elusive.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	IÂ. ¹ GIŠ ¹	[<i>Sesame</i>] oil,
2)	ZÍD.ÁŠ.AN	emmer flour,
3)	[. . . .]	[. . . .]
4)	[. . . .]?	[. . . .]?
5)	DIN[GIR-. . . .]	Ilu[m-. . . .] (said)
6)	<i>en-ma</i>	thus
Rev. 7)	<i>a-na Zu-zu</i>	to Zuzu:
8)	<i>a-na ŠE</i>	For barley
9)	UKU _x .UŠ	of the soldiers
10)	<i>a-na AB + ÁŠ</i>	to the witnesses
11)	<i>gu-du-si-iš</i>	in order to make sacred
12)	GIŠ.NI ki-ti-i[m]	. . . .
13)	GIŠ.NI	carded wool.

NOTES

Line 2.—For ZÍD.ÁŠ.AN, “emmer flour,” see also Meek, *HSS* X 56, 57, etc., and for references to emmer, Deimel, *ŠL* II 339:22 and 55.

Line 9.—The first sign in UKU_x.UŠ is the GÍN sign as it is usually written in texts of this period. See also no. 52:4 and the note in Deimel, *ŠL* II 348:1.

Line 11.—Interesting is the form *gu-du-si-iš*=*quddušiš*, “to make holy, sacred,” identical in formation with *hussusiš* on another Old Akkadian tablet published in Meek, *HSS* X 197:13 and discussed by Meek in *RA* XXXIV 66.

Line 13.—For GIŠ.NI=*pušikkum*, some kind of wool, see Deimel, *ŠL* II 296:75d. This logogram occurs in connection with SÍG, “wool,” in an Old Akkadian text, Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 7:3 and 5. The word *pušikkum* is also written with the Sumerian logogram SÍG.GA.ZUM.AG.A, which means “carded wool,” that is, “wool which has been cleansed with a comb.” See especially Deimel, *ŠL* II 319:98 and 539:66a; Meissner in *AOF* V (1928/29) 184, n. 1; *idem*, *AS* no. 1, p. 54, n. 1; Jacobsen in *AJSL* LV (1938)



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 47 (FM 229217)

421. A picture of an Egyptian comb used for the purpose of separating and cleansing vegetable fibers or wool is shown in Lutz, *Textiles and Costumes among the Peoples of the Near East* (Leipzig, 1923) p. 17.

48 (FM 229223)

The tablet is very badly preserved and only a word here and there can be deciphered and understood.

TRANSLITERATION

	(1 line erased?)	Rev. 8)	¹ <i>tab-ri</i> ¹ - <i>um</i>
Obv. 1)	<i>Li-bur</i>	9)	¹ <i>É</i> ¹ .MUḪALDIM
2)	AŠGAB	10)	. . . .-<i>at</i> ŠE
3)	¹ <i>in</i> ¹ KUŠ.A.GÁ	11)	ŠE [¹ <i>i</i>]/ša- <i>si</i>
4)	NINDA IÀ		(space)
5)	ZÍD.GÚG	12)	. . . .
6)	¹ <i>in</i> ¹ KUŠ.A.GÁ	L.E. 13)	TÚG <i>gu-zi-ti</i> -[im]
7)	<i>Be-lí</i> -. . . .		

NOTES

Line 3.—On the logogram KUŠ.A.GÁ here and in line 6 see n. to no. 34:4.

Line 5.—The logogram GÚG expresses some legume, the specific type of which is unknown. On it, as well as on ZÍD.GÚG, “flour of GÚG,” found for example in *CT* X 21 iv 14, see Deimel, *ŠL* II 345:5.

Line 13.—The reconstruction of this line is not sure. See note on *kusitum*, discussed under no. 7:3.



Reverse



Obverse

TABLET 48 (FM 229223)



Left Edge

49 (FM 229203)

Since the inscription is incompletely preserved its character cannot be defined. The preserved parts contain only personal names. The first two women named are defined as *ru-ku-ma-um* in line 5. The word *rugummā^{um}*, sing. in the collective sense, from the root RGM, "to claim (legally)," evidently indicates that the women had been or were to be claimed through a juridical process. This word, as well as such comparable forms as *muhurrā^{um}* and *huluqqā^{um}* from the Old Akkadian tablets published in *MAD I* 21, 268, 275, and 323, was recently studied by Poebel, *AS* no. 9, pp. xif. A larger study on nouns of this formation was written by von Soden, "Nominalformen und juristische Begriffsbildung im Akkadischen: Die Nominalform "qutullā²," *Symbolae Paulo Koschaker dedicatae* (Leiden, 1939) pp. 199–207, with additions in *Orientalia* n. s. XV (1946) 423–426. His assumption, however, that the formation is of late date in Akkadian is contradicted by the existence of the Old Akkadian forms in the tablets cited above.

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) <1> *Ta-ta*
 2) DUMU.SAL *Iš-bu-a*
 3) 1 ME-*Îr-ra*
 4) DUMU.SAL *Da-KA-KA*
 5) *ru-ku-ma-um*
 (double line)
 6) 1 *Li-pù-ru-um*
 7) 1 *Eš₄-dar-BALAG*
 8) 1 *Gi-nu-nu*
 9) 1 *Ar-ku-ku*
 10) 1 KUG.BABBAR-*sa*
 11) 1 *Î-lu-lu*
 12) [1] *Î-lu-dam-ku*
 13) 1 ARÁD-*zu-ni* (erasure)
 (about 1–3 lines missing)
- Rev. (beginning destroyed)
 (large space)
 x+1) 1 *I-da-ra-a[k]*
 x+2) DUMU *Um-[. . .]*
 x+3) *sa-ti-da g[u]-zi-[im]*



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 49 (FM 229203)

NOTES

Line 12.—The name *Ī-lu-dam-ku* occurs also elsewhere, for example, in the Old Akkadian tablets cited in *MAD* I p. 204, and is parallel in its formation to *Ī-lu-da-nu* (*ibid.*). Since the name *Ī-lu-dam-ku* can hardly be interpreted as *Ilū-damqū*, “the gods are good,” because such formations in the plur. are unattested in Akkadian onomastic practice, we should probably take *Ī-lu-dam-ku* as *Ilum-damqum*, “good god.” These two names, just like *Da-lim* (no. 6:1), *En-na-nu* (no. 23:5), and *A-ḫu-li-bur-ra* (no. 28:4), lack mimation; since mimation is regularly preserved in the Old Akkadian period, the names must be considered as archaisms from a period in which mimation had not yet been developed. See also the n. to no. 8:12.

Rev. line x+3.—This line is too broken to allow of any safe reconstruction. The possibilities are *sa-ti-da g[u]-zi-[im]* or *g[u]-zi-[ti-im]* “(2 men), the measurers (dual) of the chair” (*kussi-um*) or “of the garment” (*kusitum*).

50 (FM 229247)

The half of the tablet which contains personal names is well preserved; the other half is mostly destroyed.

TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1) *Du-ma-ga*
 2) *Um-mi-Eš₄-dar*
 3) *Eš₄-dar-MI*
 4) *Dar-e-tum*
 5) *Bí-lá MUŠEN.[DÛ]*
 6) *Lá-wi-ip-tum*
 7) *Wa-zu-zu*
 8) *Zu-zu*
 9) *Gur-bí-bí*
 10) *Ī-lí-a-bí*
- Rev. 11) *Da-ad-lul-tum*
 (rest almost entirely destroyed)

NOTES

Line 1.—The personal name *Du-ma-ga* is identical with *Du-ma-qum* on a seal published by C. H. Gordon in *Iraq* VI pl. III, no. 12. On the *-a* ending see n. to no. 25:2.

Line 11.—The personal name *Da-ad-lul-tum* occurs in Meek, *HSS* X p. xxix and frequently in *MAD* I p. 187.



Obverse



Reverse



Left Edge

TABLET 50 (FM 229247)

51 (FM 229244)

Flaked-off fragments of a tablet with the major part of the reverse preserved.



TABLET 51 (FM 229244)

TRANSLITERATION

(Obverse destroyed)

- Rev. x+1) [. . . PA].RIM₄
 x+2) [KÁ] ^dTišpak
 x+3) [it]-má-ù
 x+4) [1 Ì]-lù-ba-ni
 x+5) 1 L[u]-ba-[x]-na
 x+6) 1 Ì-lu-lu
 x+7) DUMU I-bi-bi SAG.ZU[G₇]
 x+8) [D]ar-su-ba ù
 x+9) ga-zi-ru
 x+10) [M]a-má-tim

NOTES

Lines x+2f.—The reconstruction of these lines is based on comparison with KÁ ^d*Tišpak it-ma*, “he swore in the gate of Tišpak,” in no. 7:26. The plur. form *itma>ū* is found in another Old Akkadian text published in Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 44 rev. 6: *ni-iš LUGAL . . . [i]t-ma-ū*, “they swore by the king.”

Line x+5.—The sign *L[u]* is almost sure. Between *ba* and *na* there is a break, with room for possibly one sign, but perhaps nothing is missing, and the whole name is *L[u]-ba-na*, comparable with *Lú-ba-na* in Meek, *HSS* X 153 iii 20, which contains the element *ba-na*, as in DINGIR-*ba-na*, *A-bí-ba-na*^{KI} (cited in Ungnad, *MVAG* XX 2, pp. 47f.), etc. This form will be discussed in the near future.

Line x+7.—The SAG.ZUG₇ official, Akkadian *šassukkum*, called “the scribe of the fields,” had charge of the land register. See von Soden in *ZA* XLI 233–236.

Lines x+8ff.—The interpretation of these three lines as “[D]aršuba and the fullers of Mamatum” seems plausible. The name Daršuba is unknown to me. The personal name *Ma-ma-tum* occurs in Scheil and Legrain, *Mém.* XIV 40:8; 71 rev. i 8; Meek, *HSS* X 188 iv 3. Our writing [*M*]a-má-tim with the MÁ sign presupposes length or some similar feature, as in the common writing *Iš-má-DINGIR* in the Old Akkadian period.

52 (FM 229252)

A well-preserved letter from Ginunu to Ili-aḫi. If I understand the text correctly, Ginunu is complaining about the fact that Ili-aḫi has stopped sending bread for the soldiers, and then asks him whether he needs certain items expressed by two words which I do not understand. Perhaps they are ingredients used in making bread.

The use of double consonants in the words *su-tu-uḫ-ḫa-tim* in line 6 and *te-er-rí-iš* in line 8 is rather unusual for this period. Were it not for the fact that Ginunu is mentioned in this tablet (on this individual see above, p. 173), one would be inclined to consider the possibility that this tablet comes from a later period or from a different region, in which the custom of writing double consonants was developed earlier than in the Diyala region (see also above p. 179).

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1) <i>en-ma</i>	Thus (says)
2) <i>Gi-nu-nu</i>	Ginunu
3) <i>a-na Ì-lí-a-ḫi</i>	to Ili-aḫi:
4) <i>NINDA UKU_x.UŠ</i>	Bread of the soldiers
5) <i>mi-num da-ap-ru-us</i>	why did you deny (withhold)
Rev. 6) <i>su-tu-uḫ-ḫa-tim</i>	(and) the
7) <i>ù-lu ki-sa-ma-ri</i>	or the
8) <i>te-er-rí-iš</i>	(why) do you request?

NOTES

Lines 4f.—With these lines cf. *a-na Tab-ni-Eš₄-dar a-na mi-ni-im i-bi-ir-ša ta-ap-ru-za*, “why did you deny the food to Tabnî-Eštar?,” in an Old Babylonian letter published in *CT XXIX 1a 15–18*, and translated by Ungnad, *BB* no. 96. On the word *mi-num*, “why,” cf. *mi-núm ù-la a-bí ad-da*, “why are you not my father?,” in L. C. Watelin and S. Langdon, *Excavations at Kish III* (Paris, 1930) pl. XI W. 1929, 160:4ff.

Lines 6f.—In spite of diligent search I have not been able to find any parallels to the words *su-tu-uḫ-ḫa-tim* in line 6 and *ki-sa-ma-ri* in line 7. The first word seems to be a noun formed on the root Š₇Ḫ, “to grow”; the second may possibly be *gīšimmaru*, “date (palm),” but this cannot be proved. The possibility of reading the first word as ^{KUŠ}*tu-uḫ-ḫa-tim* or *sud/t/tuḫ haṭṭim* should also be considered.



Obverse



Reverse

TABLET 52 (FM 229252)

53 (FM 229253)

This is a puzzling letter owing partly to its bad preservation and partly to the internal textual difficulties which it presents. The translation below is offered with due reservations.



Obverse

Reverse

TABLET 53 (FM 229253)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obv. 1)	<i>'en¹-ma</i>	Thus (says)
2)	<i>I-gu-nûm</i>	Ikûnum
3)	<i>[a-n]a DINGIR-al-su</i>	to Ilum-alšu:
4)	<i>[m]i-šum</i>	As
5)	<i>[á]š-tu-ru</i>	I wrote,
6)	<i>'a¹-ni-ir-kum</i>	<i>I killed (the animals) for you.</i>
7)	<i>'si¹-tum</i>	(As for) the rest,
8)	<i>ha-ra-nam</i>	the road
Rev. 9)	<i>a-hu-z[a-a]m</i>	I took
10)	<i>[. . .].</i>	....
11)	<i>[. . . -d]a-ba</i>	....
12)	<i>GÁN a-na Su₄-be-lí</i>	the field to Šu-bêlî
13)	<i>[i]-ti-in</i>	[he] gave
14)	<i>ZÍD.BA-su</i>	(and) his flour ration
15)	<i>ù-la e-bí-iš</i>	he cannot make.

NOTES

Line 4.—Although the first sign is partly destroyed, its reading is relatively sure. The word *mišum* with the meaning “why” is frequently found in Cappadocian in interrogative clauses. In our text, in view of the subjunctive form [á]š-tu-ru, an indefinite meaning, “whatever” or the like, seems more appropriate. On *mišum* cf. the discussion by von Soden in *ZA* XLI 114f.

Line 14.—The reading of the signs is clearly ZÍD.BA, which must mean “flour ration.” The word is not attested elsewhere. For TÚG.BA beside ŠE.BA, IÂ.BA, and SÍG.BA see Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 60.

Line 15.—The form *e-bi-iš* in our tablet corresponds to the commonly used present form *ippiš* of the Old Babylonian period. See the examples in J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* II 121; Ungnad, *BB* p. 267; and elsewhere. Several occurrences of *i-pi-eš*, *i-pi-šu*, etc. are found also in Poebel, *PBS* V 142 rev. ii. Thus Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian pret. *ipuš*, pres. *i/eppiš* corresponds to later Babylonian *ipuš*, *ippuš*, and to Assyrian *ēpuš*, *eppaš*. Ungnad's derivation of *eppiš* (really *eppeš* in his opinion) from *eppaš* (*Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik*; [2d ed.; München, 1926] § 47f) is unnecessary.

Indices of Proper Names

PERSONAL NAMES

The personal names are arranged in the order of the Latin alphabet. The logograms in Akkadian names have not been transliterated into Akkadian but retained in their Sumerian form in harmony with their treatment in the main part of this study.

The following abbreviations for genealogical relationships are used in the list: s. for son, gs. for grandson, f. for father, gf. for grandfather, d. for daughter, br. for brother, h. for husband, and w. for wife.

The paternal relationship is normally described by the phrase A DUMU B, "A son of B," as in *Ma-šum* DUMU *Maš-tum* (no. 3:5f.), or by A DUMU B DUMU C, "A son of B, (who is) the son of C," as in DINGIR-*na-zi-ir* DUMU KA-*Me-ir* DUMU *Ī-me-Dur-ùl* (no. 9:3ff.). But often, though less frequently, we find the phrase A *šu* B, "A he of B," as in *E-gi šu* *Tab-si-ga* (no. 3:1f. and similarly nos. 7:28f.; 25:7f.), or the hybrid phrase A DUMU B *ši* C, "A son of B, (who is) of C," as in EDIN DUMU *Pù-pù ši* UR.UR (no. 12:4f. and similarly no. 9:6ff.). From the interchange of *Šu-i-lí-su* DUMU *Mu-mu* (occurring three times) with *Šu-i-lí-su šu* *Mu-mu* (occurring once), Meek, *HSS* X p. xv, drew the conclusion that both DUMU and *šu* mean "son (of)." A careful consideration of the extensive evidence provided by the Diyala texts and the Maništusu Obelisk makes Meek's conclusion untenable. In a study soon to be published I hope to be able to prove that *šu* "he (of somebody)" expresses not a paternal relationship but an affiliation to a clan organization.

The personal names are often preceded by the number 1, which in the later period developed into the determinative for masculine personal names. In the Old Akkadian period this number was used before both masculine and feminine names, with the result that it is often difficult to ascertain the gender of some of the names. Use of the number in front of the names was not obligatory. This is best proved by no. 14, in which some of the names are accompanied

by the number and others are not. This determinative appears most commonly in front of the names in lists, as in lists of workers, witnesses, etc.

Almost all the personal names in our list are Akkadian. Their formation is identical with or similar to that of the names used in other areas where Akkadians lived in this period. Sumerian names, such as Ur-Šudda or Ua, are very rare. Interesting and important is the total lack of non-Akkadian and non-Sumerian names in the collection. One name that at present defies all interpretation is *Lu-ga-lu-mu-uk* (no. 31:5).

A great number of names exhibit reduplication of the type discussed by Meek in his article "The Iterative Names in the Old Akkadian Texts from Nuzi," *RA* XXXII (1935) 51–55. We have in our texts names that are fully reduplicated, such as Bubu, Dada, Dudu, Gugu, Lili, Tata, Zeze, Zuzu, as well as names that have the second part reduplicated, such as Abibi, Agaga, Agigi, Alili, Allulu, Arkuku, Ašaša, Atiti, Bašušu, Dabubu, Edada, Enana, Eruru, Ezeze, Ginunu, *Gurbibi*, Ibibi, Ibbubu, Ilala, Ilili, Ilulu, Išaša, Izaza, Kizaza, Manunu, Mututu, Ummimi, Wazuzu.

Hypocoristica ending in *-a* (or *-ja*), so frequent in later periods, occur only in *Da-ni-a*, *E-si-a*, and *Iš-bu-a*. Unique is the short form *Da-bi-lum* for *I-da-bi-ì-li* (both in no. 2).

Other features of the personal names are discussed elsewhere: archaisms, such as Amassuni and Warassuni, under no. 8:12; names without mimation under no. 49:12; ending *-a* under no. 25:2; ending *-iš* under no. 16:3; DAM corresponding to "Mrs." under no. 16:1; TUR meaning "Jr." under no. 33:47; declension of names under no. 30:5.

AB+ĀŠ, perhaps not a name	<i>A-dam-u</i>
1) No. 47:10	1) No. 5:10
AB+ĀŠ URU ^{KI} , perhaps not a name	2) s. of <i>Pù-ì-lì</i> , no. 8:1
	<i>Ad-mar</i>
1) Nos. 17:16; 19:16; 44:7	1) No. 39:6
2) <i>E-ru-ru šu</i> AB+ĀŠ	<i>A-ga-ga</i>
URU ^{KI} , no. 7:29	1) No. 33:26
<i>A-bi-bi</i>	<i>A-gi-gi</i>
1) No. 30:7	1) No. 20:8
2) X, no. 2:8	<i>A-ḫa-KUG.BABBAR-sa</i>
3) br. of NU.BANDA, no. 13:3	1) No. 28:7

A-ḫu-li-bur-ra

- 1) No. 28:4

A-li-li

- 1) Nos. 15:4; 33:30
2) ŠEŠ.SAL *A-bi-bi*, no. 30:6

Al-i-lí

- 1) s. of *Su-ba-è*, no. 8:2

[*A*]l-lu-lu

- 1) No. 25:4

Al-lum

- 2) f. of *Šu-Na-na*, no. 9:2

AMA-Ga-zur_x(SAG)

- 1) No. 20:2

A-ma-rí-iš

- 1) TÚG, no. 16:7

AMA.TU

- 1) 'UGULA' NAGAR, f. of
I-zu-ur-ba-s[u], no. 39:11

A-mur-DINGIR

- 1) No. 44:15

A-nin-u

- 1) s. of . . . -na-bí, no. 18:20

ARÁD-^d*Innin*

- 1) Nos. 3:4; 11:4

ARÁD-^d*Tišpak*

- 1) No. 13:2

'ARÁD'-*Tu-tu*

- 1) s. of *Be-lí-GUR*₇, no. 4:12

ARÁD-*zu-ni*

- 1) Nos. 8:12; 11:1; 17:3; 18:11;
19:4; 27:1; 37:7; 45:2; 49:13

Ar-ku-ku

- 1) No. 49:9

Á-ru-kum

- 1) No. 25:3

A-ša-ša

- 1) Nos. 17:7, 13; 18:7;
19:5, 15

Áš-ma-tum

- 1) No. 28:2

A-ti-e

- 1) Nos. 18:9, 18; 19:12
(written *A-t[i-e]*); 30:1
2) M^Á.LAH₄, no. 12:3

A-ti-ti

- 1) No. 33:56

Ba-lu-sa

- 1) No. 33:27

Ba-ni

- 1) UD.KA.BAR, no. 16:8,
doubtful

Ba-pù-zum

- 1) No. 11:2

Ba-r[i-i]s-tum

- 1) No. 24 x+2

Ba-šu-šu, see also *Wa-zu-zu*

- 1) No. 23:9

Be-lí

- 1) s. of *Bu-bu*, no. 39:8

Be-lí-. . .

- 1) No. 48:7

Be-lí-AN.DÛL

- 1) NAGAR ARÁD *Du-du*,
ši *E-la-me-tum*, no. 9:9

Be-lí-ba-ni

- 1) No. 2:3

Be-l[í-da-t]i

- 1) 'MUŠEN'.DÛ, f. of
En-[. . .], no. 12:7

Be-lí-DÛG

- 1) No. 37:15

*Be-lí-GUR*₇

- 1) f. of 'ARÁD'-*Tu-tu*,
no. 4:13

Be-lí-sa-tu

- 1) No. 9:14

Bí-lá

- 1) No. 23:10
2) MUŠEN.[DÛ], no. 50:5

Bí-za-num

- 1) No. 36:20, 22

Bu-bu, Pù-pù

- 1) SIMUG, no. 44:2 (written *Pù-pù*)
- 2) EDIN, s. of *Pù-pù*, š*i* UR.UR, no. 12:4
- 3) f. of *Be-lì*, no. 39:9 (written *Bu-bu*)
- 4) f. of *I-dur-GI*, no. 12:11 (written *Bu-bu*)

Da-ad-lul-tum

- 1) No. 50:11

Da-bi-lum (= I-da-bì-ì-li)

- 1) No. 2:16

Da-da

- 1) No. 22:4
- 2) w. of *Šu-a-tum*, no. 20:4

Da-KA-KA

- 1) f. of ME-*Ìr-ra*, no. 49:4

Da-lim

- 1) UGULA URU, no. 6:1

Da-ni-a

- 1) Nos. 17:14; 18:17; 45:9

Dan-ì-li

- 1) Nos. 1:8; 8:10, 20

Dar-e-tum

- 1) Nos. 3:9; 50:4

[D]ar-su-ba

- 1) No. 51 x + 8

Dar-u-ma

- 1) No. 15:1

DINGIR-, see also under *Ì-lì*

DINGIR-. . .

- 1) Nos. 36:15; 47:5

DINGIR-*al-su*

- 1) No. 53:3
- 2) DI.TAR, no. 7:27

DINGIR-*a-zu*

- 1) No. 1:11
- 2) DAM.KÀR, no. 16:4

DINGIR-*ba-ni*

- 1) No. 14:29

DINGIR-*dan*

- 1) Nos. 4:3; 5:4; 33:44
- 2) š*u* GUD.GUD PA.RIM₄, no. 7:28

DINGIR-GI

- 1) Nos. 12:12; 39:7

DINGIR-KÀR

- 1) f. of *E-da-da*, no. 8:7

DINGIR-*na-zi-ir*

- 1) No. 28:3
- 2) s. of KA-*Me-ir*, gs. of *Ì-me-Dur-ùl*, no. 9:3

DINGIR-SIPA

- 1) NAGAR ARÁD-^d*Tišpak*, no. 13:1

DINGIR-UR.SAG

- 1) s. of *Šu-Ma-ma*, no. 12:8

Du-du

- 1) *Be-lì*-AN.DÙL, NAGAR ARÁD *Du-du*, š*i* *E-la-me-tum*, no. 9:10

Du-gul-tum

- 1) No. 33:21

Du-ma-ga

- 1) No. 50:1

DUN.Ú

- 1) ARÁD *Sa-a-mi-iš*, no. 16:2

É-a-ì-lì

- 1) No. 1:7

E-da-da

- 1) s. of DINGIR-KÀR, no. 8:6

EDIN

- 1) No. 44:4
- 2) s. of *Pù-pù*, š*i* UR.UR, no. 12:4

E-gi

- 1) *Tab-si-ga*, no. 3:1

É.GI.A

- 1) No. 20:9

E-la-me-tum

- 1) *Be-l*-AN.DÛL, NAGAR
ARÁD *Du-du*, š*i* *E-la-*
me-tum, no. 9:10

E-lu-sa

- 1) No. 28:9

En-. . .]

- 1) s. of *Be-l*[*i*-da-t]i 'MUŠEN'.
DÛ, no. 12:6

E-nam-ra

- 1) No. 1:4

E-na-na

- 1) No. 36:4

Ē-ni-um, *I-ni-um*

- 1) No. 36:6 (written *Ē-ni-um*)
2) *I-gu-núm*, [s. of] *I-ni-um*,
no. 4:7; *I*-[*gu*¹-*núm*, s. of
Ē-[*n*]*i-um*, no. 7:30

En-na-nu

- 1) No. 23:5

En-ni-l

- 1) No. 33:60

E-ru-ru

- 1) šu AB + ÁŠ URU^{KI},
no. 7:29

Eš₄-dar-. . .

- 1) No. 28:1

Eš₄-dar-al-su

- 1) SIPA UDU, no. 16:5

Eš₄-dar-BALAG

- 1) No. 49:7

Eš₄-dar-dam-ga-at

- 1) Nos. 28:5; 30:2

Eš₄-dar-da-ri

- 1) No. 33:29

Eš₄-dar-du-gul-t[i]

- 1) Nos. 19:18; 30:9 (written
Eš₄-dar-du-[gu]l-ti)

Eš₄-dar-GAL

- 1) Nos. 19:17; 30:3 (written
Eš₄-dar-ra-bi-at)

Eš₄-dar-i-mi-ti

- 1) No. 23:3

Eš₄-dar-MI

- 1) Nos. 23:6; 50:3

Eš₄-dar-sa-tu

- 1) No. 3:3

Eš₄-dar-UR.SAG

- 1) Nos. 14:16; 33:51

E-si-a

- 1) Nos. 17:8; 18:8; 19:13

Éš-ra

- 1) No. 46:7
2) AŠGAB, no. 44:11

EZEN, see also *Ī-zi-na*

- 1) No. 25:2

E-zé-zé

- 1) No. 33:38

Ga-l-iš-DÛG

- 1) No. 32:3

Gal-pum

- 1) s. of *Su-ba-ri-im*, no. 29:1

Ga-mi-ru-um

- 1) No. 16:9

GEMÉ-. . .

- 1) No. 17:15

GEMÉ-^d*Innin*

- 1) Nos. 15:5; 46:10
2) ŠU.I, no. 22:1

GEMÉ-*zu*

- 1) No. 6:2

GEMÉ-*zu-ni*

- 1) Nos. 15:2; 23:4

Gi-nu-nu

- 1) Nos. 3:8; 8:9; 9:15; 10:7;
11:6; 12:18 (written
[Gi-nu]-*nu*); 14:3, 10;
37:14; 49:8; 52:2

[Gi-nu-u]š-*sa-am*

- 1) No. 9:19

Gi-šum

- 1) No. 7:22, 31
- GUD.GUD, see also following name
- 1) No. 45:4
- 2) DINGIR-*dan*, *šu* GUD.
GUD PA.RIM₄, no. 7:28
- Gu-gu*, see also preceding name
- 1) TUR, no. 33:47
- Gu-gu-za-núm*
- 1) MUŠEN.DÛ, no. 12:13
- Gur-bí-bí*
- 1) No. 50:9

Ĥu-li-um

- 1) No. 1:5

Ĥu-ma-za

- 1) Nos. 14:4; 20:5

Ĥu-mi-zum

- 1) UĤ.ME, no. 8:5

Ĥu-ni-zu

- 1) No. 27:7

Ib-bu-bu

- 1) No. 3:11

I-bí-bí

- 1) No. 5:9
- 2) SAG.ZU[G₇], f. of *Ĭ-lu-lu*,
no. 51 x + 7

I-da-bí-ì-lí (= *Da-bi-lum*)

- 1) No. 2:2
- 2) UGULA, no. 12:17

I-da-^dEN.ZU

- 1) GAL.UKÛ, no. 12:1

I-da-ra-ak

- 1) No. 10:1
- 2) s. of *Um*-. . .], no.
49 rev. x + 1

I-dur-GI

- 1) s. of *Bu-bu*, no. 12:10

I-gi-ni

- 1) No. 5:15

I-gu-núm

- 1) Nos. 5:5; 53:2
- 2) s. of *I-ni-um*, no. 4:6; s. of
Ē-[n]i-um, no. 7:30

Ĭ-la-la

- 1) Nos. 1:6; 6:6

Ĭ-lí-, see also under DINGIR-*Ĭ-lí-a-bí*

- 1) No. 50:10

Ĭ-lí-a-ĥi

- 1) Nos. 8:11, 19; 27:2; 52:3

Ĭ-lí-ba-ni

- 1) No. 51 x + 4

Ĭ-lí-dan

- 1) No. 28:6

Ĭ-lí-DIRIG

- 1) No. 11:15

Ĭ-lí-GAL

- 1) SANGA, nos. 1:1; 18:19

Ĭ-lí-iš-da-ga[l]

- 1) NU.BANDA, no. 4:11

Ĭ-lí-kára-bí (preceded by DAM)

- 1) No. 16:1

Ĭ-lí-lí

- 1) No. 37:12

Ĭ-lí-sa-liq

- 1) No. 5:6

Ĭ-lu-dam-ku

- 1) No. 49:12

Ĭ-lul

- 1) No. 19:2

Ĭ-lu-lu

- 1) Nos. 1:3; 42:6; 49:11
- 2) s. of *I-bí-bí* SAG.ZU[G₇],
no. 51 x + 6

Im_x(DU)-da-lík

- 1) MUŠEN.DÛ, no. 2:14
- 2) *Zé-zé*, s. of *Im_x-da-lík*
LÛ.MUN_x, *ši Šu-na-ak-*
pum, no. 9:7

Ī-me-Dur-ùl

- 1) f. of KA-*Me-ir*, gf. of
DINGIR-*na-zi-ir*, no. 9:5

I-[n]a-na-num

- 1) No. 36:17

I-nin-¹núm

- 1) X, no. 2:7

I-ni-um, see *Ē-ni-um*

Ip-te-u-um

- 1) Nos. 6:3 (written *Ip-ti-um*); 15:6; 27:4

I-sá-sá

- 1) No. 32:6

Iš-bu-a

- 1) f. of *Ta-ta*, no. 49:2

I-su-GI

- 1) Nos. 20:1; 37:2; 45:3

Ī-za-za

- 1) ŠEŠ.SAL *Li-bur-ri-im*,
no. 30:4

Ī-zi-na, see also EZEN

- 1) Nos. 15:3; 19:14

I-zu-ur-ba-s[u]

- 1) s. of AMA.TU 'UGULA'
NAGAR, no. 39:10

KA-, see also *Pù-*

K[A]-*be-lí*

- 1) *šu Zi-ba*, no. 25:7

KA-*Ma-ma*

- 1) MAŠ.MAŠ, no. 25:1

^dKA-*Me-ir*

- 1) MAŠ.MAŠ, no. 2:5
2) s. of *Ī-me-Dur-ùl*, f. of
DINGIR-*na-zi-ir*, no. 9:4
(written KA-*Me-ir*)

Ki-za-za

- 1) No. 17:12

KUG.BABBAR-*sa*

- 1) Nos. 21:3; 49:10

Ku-ru-ba

- 1) br. of *Ti-ni-na*, s. of *Ra-bí-*
DINGIR, no. 2:10

La-á-ra-ab

- 1) No. 28:8

La-ma-as-tum

- 1) No. 24 x+4

La-n[i]

- 1) SAL.LÚ.TÚG, no. 36:11

La-wi-ip-tum

- 1) Nos. 33:28; 50:6 (written
Lá-wi-ip-tum)

Li-bur

- 1) No. 39:3
2) AŠGAB, no. 48:1

Li-bur-ri-im

- 1) Nos. 30:5; 49:6 (written
Li-pù-ru-um)

Li-lí

- 1) No. 17:4

Li-lum

- 1) No. 23:1

L[u]-ba-[x]-na

- 1) No. 51 x+5

Lu-ga-lu-mu-uk

- 1) No. 31:5

Ma-at-na-ḥu-um

- 1) No. 33:57

[M]*a-má-tim*

- 1) No. 51 x+10

Ma-nu-nu

- 1) No. 10:6

Maš-tum

- 1) Nos. 18:1; 19:8
2) f. of *Ma-šum*, no. 3:6

Ma-šum

- 1) Nos. 6:5; 10:4 (written *Ma-šu[m]*); 37:10
2) s. of *Maš-tum*, no. 3:5

- Ma-za-ar-su*
1) No. 5:2
ME-Īr-ra
1) d. of Da-KA-KA, no. 49:3
ME-Ki-dè
1) No. 33:25
Me-ù-sa
1) Nos. 18:2; 19:6
Mim-ma-sa
1) No. 37:5
Mu-tu-tu
1) No. 1:10

Na-bi-um
1) Nos. 7:21, 25; 33:49; 45:10
2) s. of [. . .]-*tum*, no. 36:2, 3, 7, 27
Na-num
1) s. of *Zi-na-num*, no. 29:3
Na-zi-ir-ì-li
1) No. 6:9
Nin-lil-iš-gi-in
1) No. 33:48
NU.BANDA
1) No. 18:15
2) br. of *A-bi-bi*, no. 13:4
Nu-um
1) *URUDU.X*, no. 13:5

Pù-, see also KA-
Pù-ì-lí
1) f. of *A-dam-u*, no. 8:1
Pù-pù, see *Bu-bu*
Pù-^dTišpak
1) No. 4:4 (written *Pù-^dTišpak*)
2) UGULA URU, no. 4:10

Ra-bi-DINGIR
1) f. of *Ku-ru-ba* and of *Ti-ni-na*, no. 2:13

Rē-ītum
1) Nos. 6:4 (written *SIPA-ì-tum*); 10:3 (written *SIPA!-tum*); 30:10 (written *Ri-^lì-tum*)

Sa-a-mi-iš
1) No. 16:3
Sa-am-si
1) Nos. 18:4; 19:10 (written *Sa-am-s[i]*)
Sa-a-ni-iš
1) No. 33:58
Sá-lim-me-ni
1) No. 30:8
Sa-[ti]-um
1) No. 11:3
SIPA-tum, see *Rē-ītum*
Si-w[i]-ra
1) No. 35:2
Su-ba-è
1) f. of *Al-ì-lí*, no. 8:3
Su-ba-ri-im
1) f. of *Gal-pum*, no. 29:2
Su₄-be-lí
1) No. 53:12
Su-ni-tum
1) Nos. 17:5, 10; 18:6 (written *Šu-ni-tum*); 19:11 (written *Su-n[i-tum]*); 21:6 (written *Šu-ni-tum*); 33:24
2) h. of *Um-mi-Eš₄-dar*, no. 20:6
Ša-[a]t-be-DINGIR
1) No. 14:5
Ši-ir-e-si-na
1) f. of *Šu-BĀD*, no. 4:9
Šu-a-tum
1) h. of *Da-da*, no. 20:3
Šu-BĀD
1) s. of *Ši-ir-e-si-na*, no. 4:8

Šu-Eš₄-dar

- 1) No. 33:45

Šu-ì-lí-su

- 1) Nos. 17:6; 27:5

Šu-Ma-ma

- 1) No. 14:2
2) f. of DINGIR-UR.SAG,
no. 12:9

Šum-ma-sa

- 1) No. 9:18 (written
Šu[m-ma-s]a)
2) PA.TE.SI, no. 11:14

Šu-na-ak-pum

- 1) PA.TE.SI, no. 14:8 (written
Šu-na-[ak]-pum)
2) Zé-zé, s. of *Im_x-da-lik* LÚ.
MUN_x, ši Šu-na-ak-pum,
no. 9:8

Šu-Na-na

- 1) s. of *Al-lum*, no. 9:1

Šu-ni-tum, see *Su-ni-tum*

Šu-um

- 1) Nos. 10:2; 17:1; 19:3 (written
Šu-u[m]); 27:3; 33:39
2) IB, no. 9:11

Tab-ì-lí

- 1) No. 35:6

Tab-ni

- 1) Nos. 17:11 (written *Tab-ni*);
23:11; 45:12 (written *Tab-ni*)

Tab-si-ga

- 1) *E-gi* šu *Tab-si-ga*, no. 3:2

Ta-ta

- 1) d. of *Iš-bu-a*, no. 49:1

TE.NA-DINGIR

- 1) No. 18:17

Te-si-tum

- 1) No. 35:4

Ti-ni-na

- 1) br. of *Ku-ru-ba*, s. of *Ra-bí-DINGIR*, no. 2:11

Ú-a

- 1) Nos. 17:2; 18:10; 19:1; 27:6

UD-*kum*

- 1) No. 5:8

Um-. . .]

- 1) f. of *I-da-ra-a[k]*, no. 49
rev. x+2

Um-ma-ni

- 1) No. 23:2

Um-mi-Eš₄-dar

- 1) Nos. 18:5; 19:7; 37:4; 50:2
2) w. of *Su-ni-tum*, no. 20:7

Um-mi-mi

- 1) No. 33:59

Ur-Su-da

- 1) No. 5:7

UR.UR

- 1) EDIN, s. of *Pù-pù*, ši
UR.UR

^dUTU-É, see also following name

- 1) UGULA[. . .]?, nos. 18:3;
19:9

^dUTU-SA, see also preceding
name

- 1) No. 33:40

Wa-zu-zu, see also *Ba-šu-šu*

- 1) No. 50:7

Zé-zé

- 1) s. of *Im_x-da-lik* LÚ.MUN_x,
ši Šu-na-ak-pum, no. 9:6

Zi-ba

- 1) K[A]-be-lí šu *Zi-ba*, no. 25:8

Zi-na-num

- 1) f. of *Na-num*, no. 29:4

Zum-ti

- 1) No. 14:1

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Zu-zu</i> | [. . .].- <i>ra-tum</i> |
| 1) Nos. 1:2; 23:8 (written Zu-
zu); 33:46; 42:4; 47:7; 50:8 | 1) No. 11:7 |
| 2) ARÁD ^d <i>Innin</i> , no. 8:4 | X- <i>su-du-um</i> |
| [. . .].- <i>lum</i> | 1) No. 5:13 |
| 1) No. 36:14 | [. . .].- <i>tum</i> |
|- <i>na-bí</i> | 1) f. of <i>Na-bí-um</i> , no. 36:28 |
| 1) f. of <i>A-nin-u</i> , no. 18:21 | |

DIVINE NAMES

- Dur-ùl*, deified geographic name; cf. personal name *Ì-me-Dur-ùl*
É-a, cf. personal name *É-a-ì-lí*
^dEN.ZU, cf. personal name *I-da*-^dEN.ZU
Eš₄-dar, cf. personal names *Eš₄-dar-al-su*, *Eš₄-dar-BALAG*, *Eš₄-dar-dam-ga-at*, *Eš₄-dar-da-rí*, *Eš₄-dar-du-gul-ti*, *Eš₄-dar-GAL* and *Eš₄-dar-ra-bi-at*, *Eš₄-dar-í-mi-ti*, *Eš₄-dar-MI*, *Eš₄-dar-sa-tu*, *Eš₄-dar-UR.SAG*, *Šu-Eš₄-dar*, and *Um-mi-Eš₄-dar*
Ga-zur_x, deified geographic name; cf. personal name *AMA-Ga-zur_x* (SAG)
^d*Innin*, no. 8:4. Cf. also personal names ARÁD-^d*Innin* and GEMÉ-^d*Innin*
^Ì*r-ra*, cf. personal name *ME-Ìr-ra*
Ki-dè, deified geographic name; cf. personal name *ME-Ki-dè*
Ma-ma, cf. personal names *KA-Ma-ma* and *Šu-Ma-ma*
Me-ir, cf. personal names ^d*KA-Me-ir*, *KA-Me-ir*
Na-na, cf. personal name *Šu-Na-na*
Nin-líl, cf. personal name *Nin-líl-iš-gi-in*
Su-da, cf. personal name *Ur-Su-da*
^d*Tišpak*, nos. 7:26; 51 rev. x+2. Cf. also personal names ARÁD-^d*Tišpak* and *Pù*-^d*Tišpak*
Tu-tu, deified geographic name; cf. personal name 'ARÁD'-*Tu-tu*

GEOGRAPHIC NAMES

- A-ga-dè*^{KI}, nos. 9:16; 31:4
Ban-ga^{KI}, no. 33:46
Dur-ùl, deified geographic name; cf. personal name *Ì-me-Dur-ùl*
E-la-me-tum, gentilic personal name

Ga-zur_x, deified geographic name; cf. personal name AMA-*Ga-zur_x*
(SAG)

Ib-ri-me, no. 33:32

Ki-dè^{KI}, no. 33:50. URU-*Gi-tim*, no. 25:9. Cf. also deified geographic name in personal name ME-*Ki-dè*

Su-ba-ri-im, gentilic personal name

Tu-tu, deified geographic name; cf. personal name 'ARÁD'-*Tu-tu*

Indices of Text and Museum Numbers

Text No.	Museum No.	Text No.	Museum No.	Text No.	Museum No.
1	229237	19	229204	37	229250
2	229227	20	229210	38	229214
3	229230	21	229208	39	229216
4	229205	22	229224	40	229251
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8	229254	26	229249	44	229213
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10	229233	28	229219		+ 229229
11	229220	29	229235	46	229240
12	229222	30	229228	47	229217
13	229243	31	229234	48	229223
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Museum No.	Text No.	Museum No.	Text No.	Museum No.	Text No.
229201	33	229220	11	229237	1
229202	34	229221	41	229238	5
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229204	19	229223	48	229240	46
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229206	9	229225	45	229242	24
229207	42	+ 229229		229243	13
229208	21	229226	16	229244	51
229209	43	229227	2	229245	6
229210	20	229228	30	229246	7
229211	18	229229	45	229247	50
229212	17	joined to 229225		229248	36
229213	44	229230	3	229249	26
229214	38	229231	25	229250	37
229215	15	229232	14	229251	40
229216	39	229233	10	229252	52
229217	47	229234	31	229253	53
229218	27	229235	29	229254	8
229219	28	229236	23		

Abbreviations of Books and Periodicals

<i>AHWB</i>	DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH, <i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Leipzig, 1896).
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> (Chicago, etc., 1884-).
<i>AOF</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> III- (Berlin, 1926-).
<i>AOTU</i>	<i>Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen</i> (Leiden, 1917-21).
<i>AS</i>	Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. <i>Assyriological Studies</i> (Chicago, 1931-).
<i>AS</i> no. 1	MEISSNER, BRUNO, <i>Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch</i> I (1931).
<i>AS</i> no. 4	MEISSNER, BRUNO, <i>Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch</i> II (1932).
<i>AS</i> no. 9	POEBEL, ARNO, <i>Studies in Akkadian Grammar</i> (1939).
<i>AS</i> no. 11	JACOBSEN, THORKILD, <i>The Sumerian King List</i> (1939).
<i>AS</i> no. 22	GELB, IGNACE J., <i>Hurrians and Subarians</i> (1944).
<i>BB</i>	UNGNAD, ARTHUR, <i>Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie</i> (Leipzig, 1914).
<i>BE</i>	Pennsylvania. University. The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series A: <i>Cuneiform Texts</i> (Philadelphia, 1893-1914).
<i>BE</i> I	HILPRECHT, H. V., <i>Old Babylonian Inscriptions, Chiefly from Nippur</i> (1893-96).
<i>BE</i> III 1	MYHRMAN, D. W., <i>Sumerian Administrative Documents Dated in the Reigns of the Kings of the Second Dynasty of Ur</i> (1910).
<i>BIN</i>	<i>Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies</i> (New Haven, Conn., 1917-).
<i>BIN</i> IV	CLAY, ALBERT T., <i>Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia</i> (1927).
<i>BIN</i> V	HACKMANN, GEORGE GOTTLÖB, <i>Temple Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur from Umma</i> (1937).
<i>CT</i>	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum</i> (London, 1896-).
<i>EBPN</i>	RANKE, HERMANN, <i>Early Babylonian Personal Names</i> (Philadelphia, 1905).
<i>HSS</i>	<i>Harvard Semitic Series</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1912-).

- HSS X* MEEK, THEOPHILE JAMES, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi* (1935).
- ITT* Mission française en Chaldée. *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman* (Paris, 1910–21).
- ITT I* THUREAU-DANGIN, FR., *Textes de l'époque d'Agadé* (1910).
- ITT II 1–2* GENOUILAC, HENRI DE, *Textes de l'époque d'Agadé et de l'époque d'Ur* (1910–11).
- ITT III* GENOUILAC, HENRI DE, *Textes de l'époque d'Ur. Deuxième partie* (1912).
- ITT V* GENOUILAC, HENRI DE, *Époque présargonique, époque d'Agadé, époque d'Ur* (1921).
- MAD* Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary* (Chicago, 1951–).
- MAD I* GELB, I. J., *Sargonic Texts from the Diyala Region* (1952).
- MAD II* GELB, I. J., *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar* (1952).
- Mém.* France. Délégation en Perse. *Mémoires* (Paris, 1900–).
- Mém. II* SCHEIL, V., *Textes élamites-sémitiques. Première série* (1900).
- Mém. XIV* SCHEIL, V. and LEGRAIN, LÉON, *Textes élamites-sémitiques. Cinquième série* (1913).
- Mém. XVIII* DOSSIN, GEORGES, *Autres textes sumériens et accadiens* (1927).
- Mém. XXII* SCHEIL, V., *Actes juridiques susiens* (1930).
- Mém. XXIV* SCHEIL, V., *Actes juridiques susiens. Inscriptions des Achéménides* (1933).
- Mém. XXVII* MEER, P. E. VAN DER, *Textes scolaires de Suse* (1935).
- Mém. XXVIII* SCHEIL, V., *Mélanges épigraphiques* (1939).
- MVAG* Berlin. *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1896–1908; Leipzig, 1909–).
- OIP* Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. *Oriental Institute Publications* (Chicago, 1924–).
- OIP XIV* LUCKENBILL, DANIEL DAVID, *Inscriptions from Adab* (1930).
- OIP XXVII* GELB, IGNACE J., *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* (1935).
- OIP XLIII* FRANKFORT, HENRI; LLOYD, SETON; and JACOBSEN, THORKILD, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar* (1940).
- OIP LVII* GELB, IGNACE J.; PURVES, PIERRE M.; and MACRAE, ALLAN A., *Nuzi Personal Names* (1943).
- OLZ* *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin, 1898–1908; Leipzig, 1909–).
- PBS* Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. *Publications of the Babylonian Section* (Philadelphia, 1911–).

- PBS II 1* CLAY, ALBERT T., *Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Darius II* (1912).
- PBS V* POEBEL, ARNO, *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (1914).
- PBS IX 1* BARTON, GEORGE A., *Sumerian Business and Administrative Documents from the Earliest Times to the Dynasty of Agade* (1915).
- PNCP* CLAY, ALBERT T., *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period* (New Haven, 1912).
- R* RAWLINSON, H. C., *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia I-V* (London, 1861-84).
- RA* *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* (Paris, 1884-).
- RTC* THUREAU-DANGIN, FRANÇOIS, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes* (Paris, 1903).
- SAKI* THUREAU-DANGIN, FRANÇOIS, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* ("Vorderasiatische Bibliothek," Bd. I, Abt. 1; Leipzig, 1907).
- ŠL* DEIMEL, ANTON, *Šumerisches Lexikon* (Roma, 1930-).
- TMH* *Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena* (Leipzig, 1932-).
- TMH V* POHL, ALFRED, *Vorsargonische und sargonische Wirtschaftstexte* (1935).
- TMHN.F.I/II* POHL, ALFRED, *Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden der III. Dynastie von Ur* (1937).
- VAS* Berlin. Königliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler* (Leipzig, 1907-17).
- WZKM* *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Wien, 1887-).
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* (Leipzig, 1886).



ON THE RECENTLY PUBLISHED ECONOMIC TEXTS FROM MARI

Author(s): I. J. GELB

Source: *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, 50e Volume, No. 1 (1956), pp. 1-10

Published by: [Presses Universitaires de France](#)

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REVUE D'ASSYRIOLOGIE ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

PUBLIÉE SOUS LA DIRECTION DE

G. CONTENAU

CONSERVATEUR EN CHEF HONORAIRE
DES MUSÉES DE FRANCE

E. DHORME

MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT
PROF. HON. AU COLLÈGE DE FRANCE

Secrétaire de rédaction : M. LAMBERT

L^e Volume

N^o 1

1956

ON THE RECENTLY PUBLISHED ECONOMIC TEXTS FROM MARI

by I. J. GELB

In excerpting for the Chicago Akkadian Dictionary a collection of 58 tablets recently published in *RA* 46 [1952], 185-202 by Professor Raymond JESTIN under the title « Textes économiques de Mari (III^e Dynastie d'Ur) » I was able to obtain a number of new readings and interpretations which may be of some importance for the Akkadian lexicon and for the Akkadian grammar. When I communicated this to Professor Édouard DHORME, he kindly offered to publish my article on the subject in the *RA* and made arrangements to have the difficult passages collated in the Louvre Museum. As a result, in the absence of Professor JESTIN, a preliminary draft of this article was sent early in 1953 to Mr. Maurice LAMBERT, who kindly consented to collate for me the marked passages. Subsequently, in the summer of 1954, I had a chance to inspect the tablets during a short stay in Paris. The collations resulted in a very few new readings and generally helped to strengthen my feeling that JESTIN's copies were fully reliable.

It may be proper to mention here that there are about one hundred additional texts from Mari of the same type as those here discussed but in a more fragmentary state. Because of the extraordinary importance of the new texts, it is to be hoped that the additional texts will soon be made available to the scholarly world.

The first problem posed by the new tests published by Jestin pertains to their

chronology. If the texts are really dated to the Ur III period, as stated in the title, then they should be included in my *Glossary of Old Akkadian*, which is to be published soon as *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary* III. Since, from the very beginning, I have had some doubts about assigning the new Mari texts to the Ur III period, I was forced into a thorough investigation of the manifold aspects of the problem of the dating of the Mari and other comparable groups of texts.

No information is given concerning the place or stratum in which the tablets were excavated at Mari. We can, however, draw certain conclusions from comparison of the new tablets with a tablet published by Professor Georges DOSSIN in *Syria* XXI [1940], 167 f. There is no doubt that the DOSSIN tablet belongs to the same archive as do the tablets published by JESTIN¹. Cf. the form of the signs, the general structure of the É.A documents, and, specifically, the use of BA.AN (cf. n. to No. 22 : 1), of iš (cf. pp. 4-5), and of the month name ⁴AMA.KI. According to DOSSIN, the text published by him is of the Ur III period. For the place of discovery of the Ur III texts at Mari he refers to PARROT's article in *Syria* XX [1939] 4 and 20.

For further information on the date of the new texts we must rely on internal evidence of a graphic, linguistic, and textual nature.

At the first glance, from the formal side, the signs in the new texts from Mari do not resemble the signs on the tens of thousands of texts which we normally call Ur III². In fact, the moment I saw the publication it occurred to me that we were faced here with the same grave difficulties of dating that have baffled us for years in the case of a group of the texts from Elam and from the Diyala Region. Beside texts which contain dates of the Third Dyn. of Ur³ (such as *MDP* X 121, 125, 126 ; XVIII 79 ; XXVIII 410, 454, 467), there are many more texts from Elam (*MDP* X 1-124, time of Sumu-abum? ; XVIII 70 ff. ; XXIII 291-305, time of Iabarat) and from the Diyala Region (unpublished) which contain no dates, but which, from the palaeographic point of view, appear younger than the standard Ur III and older than the standard Old Babylonian.

The dating of the new texts from Mari cannot be disassociated from that of the liver models from Mari⁴. Mlle RUTTEN makes the following statement concerning the date of the latter texts : « Nos textes relatifs à l'hépatoscopie sont beaucoup plus anciens [than the Mari archives] par leur écriture. Ils sont cependant postérieurs

1. For unknown reasons this is not noted in JESTIN's article.

2. This was also the impression of my colleague, Thorkild JACOBSEN, when he first saw the publication.

3. Thus JESTIN's statement, *op. cit.*, p. 185, that the new Mari texts are apparently the first Ur III texts found outside of Babylonia requires correction.

4. Published by Mlle Maggie RUTTEN in *RA* 35 [1938], 36-70.

à la fondation de la dynastie d'Isin, puisqu'on y trouve mention d'Išbi-Irra fondateur de la dynastie d'Isin et de son troisième successeur Išma-Dagan. » This statement is correct¹. The occurrence of Sargonic and Ur III kings on some of the liver models is not sufficient ground for assigning those liver models to the Old Akkadian period². Since all the liver models appear to be written by the same hand, the date of the composition of all the liver models cannot be earlier than the date of Išbi-Irra, the last living ruler mentioned in the texts³.

While the composition of the Mari liver models cannot be dated earlier than the time of Išbi-Irra, it is not permissible to argue that all the graphic and linguistic features of the models must be dated to the time of Išbi-Irra, since it is quite possible that some of the features may have been copied from texts dated earlier than Išbi-Irra, perhaps even as far back as the Sargonic period. In general, we may say that the liver models do not represent reliable sources for a synchronic type of study. Cf. e.g. the use of *šu* and *šu-ut* beside *sá* and *si* (p. 6), *in* (Nos. 11, 12, 24, 26) beside *i-na* (Nos. 13, 27), spellings *'à-wa-at* (Nos. 31, 32, and similarly) beside *a-wa-zu* (No. 19), *il-ga-'à* (No. 3) beside *il-ga-a* (No. 9), *a-mu-ut* (Nos. 1, 2, etc.) beside *UD-mu-ut* (Nos. 4, 17), *i-ša-ga-an* (Nos. 12, 19, etc.) beside *i-sà-ga-an* (Nos. 23, 29, etc.), and contracted forms, such as *ru-bu-um*, beside *ru-ba-um* (cf. p. 4). On that score, the Mari economic texts, representing chronologically a compact archive, are of considerably greater value for the reconstruction of the Mari dialect in the Išbi-Irra period.

There are many points of contact between the liver models and the economic texts from Mari.

Both use exclusively the syllabic value *lá* instead of *la*. This feature is common in Cappadocian but very rare in Sargonic and Ur III.

Both use the sign DIN with the value *dí* and *lí*, as in *ša-aḥ-lu-uq-lí* (livers Nos. 4, 28), *i-dí-šum* (econ. text No. 25), *ni-dí* (Nos. 24, 25), and *I-dí-Ma-ma* (No. 56). This again is a common feature of Cappadocian. In the spellings *da-ri-ḥa-DIN* /*dá-ri-'ālim*/ (liver No. 17), *za-ḥa-ru-DIN* (No. 18), *za-aḥ-ru-DIN* (No. 28), *a-a-bu-*

1. Išbi-Irra occurs on livers Nos. 9 and 10; Išma-Dagan on liver No. 11. The latter, however, may not be Išma-Dagan of Isin but Išma-Dagan, the governor of Mari in the Ur III period (Dossin : *Syria*, XXI [1940], 162 f.). Note the differences in the spelling of the names of the two persons.

2. As done by von Soden : *Das akkadische Syllabar* (Roma, 1948), Nos. 135, 174, 186, 221, etc.; Gertze : *JCS* I (1947), 79, and Speiser, *ibid.*, p. 326. The conclusions which Gertze and Speiser draw in respect to one question are incomprehensible to me. It is argued that in the Mari texts the demonstrative pronoun *šu* and the word *šumma* begin with the same consonant *š*; the truth is that in Mari, while *šumma* is written *šu-ma*, the demonstrative pronoun is not attested and the relative pronoun is spelled *šu*, *šu-ut*, *sá*, and *si* (see p. 6). Outside of Mari, *šumma* is written *su-ma* in Sargonic (Kish 1930, 768, unpublished) and *šu-ma* in Ur III (Yondorf a, unpublished).

3. See n. 2.

DIN (No. 31), ITI *E-bir_g*-DIN (econ. texts Nos. 1, 6, etc.), *na-ru-ga*-DIN (No. 19), *É Da-ir*-DIN (No. 20), ITI *Li-li-a*-DIN (No. 40), and *Na-ba*-DIN (No. 42, doubtful) the sign DIN should be assigned the value *tim_x* if it can be proved that mimation is as well preserved in the Mari documents as it is in the standard Sargonic and Ur III texts. But if we assign the value *tim_x* to DIN then we must reckon with the value *túm* for DU on the basis of a comparison of *'à-wa-tum* (liver No. 30) with *'à-wa*-DU (No. 32) and *a-nu*-DU (No. 12). Neither conclusion is safe, however, since the scarcity of attestation prevents us from drawing final conclusions about the use of mimation in the Mari texts. Although generally mimation is well preserved both in the liver models and the economic texts, the following divergencies should be noted : *ma-al-ku* (liver No. 18), *ú-da-dè* (No. 17), *za-mu-ga-dè* (No. 27), ITI *A-bi* (econ. texts 2, 7, 41, but observe that this form occurs already in *UET* III 20), *na-ab-ri?-i* (No. 5, but note ITI *Na-ab-ri-i* in *Iraq* VII 45 at Chagar Bazar), *ZÍD ri-ši* (No. 31, meaning unknown), *ti-ku-lu* (No. 23, meaning unknown), and *Za-ħir-li* (No. 47).

The sign Ū is regularly used for the copula « and » in the livers Nos. 2, 9, 11, 17, 27, 30. The evidence for the economic texts is not conclusive : Ū is used nowhere, once Ū in 1 *maš-a-na-an ú 3 tir-ku* (see n. on 40 : 2). This feature is unknown in Sargonic, very rare in Ur III (MORGAN : *Mission scient. en Perse* IV 158, Lullubum, and *AOF* III 112, Mari), but normal in Cappadocian.

Contracted forms *ru-bu-um* (liver No. 24), *a-nu-túm* (No. 12), *a-nu-um* (No. 23) occur side by side with uncontracted forms *ru-ba-um* (No. 23 and similarly Nos. 25, 31) and *a-ni-ú-um* (No. 7 and similarly Nos. 10, 19, 22, 29). In economic texts we find *mu-ku-tum* /*muquṭtúm*/ (Nos. 21, etc.), as against *zu-ħu-ra-im* /*suħurrá'im*/ (liver No. 6). Such contractions are unknown in Sargonic and Ur III.

From the morphological point of view one of the most important characteristics of the liver models and economic texts is the use of the particle *iš*. Here is a complete list of occurrences :

a) *Šum-ma na-ak-ru-um iš a-a-bu-tim_x i-da-ú?-ma*, « if the enemy plans ? (for hostility) » (liver No. 31).

b) *Šum-ma 'à-wa-at na-ak-ri-im iš ki-ra-ab ma-tim wa-za-at*, « if the word of the enemy had gone out to the heart of the land » (liver No. 31).

c) *Šum-ma 'à-wa-túm iš na-ak-ri-im ú-zi-i*, « if the word went out to the enemy » (liver No. 32).

d) 3 *iš GIŠ.GIGIR sá IN.U* and 5 *iš GIŠ.GIGIR sá IM*, « 3 (*amuwālum*) for the wagon with straw » and « 5 (*amuwālum*) for the wagon with clay » (econ. text No. 5 : 4 f.).

e) 1 KUŠ SILA₄ iš DUB, « 1 lamb-skin for tablet(s) » (econ. text No. 17 : 1 f.). Cf. also p. 8.

f) 2 sá-sá-lá-an sá GUD 20 sá-sá-lá-an sá UDU.UDU iš AŠGAB, « 2 humps of an ox, 20 humps of sheep for the leather-worker » (econ. text No. 18 : 1 ff.).

g) [x] + 4 KUŠ ú-ra-zi iš na-ru-ga-lim_x, « [x] + 4 kid-skins for bags » (econ. text No. 19 : 1 f.).

h) 1 KUŠ SILA₄ iš Ma-aḥ-ri-EL?, « 1 lamb-skin for M. » (or similarly) (econ. text No. 20 : 1 f.).

i) 10 QA NI iš NA₄, « 10 qa of oil for (mill?-)stones » (econ. text No. 21 : 1).

j) 3 GUR ku-ku-šu iš SIMUG É NIN-EDIN am-ḥur, « I received 3 gur of kukkušum-flour for the smith in the temple of Bêlat-ḡêrim » (econ. text No. 26 : 1-4).

k) So much flour iš GAR ú-bu-si and so much flour iš KÉŠ.DA (Syria XXI 167 : 1 ff.). Meaning clear for iš but not for the objects of destination.

l) Possible cases in econ. texts Nos. 27 : 2, 43 : 2, 56 : 1, which occur in difficult context.

Mlle RUTTEN : *op. cit.*, p. 50 suggested that, in case *a*, iš may be a construct state of išum « fire » and that in cases *b* and *c* « IŠ parait tenir la place du relatif. Lire ša? »

The particle iš clearly has the meaning « for », « to »¹ in all cases, with the possible exception of *a*, where uncertainty about the reading *i-da-ku?-ma* (Mlle RUTTEN) or *i-da-ú?-ma* prevents us from reaching any safe conclusions. The discovery of the particle iš in the Mari dialect is so important for Akkadian as well as Semitic grammar that I hesitate to draw any rash conclusions about possible attestation outside of Mari and about connections and derivations within the field of the Semitic languages. A thorough investigation of this problem must be left to some future date.

The determinative-relative pronoun² appears as šu, šu-ul, sá, and si in the Mari dialect ; thus the signs SÁ and SÍ function in Mari with the values ša₁₉ and ši, respectively.

For šu, cf. da-na-nu-um šu a-bu-li-im (liver No. 13) ; 1 maš-a-na-an ú 3 tir-ku šu KASKAL.KUR^{xi} (econ. text No. 40) ; 1 maš-a-na-an šu KASKAL.KUR^{xi} (No. 53) ; cf. also a difficult case in No. 51 : 1.

For šu-ul, cf. the difficult passage in liver No. 13.

Sá is very well attested in both livers and economic texts. Cf. e.g. a-mu-ul KIŠ^{xi} sá Sar-ru-ki-in (liver No. 1, similarly 2, 3, etc.) and GIŠ.GIGIR sá IN.U and

1. This conclusion is supported by the observation that *a-na* is never used in the economic texts. The liver omima, which are based on texts dated to different periods, use both *iš* and *a-na* (but never in the same text).

2. For terminology and usage in Old Akkadian, cf. GELB : *MAD*, II, 176-181.

GIŠ.GIGIR *sá* IM (econ. text No. 5 : 4 f., similarly l. 7 and Nos. 15, 18, 46).

For *si*, cf. *a-mu-ul zu-ḥu-ra-im si I-bi*-^dEN.ZU (liver No. 6) and doubtful cases in econ. texts Nos. 45 and 51.

The subjunctive ending *-na* in *i-za-aḥ-ru-na* (liver No. 10) and *ú-ti-ru-na* (No. 22), unknown in Sargonic and Ur III, occurs a few times in the post-Ur III period¹.

The spelling *Sar-ru-ki-in* (liver No. 1) is unknown in Sargonic and Ur III, where only *Sar-ru-GI*, *Sar-um-GI* and *Sar-ru-GIM* are attested. But, cf. *Sar-um*!-GAL in the econ. text No. 44 : 3.

The spelling *Ma-na-áš-lu-šu* (liver No. 2) is unknown in Sargonic and Ur III, where only *Ma-an-iš-lu-su*, *Ma-an-iš-ti-su*, ^d*Ma-ni-iš-ti-su*, ^d*Ma-ni-iš-di(n)-su*, and ^d*Ma-an-iš-di(n)-su* are attested.

Some additional peculiarities of the Mari texts are : syllabic values *kín* in *i-sá-kín* (liver No. 7), *me₅* in *kàr-me₅* (No. 8), *a_x* in *UD-mu-ul* (Nos. 4, 17), *ḥir* in *Za-ḥir-lum* (econ. texts Nos. 33 and 34) ; the forms *i-ba-al-ki-ti-šu* in subjunctive ? (liver No. 6), *ma-al-ku-i-in* in dual (No. 23) ; the words *muquttûm* (*passim* in econ. texts), *urāšum* (econ. text No. 19 : 1) for later *urīšum*, *idlal* (Nos. 30 : 3 and *passim*) for *idlul* outside of Mari.

Of the eleven month names occurring in the new economic texts from Mari (listed by JESTIN : *op. cit.*, p. 200), the months of Abi, ^dDagan, Ebirtim, ^dKUR, Laḥḥim, and *Lili'ālim* occur in the economic texts from Mari of later periods² ; ^dAMA.KI, ^dNIN-KI.GIGIR, NÍG.NI.SAG do not occur elsewhere (unless these logograms should be identified with some later Mari month names written syllabically) ; and UR.NI[....] (No. 56) and X (No. 53) cannot be read safely.

Out of over sixty personal names found in Jestin's texts (listed *op. cit.*, p. 200), there is not even one which could be termed « Amorite ». Thus, as reconstructed in *AJSL* LV [1938], 80 and *JNES* XIII [1954], 270, Mari from the Pre-Sargonic period until the end of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur was a province of the Akkado-Sumerian civilization, and it was not until the time between the end of Ur III and the beginning of Old Babylonian that the Amorites invaded the Mari territory.

Among the archaizing features of the Mari texts we can list the following : the use of *in* in the economic texts (Nos. 1?, 24, 25, etc.), as compared with the use of both *in* and *i-na* in the livers (see above, p. 3) ; outside of Mari, while Sargonic has *in*, Ur III has *i-na*³. The stative in *-a* (only in proper names) used with subjects

1. Cf. GELB : *MAD*, II, 218, where *im-ḥa-zu-na* (SPELEERS : *RIAA* 4 ii, Dêr) should be assigned to the period between Ur III and Old Babylonian.

2. Cf. DOSSIN : *Syria*, XX, 105.

3. Cf. *MAD*, II, 26.

both in the masculine and feminine (econ. text No. 44 : 12-14). The use of the determinative KI in BĀD² (econ. text No. 5 : 1) and KASKAL.KUR² (Nos. 40 : 2, 53 : 1); this feature is known in Sargonic¹. The spelling ITI *Li-li-a-tim*_x (econ. text No. 40 rev. 2) with LÍ standing for *li*· in contrast to LI standing for *li*; this is an important feature of the Sargonic system of writing². The formal distinction between BAR in *bar-šum* (econ. texts Nos. 52 : 1; 54 : 1) and MAŠ in *maš-a-nu* (Nos. 39 : 1, 3; 40 : 1, 2, etc.).

In résumé of the discussion presented above we can draw the following conclusions:

The date of the new economic texts from Mari is contemporaneous with that of the composition of the Mari liver models.

The composition of the liver models could not have taken place before the time of Išbt-Irra.

The many inconsistencies in orthography and grammar of the liver models indicate that they may have been copies from older originals of different periods. Because of these uncertainties of dating, the liver models must be used with caution for the reconstruction of the Mari dialect in the time of Išbt-Irra.

As against the few archaizing features of the Mari texts linking them with Sargonic, the majority of the features show post-Ur III innovations. Such are the use of the signs LĀ, DIN, Ū, the possible partial loss of mimation, syllabic contraction, the particle *iš*, the determinative-relative pronoun written *šu*, *šu-ul*, *sá*, and *si*, the subjunctive ending *-na*, the spelling of *Sar-ru-ki-in* and *Ma-na-áš-tu-šu*, the month names, and other features listed on p. 6.

One of the most surprising conclusions pertains to the close connections between the system of writing of the new texts from Mari and that of Old Assyrian (Cappadocian). Who knows but that a better understanding of the Mari background (from the as yet unpublished material) may help us one day to unravel the mystery of the origin of the Old Assyrian system of writing.

Thus while the Mari economic texts and the liver models can be dated to the time of Išbt-Irra and are thus partially contemporaneous with Ibbt-Sin, the last king of the Third Dyn. of Ur, they cannot be lumped linguistically with the standard Akkadian of the Ur III period. The new Mari dialect and those from Elam, the Diyala Region, and other sites in Babylonia (which remain to be investigated) form a group of local dialects, all dated between the end of Ur III and the beginning of Old Babylonian, which must be treated separately from the standard Akkadian dialects of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods.

1. Cf. *MAD*, II, 30.

2. Cf. *MAD*, II, 35 f.

NOTES ON THE ECONOMIC TEXTS

- 1 : 2. Reading in BİR clear but ununderstandable. Collated.
- 2 rev. 2. É.NÍG.GAD_x occurs regularly in the construction É.A É.NÍG.GAD_x, « issued from É.NÍG.GAD_x » (here and in Nos. 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, and 48). The exceptions are No. 5, where we find NÍG.GAD_x.GAD_x! (collated) receiving a quantity of *amuwātum*, and No. 44 dealing with quantities (of flour ?) distributed to various houses and persons, most of whom are apparently women, subsumed in the last line of the text as [X SAL É].NÍG.GAD_x. The connection between É.NÍG.GAD_x and women is apparent in the É.A É.NÍG.GAD_x texts, all of which deal with women. Thus the women apparently resided in the É.NÍG.GAD_x. The interpretation of this word depends on the interpretation of the GAD_x sign ; its reading as a variant form of GAD was suggested by Professor LANDSBERGER.
- 4 : 2. 2 SAL *mar-zum* (collated) is apparently a scribal error for 2 SAL *mar-za-tum*, in view of parallels in Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Only in No. 46 : 6 *Mar-zum* may be a PN.
- 4 rev. 2. Reading É *Im-di-i-li* is improbable, since after É.A we expect either a PN or É.NÍG.GAD_x or É.MU. Copy as well as collation allow the reading Rí for the first sign. Neither Lambert nor myself could detect on the tablet any traces of the sign read as *li* by Jestin. The whole may represent a personal name to be read perhaps as *Ri?-im-sá-li-[im]?*
5. This is one of the most interesting and, at the same time, most difficult texts in the collection. It deals apparently with the distribution of *a-mu-wa-tum* *sá na-ab-ri?-i* (rev. 3 f., collated), that is some kind of gifts or offerings during the *nabrijum* festival, known from the Ur III texts ; cf. also the month *Na-ab-ri-i* in Iraq VII 45 at Chagar Bazar and in TCL I 182 of unknown origin. The word *amuwātum* is evidently a plural of *amūtum*, like Sargonic *issakkūātum* is a plural of *issakkūtum*. Its meaning is not certain ; we might adduce the word *amūtum*, « liver », in the Mari liver models Nos. 1, 2, etc. For parallels, cf. e.g. the distribution of dates to the various parts of the temple, gate, throne-place, and statue at the time of the moon festival in UET III 105 and elsewhere. For 1 KAM, « one pot » or « first time », in rev. 2, cf. also the difficult cases in 36 : 5, 37 : 7, 38 : 5.
- If my understanding of the text is correct, then the numbers in ll. 1-5 refer to the number of *amuwātum* given to the *ma-za-ra-at* BÂD_κ, « wallguards », É ^dNIN-EDIN, NÍG.GAD_x.GAD_x!, *is* GIŠ.GIGIR *sá* IN.U, « for the wagon with straw », and *is* GIŠ.GIGIR *sá* IM, « for the wagon with clay ». For parallel uses of GIŠ.GIGIR, cf. [x G]IŠ.GIGIR IN.U and 10 GIŠ.GIGIR ÍL (HSS X 203 : 4 ff.) and 1 GIŠ.GIGIR SUM (RTC 119 : 2 and MAD I 302 : 5), also 1 GIŠ.MAR.GÍD.DA IN.NU (MDP XXVIII 455 : 1 and similarly in 472 : 4 and 13).
- 9 : 2. Instead of DIBIRA (= URUDU.NAGAR), here and in Nos. 11, 12, read DUB.NAGAR in agreement with parallels in Sargonic (PBS IX 120 ; YOS IX 8, etc.) and Ur III (UET III, p. 73 *passim*, etc.). The relationship of DUB.NAGAR to the later URUDU.NAGAR remains to be investigated.
- 15 : 2. Instead of DI-NI-NI-BI read *sá Ì-li-bi*, « of Ilibi ».
- 15 rev. 1. The logogram IGI.GAR occurs in a certain type of documents. First the item : 1 ÁB *sá Ì-li-bi* (No. 15), x GUR ZÍD *ri-ši* (No. 31), sandals (No. 40), and x GUR *bar-šum* (Nos. 52 and 54), next the phrase IGI.GAR PN, and finally the date.
- 15 rev. 1. Instead of *Sá-lim-tim*, here and in No. 43 rev. 2, read *Sá-lim-be-li*.
- 16 : 3. Instead of É-^dDa-gan read É *Da-tum* (collated), « the temple of Dādum ».
- 17 : 1 f. Read 1 KUŠ SILA₄ *is* DUB, « 1 lamb-skin for tablet(s) ». This occurrence is rather important since it implies that leather was used for making tablet containers.
- 17 rev. 2. In the names MI-lá-AN.NU.NU (here and *passim*), *Ni-id!-at*-AN.NU.NU (Nos. 23 : 2 and 44 : 15, collated), AN.NU.NU-*da-mur* (No. 44 : 7), AN.NU.NU-[*m*]a²-a[*l*]²-[*x*] (No. 44 : 8, collated), and-AN.NU.NU (No. 44 : 16), the divine element AN.NU.NU (regularly interpreted by Jestin as *An-nu-nu*) should be read as ^d*Nu-nu*. Cf. DEIMEL : PB, N^o. 2341

- and especially *Um-mi-Nu-nu* (UET III 1357) and *Ta-ad-di-in-Nu-nu* (CT II 45), which, like the Mari ^d*Nu-nu-da-mur*, show that Nunu is a fem. deity.
- 18 : 1 ff. Read 2 *sá-sá-lá-an sá* GUD 20 *sá-sá-lá-tum sá* UDU.UDU *is* AŠGAB, « 2 humps (or similarly) of an ox, 20 humps of sheep for the leather-worker ».
- 19 : 1 f. Read [x] + 4 KUŠ *ú-ra-zi is na-ru-ga-ti*, « [x] + 4 kid-skins for bags ». The form *urāšum* for later *urīšum* is unknown to me outside of Mari. The Akkadian diminutives show either the *qutāl* formation (*buqāqu*, *kusāpu*, *puḥādu*, *ṣuḥāru*, *uzālu*) or the *qutīl* formation (*kusīptu*, *suḥīru*, *unīqu*).
- 19 : 3. GĪR.NITAḤ is a personal name, as in MAD I 150. Cf. also the name *Ša-ga-na-kum* in JACOBSEN : *Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen* 11 and elsewhere.
- 20 : 1-4. Read 1 KUŠ SILA₄ *is Ma-aḥ-ri-EL? sá* KU.BA.E.EN *sá É* Da-ir-ti. Collated, copy correct, exact meaning unknown.
- 21 : 1 ff. Read 10 QA NI *is* NA₄, « 10 qa of oil for (mill?)-stones ».
- 21 rev. 1. The word *mu-ku-tum* /*muquṭtūm*/ occurs also in Nos. 26, 27, 28, and 29. Since in all these cases the word occurs after *am-ḥur*, « I received », it must refer to incoming entries. Cf. VON SODEN : *Symbolae Koschaker*, p. 206 and *Orient.* n.s. XV 424. For the construction with *amḥur*, cf. x QA NI *ḫa-la-mu am-ḥu-ur*, « x qa of oil (I), Aḫlamu, received » in the three Old Babylonian administrative texts from Mari discussed by A. DUPONT-SOMMER in *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* I [1953] 44.
- 22 : 1. BA.AN, which occurs also in the Mari text published in *Syria* XXI 167 : 1, is either a container or a measure of 60 qa. Note, however, that other texts, such as Nos. 23, 30, 31, 54, use instead the measure PI of 60 qa.
- 22 : 2. Instead of 40 1/2 GÚ read 4 1/2 GÚ. Instead of 60 MA.NA read 6 MA.NA. Similarly in other texts in which GÚ and MA.NA occur. The object weighed is *zu-gu*, probably the same as *zuku*, interpreted as alkaline glaze by THOMPSON : *DAB*, p. 35.
- 24 rev. 1. In view of the spelling *i-di-šum* with *i* in 25 : 4, NI-*di*, here and in 25 rev. 2, should be read as *ni-di*, « we deposited ».
- 25 : 1. Instead of « 1 *uḡbar-sik-ki* » the signs read 1 TÚG DAG GABA KI. Collated. Meaning unknown.
- 25 : 3. Read *Ī-li-is-ma?-ni?* DUB.SAR. Collated.
- 25 rev. 2. Cf. n. on 24 rev. 1.
- 26 : 1-4. Read 3 GUR *ku-ku-šu is* SIMUG É ^dNIN-EDIN *am-ḥur*, « I received 3 gur of *kukkušum*-flour for the smith in the temple of Bēlat-šērim. » For *kukkušum*, cf. HARTMAN and OPPENHEIM : *On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia*, pp. 28 and 52.
- 28 : 2. Read *Ī-be-i-li*, as in No. 21 : 2.
- 30 : 3 and *passim*. Instead of *Ā-lāl-^dDa-gan* read probably *Id-lāl-^dDa-gan*. Evidently also *Id-lāl-i-li* in the Mari text published in *Syria* XXI 167 : 9. For the meaning, cf. *Id-lul-DINGIR* in a Sargonic text soon to be published (*BIN* VIII 259). Note, however, that outside of Mari the form is always *idlul*, not *idlal*. The reading *Puzur-Dagan* and *Puzur-ilī* cannot be justified on the basis of palaeography.
- 33 rev. 3. Instead of É ^dKUR read É *An-tim* in accordance with No. 34 rev. 3 (collated).
- 33 rev. 5 and 34 rev. 5. Read *Za-ḫir-tum* (collated) and cf. *Za-ḫir-ti* in No. 47 rev. 2.
35. This text as well as Nos. 36, 37, 38, and 50 deal with rations.
- 35 rev. 4. Read in *Li-liḫ*[⁴]. Collated.
- 36 : 2. The reading *a-ak-lu-tum*, here and in No. 38 : 1, was collated.
- 36 rev. 2. Instead of *Šē-ir-te-láḫ*, here and in Nos. 37 rev. 2 and 50 rev. 2, I read possibly *Šē-ir-te-en*.
- 39 : 1-5. Read 2 *maš-a-na-an tab-a-an* 1 *maš-a-na-an sá-bu-a-an ra?-bu-a-an* and translate « 2 (pairs of) ... sandals, 1 (pair of) thick? ... sandals ». Since the form *maš'anān* occurs with number 1 we must conclude that the word is used here as a duale tantum. Cf. also 16 *maš-a-nu tab-ū-tum* 1 *maš-a-na-an ū* 3 *tir-ku šu* KASKAL.KUR⁴ in No. 40 : 1 f., 1 *maš-*

- a-na-an tab-a-an* in No. 41 : 1 f., and 1 *maš-a-na-an!* (collated) *šu* KASKAL.KUR² in No. 53 : 1 f. For *dirkum* Professor Landsberger calls my attention to GAD = *di-ir-ku* in his *MSL* II, p. 134 : 53.
- 39 rev. 3-5. The three lines must refer to three pairs of sandals distributed to three different persons. Of these, l. 3 offers 1 *šu* DUMU *Za-num* which should be compared with *šu* DUMU UTU-si-^dIM in No. 41 : 3.
- 44 : 3. Read *Sar-um!-GAL*. (collated).
- 44 : 4. Read É^{as}Š.DÈ and cf. the discussion in my forthcoming volume on the Old Akkadian Texts in the Field Museum.
- 44 : 10. Read perhaps *Da-lu-u[b-tum]*.
- 44 : 12-14. The three personal names *Ma-ma-a-li-a*, *Es₄-dar-a-li-a*, and *Es₄-dar-dam-ga* (all collated) are of the greatest importance for the discussion of the *a*-ending in *MAD* II 189-196, esp. 194, where it was suggested that an archaic form of a stative in *-a* (preserved only in proper names) can occur with subjects both in the masculine and the feminine. The new evidence brings weighty support to that suggestion. With the Mari name *Es₄-dar-a-li-a*, cf. *A-li-a-at-Es₄-dar* in *BIN* VII 217 : 8 (and similar names in *RANKE* : *EBPN*, p. 64).
- 45 rev. x + 1. Read *si KÁ na-aḥ-lim*.
- 45 rev. x + 2. Read *Šu-AD.DA* [= *Šu-abī*].
- 52 : 1 and 54 : 1. Read x GUR x SILÁ *bar-šum*. Meaning unknown.
- 53 : 1. Read 1 *maš-a-na-an!* (collated) *šu* KASKAL.KUR², « 1 (pair of) sandals for the caravan ».

January, 1954.



CHICAGO JOURNALS

The First Legal Document from the Later Old Assyrian Period

Author(s): I. J. Gelb and E. Sollberger

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3, Ralph Marcus Memorial Issue (Jul., 1957), pp. 163-175

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](http://www.uchicago.edu)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/542759>

Accessed: 20/10/2014 21:41

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THE FIRST LEGAL DOCUMENT FROM THE LATER OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

I. J. GELB AND E. SOLLBERGER

I. INTRODUCTION

IN going over the collection of cuneiform tablets in the Geneva Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, in the summer of 1954, I. J. Gelb came across a tablet which, while resembling in many respects the standard Old Assyrian (Cappadocian) type, differed from it in so many other respects as to make it clear that the tablet in question represented a new, hitherto unknown, type in the history of Assyriological research. Having recognized the importance of the find, Gelb reached an agreement with Edmond Sollberger, the curator of the archeological collections of the Geneva Museum, to publish the tablet in a joint effort, with Sollberger providing the copies, photographs, and the description of the tablet and Gelb providing the transliteration, transcription, translation, and the discussion of the text. The elucidation of several crucial points in the text benefited from constructive remarks offered by Sollberger in the discussion of the text, which, because of the circumstances, had to take place by correspondence. It is also a pleasant duty to acknowledge the valuable help received from Professor Landsberger during the composition of this paper.

Photographs of the tablet and envelope are shown in Pls. XXVII-XXIX and a copy of the text in Figs. 1-2.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE TABLET AND ENVELOPE

MAH 15962; Tablet. Color: light brown. Baked. Dimensions: 114 × 48 × 19 mm. Rev. as flat as obv. Dividing lines after

each line except between 21/22, 22/23, 23/24, 24/25, 46/47, 47/48. For the sake of clarity the dividing lines have been omitted on the copy.

MAH 16213: Envelope. Color: same as tablet. Baked. Dimensions: corresponding to those of the tablet. Dividing lines after each line. The envelope, the text of which is almost complete, is restored from seven fragments.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SEALS

A. Old Akkadian seal, inscribed, dedicated to Narâm-Sin. A naked, bearded, male figure struggling with a lion; repeated. Height: 21 mm.

B. Fragmentary. A standing(?) male figure looking to the right; behind him: a seven-dot rosette, two larger dots, a rod. Inscribed.

C. From right to left: (1) a seated male figure holding an upright ear (of barley?) looking to the left; (2) a standing male figure, also looking to the left, holding an animal by its hind legs with his left hand and an upright staff in his right hand; facing him (3) a standing male figure carrying a kid. Between (2) and (3), a horned(?) animal looking back. No inscription. Height: 19 mm.

D. From right to left: (1) a seated male figure holding a situla; facing him: (2) a standing male figure holding a staff pointed at the ground; and (3) a standing male figure holding a hooked staff in his left hand and another staff in his right over his head. There is a large vase on a stand behind (1). No inscription. Height: 16 mm.

E. Two registers: on the lower one, a right; the upper register is hardly identifiable and looks like a row of rods. No in-

III. transliteration and transcription

TABLET

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) 1 ŠU.BAT LÁ LUM? GÍN? <i>g[a-ki-r]i</i> | 1 šubat <i>q[agqer]ē</i> |
| 2) <i>ba-zi-ú-tim i-na l[i-b]e</i> | <i>paši>ūtim ina l[ibb]i</i> |
| 3) <i>ga-ki-ri si-a-ma-at</i> | <i>qagqerē ši>amāt</i> |
| 4) ^m <i>Ga-al-zi a-be al-be-šu!-nu</i> | <i>Galzi abi abišunu</i> |
| 5) DUMU <i>A-i-gu-da-dī ša tī-ḫi</i> | <i>mera> Aji-quḏādī ša tīḫi</i> |
| 6) <i>ga-ki-ri ša Mar-tī-a</i> | <i>qagqerē ša Martija</i> |
| 7) DUMU <i>I-dī-in-^dA-šūr tī-ḫi é</i> | <i>mera> Iddin-Aššur tīḫi bīt</i> |
| 8) ^m <i>Šu-mu-li-ib-si DUMU Da-da</i> | <i>Šumu-libši mera> Dada</i> |
| 9) <i>tī-ḫi é I-ku-na-a</i> | <i>tīḫi bīt Ikānaja</i> |
| 10) DUMU <i>Ku-be-a tī-ḫi ga-ki-ri</i> | <i>mera> Kubija tīḫi qagqerē</i> |
| 11) <i>zi-tī ša A-ba-ba</i> | <i>zitti ša Apapa</i> |
| 12) DUMU <i>I-dī-in-^dA-šūr</i> | <i>mera> Iddin-Aššur</i> |
| 13) <i>ù tī-ḫi ri-be-tim</i> | <i>u tīḫi rībitim</i> |
| 14) <i>zi-tī ^mI-dī-in-^dA-šūr</i> | <i>zitti Iddin-Aššur</i> |
| 15) DUMU.GAL <i>ù Ma-zi-DINGIR.ME.EŠ</i> | <i>mer>im rabīm u Maši-ilū</i> |
| 16) DUMU.ME.EŠ ^d <i>UTU-mu-si-li</i> | <i>mer>ē Šamaš-mušēlī</i> |
| 17) <i>a-na si-me-im a-na 3 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR</i> | <i>ana štimim ana 3 mana>ē kaspim</i> |
| 18) <i>tī-ri ^mI-dī-in-^dA-šūr</i> | <i>tiri? Iddin-Aššur</i> |
| 19) DUMU.GAL <i>ù Ma-zi-DINGIR.ME.EŠ</i> | <i>mer>um rabijum u Maši-ilū</i> |
| 20) DUMU.ME.EŠ ^{md} <i>UTU-mu-si-li</i> | <i>mer>ū Šamaš-mušēlī</i> |
| 21) <i>a-na ^{md}UTU-ták-lá-k[u]</i> | <i>ana Šamaš-taklāk[u]</i> |
| (Lower Edge) | |
| 22) [DU]MU <i>ARÁD-^dSi-ru-a</i> | <i>mera> Warad-Šeruwa</i> |
| 23) <i>i-dī-nu-ma</i> | <i>iddinūma</i> |
| 24) <i>ù-ša-be-ú-šu</i> | <i>ušappi>ūšu</i> |
| (Reverse) | |
| 25) <i>a-na 1 ŠU.BAT LÁ LUM? GÍN?</i> | <i>ana 1 šubat</i> |
| 26) <i>ga-ki-ri šu-nu-tī</i> | <i>qagqerē šunuti</i> |
| 27) <i>ù 3 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR tī-ri</i> | <i>u 3 mana>ē kaspim tiri?</i> |
| 28) <i>si-me-šu-nu ^mI-dī-in-^dA-šūr</i> | <i>štimišunu Iddin-Aššur</i> |
| 29) <i>ù ^mMa-zi-DINGIR.ME.EŠ</i> | <i>u Maši-ilū</i> |
| 30) DUMU.ME.EŠ ^{md} <i>UTU-mu-si-li</i> | <i>mer>ū Šamaš-mušēlī</i> |
| 31) <i>ù DUMU.ME.EŠ-šu-nu</i> | <i>u mer>ūšunu</i> |
| 32) <i>ma-ma-an a-na ^{md}UTU-ták-lá-ku</i> | <i>mamman ana Šamaš-taklāku</i> |
| 33) DUMU <i>ARÁD-^dSi-ru-a</i> | <i>mera> Warad-Šeruwa</i> |
| 34) <i>ù DUMU.ME.EŠ-šu ù-lá i-du-ru</i> | <i>u mer>ēšu ulā iturru</i> |
| 35) <i>ki-ma DUB-be dan-na-tī</i> | <i>kīma tuppi dannati</i> |
| 36) <i>lá-be-ir-tī a-ni-du DUB-pu</i> | <i>labirti annītu tuppū</i> |
| 37) <i>da-an-na-at</i> | <i>dannat</i> |

scription. Height: 8 mm.(!).

least two standing(?) male figures and

F. Fragmentary. One can distinguish at some accessories (dots, rods, etc.).

IV. TRANSLATION

TABLET

- 1) One vacant lot,
- 2) from
- 3) the lot (constituting) the acquisitions
- 4) of Galzi, their grandfather,
- 5) the son of Aji-qudādī—which is adjacent
- 6) to the lot of Martija
- 7) son of Iddin-Aššur, adjacent to the house
- 8) of Šumu-libšī son of Dada,
- 9) adjacent to the house of Ikûnaja
- 10) son of Kubija, adjacent to the lot
- 11) (constituting) the inherited share of Apapa
- 12) son of Iddin-Aššur,
- 13) and adjacent to the (city) square—
- 14) (and constituting) the inherited share of Iddin-Aššur
- 15) the elder son and of Mašī-ilū (the younger son),
- 16) sons of Šamaš-mušēlī,
- 17) for three minas of silver,
- 18) Iddin-Aššur
- 19) the elder son and Mašī-ilū (the younger son),
- 20) sons of Šamaš-mušēlī,
- 21) to Šamaš-taklāku
- (Lower Edge)
- 22) son of Warad-Šeru^a
- 23) sold and
- 24) satisfied? him.
- (Reverse)
- 25) In respect to one
- 26) this lot
- 27) and three minas of silver,
- 28) their price, Iddin-Aššur
- 29) and Mašī-ilū,
- 30) sons of Šamaš-mušēlī,
- 31) and their sons,
- 32) nobody, against Šamaš-taklāku
- 33) son of Warad-Šeru^a
- 34) and his sons will lay claim.
- 35) In place of the older valid tablet
- 36) this tablet
- 37) is valid.

(Seals E and F)

- 38) IGI *Da-dî-a* DUMU *A-ku-za*
 39) IGI *Ri-ši-a* DUMU *Ni-ma-a*
 40) IGI *Ba-ga-a* DUMU *Pu-ḫi-a*
 41) IGI ^dIM-A.Z[U] DUMU *A-mur-ra-bu-za*
 42) IGI *Za-bu-UR.SAG* DUMU DINGIR-GAL
 43) IGI ^dA-*nu*-LUGAL-DINGIR.ME.EŠ
 44) IGI ^dAG-UR.SAG DUB.SAR
 45) [IT]U ^dNIN-É.GAL

(Upper Edge)

- 46) *li-mu-um*
 47) ^mKi-*iš*-^dMAR.DU
 48) DUMU *A-ba-ba*

maḥar Dadija mera^o Akuza
maḥar Rêšija mera^o Nimaja
maḥar Bagaja mera^o Puḫija
maḥar Adad-asû mera^o Amur-
rabussa
maḥar Zabû-qarrād mera^o Ilum-rabî
maḥar Anu-šar-ilî
maḥar Nabî-um-qarrād tupšarrim
warah Bêlat-ekallim

lîmum
Qîš-Amurrim
mera^o Apapa

ENVELOPE

- 1) KIŠĪB *Da-dî-a* DU[*mu A-ku-za*]
 (seal A)
 2) [KI]ŠĪB *Ri-š[i-a]* 'DUMU *Ni-ma-a*¹
 3) [KIŠĪB] 'Ba¹-[*ga-a* DUMU *Pu-ḫi-a*]
 4) [KIŠĪB ^dIM-A.ZU DUMU *A-mur-ra-bu-za*]
 5) [KIŠĪB *Za-bu-UR.SAG* DUMU DINGIR-GAL]
 6) [KIŠĪB ^dA-*nu*-LUGAL]-[^dDINGIR.ME.EŠ
 DUMU X¹-[. . .]
 7) [KIŠĪB ^dAG-U]R.SAG DUB.SAR
 8) [1 ŠU.BAT LÁ LU]M? GÍN? *ga-ki-r[i]*
 9) [*ba-zi-ú-ti*]m ḪA.LÁ ^mI-*dî*-[*in*-^dA-šûr]
 10) [DUMU.GAL *ù*] *Ma-zi*-DINGIR.ME.EŠ
 DUMU.[ME.EŠ]
 11) [^dUTU]-*mu-si-li* ša *tî-ḫi*
 12) É Šu-*mu-li-ib-si* DUMU [*Da-da*]
 13) *tî-ḫi* É *I-ku-na-a* DUMU *Ku*-[*be-a*]
 14) *tî-ḫi ga-ki-ri* ša *Mar-ti-a*
 15) DUMU *I-dî-in*-^dA-šûr *tî-ḫi g[a-ki-ri zi-ti]*
 16) ša *A-ba-ba* DUMU *I-dî-in*-^d[*A-šûr*]
 17) 'ù *tî-ḫi*¹ *ri-be-tim*

kunuk Dadija me[ra^o Akuza]
[ku]nuk Rêš[ija] 'mera^o Nimaja¹
[kunuk] 'Ba¹[ga]ja mera^o Puḫija
[kunuk Adad-asû mera^o Amur-
rabussa]
[kunuk Zabû-qarrād mera^o Ilum-
rabî]
[kunuk Anu-šar]-[ilî mera^o].[. . .]
[kunuk Nabî-um-q]arrād tupšarrim
[1 šubat . . .] qaqqer[ē]
[paši-ūti]m zitti Iddi[n-Aššur]
[merim rabim u] Maši-ilū mer[ē]
[Šamaš]-mušêlî ša tîḫî
bît Šumu-libši mera^o [Dada]
tîḫî bît Ikûnaja mera^o Ku[bija]
tîḫî qaqqerē ša Martija
mera^o Iddin-Aššur tîḫî q[aqqerē zitti]
ša Apapa mera^o Iddin-[Aššur]
'u tîḫî¹ rîbitim

(Lower Edge)

[perhaps (seal G)]

- 18) [*a-na si-me*]-*im a-n*[a 3 MA.NA
 KUG.BABBAR]

[*ana šimi*]m an[a 3 mana^oē kaspim]

(Reverse)

- 19) [*tî-ri*] ^mI-*dî-in*-^dA-[*šûr*]

[*tiri?*] Iddin-A[ššur]

- 38) Before Dadija son of Akuza.
- 39) Before Rêšija son of Nimaja.
- 40) Before Bagaja son of Puḫija.
- 41) Before Adad-asû son of Amur-rabussa.

- 42) Before Zabû-qarrād son of Ilum-rabî.
- 43) Before Anu-šar-ilî.
- 44) Before Nabîum-qarrād, the scribe.
- 45) Month of Bêlat-ekallim.

(Upper Edge)

- 46) Eponym
- 47) Qîš-Amurrim
- 48) son of Apapa.

ENVELOPE

- 1) Seal of Dadija son of Akuza.
- 2) Seal of Rêšija son of Nimaja.
- 3) Seal of Bagaja son of Puḫija.
- 4) Seal of Adad-asû son of Amur-rabussa.
- 5) Seal of Zabû-qarrād son of Ilum-rabî.
- 6) Seal of Anu-šar-ilî son of
- 7) Seal of Nabîum-qarrād, the scribe.
- 8) One vacant lot,
- 9) (constituting) the inherited share of Iddin-Aššur
- 10) the elder son and of Mašî-ilû (the younger son), sons of
- 11) Šamaš-mušêlî—which is adjacent
- 12) to the house of Šumu-libšî son of Dada,
- 13) adjacent to the house of Ikûnaja son of Kubija,
- 14) adjacent to the lot of Martija
- 15) son of Iddin-Aššur, adjacent to the lot (constituting) the inherited share
- 16) of Apapa son of Iddin-Aššur,
- 17) and adjacent to the (city) square—

(Lower Edge)

- 18) for three minas of silver,

(Reverse)

- 19) Iddin-Aššur

- 20) DUMU.GAL ù ^mMa-zi-[DINGIR.ME.EŠ] *mer^uum rabi^ujum u Mašⁱ-[ilū]*
(Seal D)
- 21) DUMU.ME.EŠ ^dUTU-mu-si-li DUMU [. . .] *mer^u Šamaš-mušēlī mera^u [. . .]*
22) *a-na* ^mdUTU-tāk-lā-ku *ana Šamaš-taklāku*
23) DUMU ARĀD-^dSi-ru-a i-[^dtī-nu-ma] *mera^u Warad-Šeru^a i[^ddinūma]*
24) ù-ša-áb-be-ú-[šú] *ušappi^u-ū[šú]*
25) *a-na* 1 ŠU.BAT LÁ [LUM? GÍN? *ga-ki-ri*] *ana 1 šubat . . . [. . . qaqqerē]*
26) *šu-nu-ti* ù 3 M[A.NA KUG.BABBAR] *šunuti u 3 m[ana^uē kaspim]*
27) *tī-ri si-me-šu-[nu* ^mI-^dtī-in-^dA-šūr] *tiri? šmišu[nu Iddin-Aššur]*
28) DUMU.GAL ù ^m[Ma-z]i-DINGIR.ME.E[Š] *mer^uum rabi^ujum u [Mašⁱ]-ilū*
29) DUMU.ME.EŠ ^dUTU-mu-si-li *mer^u Šamaš-mušēlī*
30) [DUMU . . .] ù DUMU.ME.EŠ-šu-nu *[mera^u . . .] u mer^uūšunu*
31) [ma]-ma-an *a-na* ^mdUTU-tāk-lā-k[u] *[ma]mman ana Šamaš-taklāk[u]*
32) DUMU ARĀD-^dSi-ru-a ù DUMU.M[E.EŠ-šú] *mera^u Warad-Šeru^a u mer^u[ēšú]*
(Seal C)
- 33) ù-lá i-du-ru ITU ^dNI[N-É.GAL] *ulā iturru waraḥ Bēl[at-ekallim]*
34) *li-mu-um* ^mKi-iš-^d[MAR.DU] *limum Qiš-[Amurrim]*
35) DUMU A-ba-b[a] *mera^u Apap[a]*

V. NOTES TO THE TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Line 1 of the tablet and the parallel lines 25 of the tablet and 8 and 25 of the envelope form the main crux of the whole text. The pertinent six signs are: One vertical wedge, which can stand for a determinative of personal names or the cardinal numeral one. Next follow clearly the signs ŠU and BE, the latter with the reading *bat* on the basis of the spelling 1 *šu-ba-at* in an unpublished Assur text, discussed below. The fourth sign is clearly LÁ. The fifth sign, consisting of six wedges ordered in three rows of two wedges each, looks like the HUM sign of the Ur III texts, which often differentiate between the form with six wedges (as in our text), having the value HUM, and the form with nine or more wedges, having the value LUM. In the Cappadocian texts, the fraction $\frac{1}{6}$ is written with six wedges ordered in two rows of three wedges each, the LUM sign does not occur, and the ZUM sign is written usually with eight or more wedges ordered in two rows of four or more wedges each. An interpretation of the fifth sign as an abbreviated form of SIG,

might also be considered. The form of the sixth sign is closest to GÍN. The reading of this sign as É is not in agreement with the forms of É in other parts of our text, as in lines 7 and 9, and the reading of the sign as ù is not in agreement with the form of ù in lines 13, 15, 19, 24, 27, 29, 31, and 34. What we expect to find in the six signs is either the description of the property or its measurements. In the first case, we should consider some such translation as "one residence" (of a certain type or in a certain location); in the second, favored by Professor Landsberger, the spellings ŠU.BAT and GÍN, preceded by numbers, would stand for some measures of area of unknown extent. The difficulties surrounding the interpretation of the six signs are surprising, since they were copied clearly by the ancient scribe; their solution is probably quite simple, but for the time being it must await further evidence from the texts of similar type which may come to light unexpectedly in the Assyriological collections scattered throughout the world.

The closest parallels to *qaqqurū pašⁱūtūm* of lines 1 f. are found in two

20) the elder son and Mašī-ilū (the younger son),

21) sons of Šamaš-mušēlī son of [. . .],

22) to Šamaš-taklāku

23) son of Warad-Šeru^a sold and

24) satisfied? him.

25) In respect to one . . . this lot

26) and three minas of . . . silver,

27) their price, Iddin-Aššur

28) the elder son and Mašī-ilū (the younger son),

29) sons of Šamaš-mušēlī

30) [son of . . .], and their sons,

31) nobody, against Šamaš-taklāku

32) son of Warad-Šeru^a and his sons

33) will lay claim. Month of Bêlat-ekallim.

34) Eponym Qiš-Amurrim

35) son of Apapa.

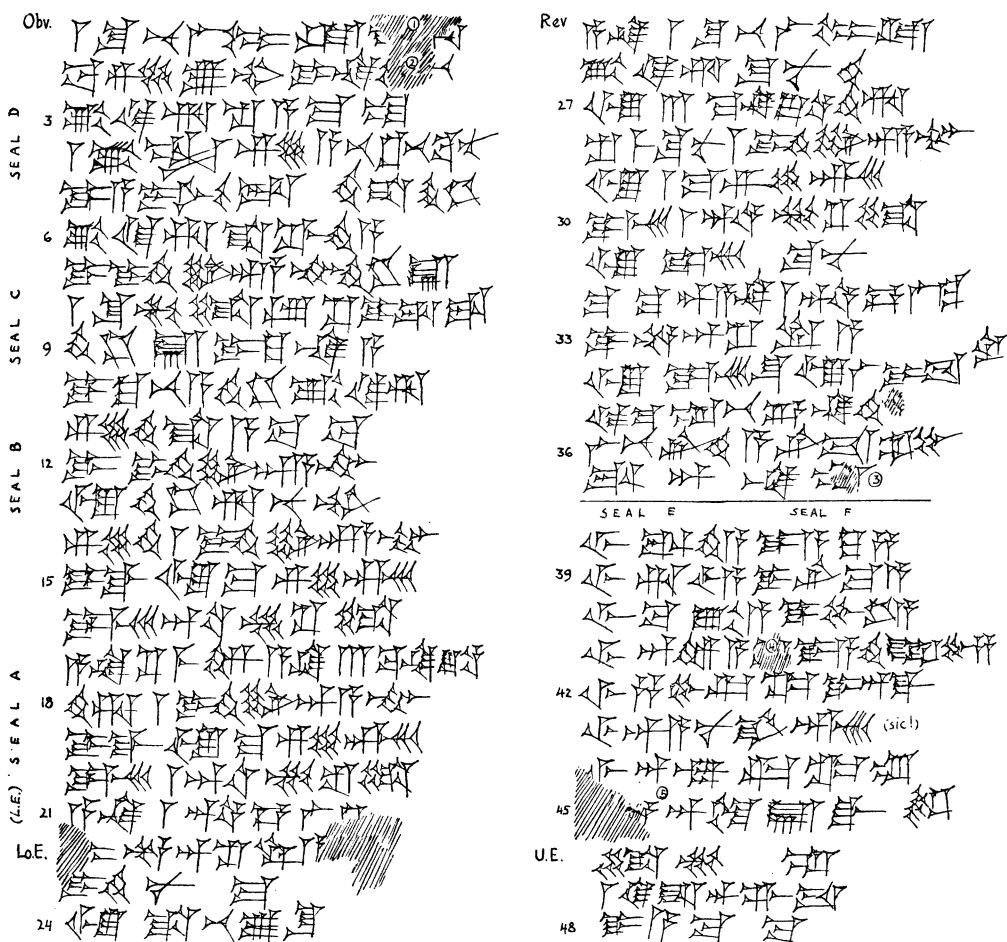
Middle Assyrian texts: *Bîtu epšu adi 2 dalaťêšu u qaqqurū paši-utu ša qabal āli* . . . “a built house with two doors and *q. p.* (situated) in the middle of the city . . .” (*KAJ* 174:2 f.) and *ina qaqqirī paši-uti ebirtān ugār āli* . . . “in the *q. p.* (situated) on the other side of the fields of the city . . .” (175:2 f.). The meaning of *q. p.* is evidently “clear grounds,” meaning “a vacant lot,” in the case of *q. p.* located in a city, and “fallow land,” i.e., “non-cultivated land,” in the case of *q. p.* mentioned in connection with fields lying outside of a city. The latter meaning is clearly implied in the phrase *eqlam* (A.ŠÀ) *paši-am* occurring in two Old Babylonian texts, one published by Sollberger in *JCS* V 82 MAH 16010:8 and translated by Szlechter, *op. cit.* VII 95 f., and the other published in *VAS* VII 63:20. In the New Assyrian period an expression *qaq-qir pu-ši-e* (Johns, *ADD* 351:3; 356:10), *qaq-qir pu-ši* (358:4), or *qaq-qi-ri pu-ši-e* (352:4, 6; 353:3; 354:7, rev. 5; 355:4 ff.; 356:3 f.; 357:5; 443:11; *TCL* IX 58:31; *AJSL* XLII 246 rev. 17) occurs, which seems to be parallel in meaning to the Old and Middle Assyrian

qaqqurū paši-utu(m). Cf. also . . . *ināti pu-ši-e* in Johns, *ADD* 386:6.

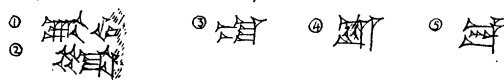
No good interpretation can be offered if we read line 4 as ^m*Ga-al-zi a-be KIL-be-ba/zu-nu* in accordance with the signs as they were copied by the ancient scribe on the tablet. The solution of the dilemma came unexpectedly from a parallel construction found in a Middle Assyrian text *KAJ* 149:6, reading *ina ši-amāt PN abi abišu* “(fields) from the acquisitions of PN, his grandfather.” Thus we must apparently draw the conclusion that the scribe of our text miscopied *a* for what looks like *KIL* and *šu* for *ba/zu*.

The determinative of personal names is used very erratically in our text. The discrepancies appear both on the tablet and the envelope, with some names occurring with the determinative and others without it; furthermore, some names marked with the determinative on the tablet, as in lines 8, 20, and 30, occur without the determinative on the envelope, as in lines 12, 21, and 29.

The name *A-i-gu-da-di* in line 5 stands for Aji-qudādī, meaning “where is my



From impression on inner side of Case :



Seal A:

⁴na-ri[a-am]
-[²e]n.[zu]

Seal B:

za-bu-[ur.sag]
dumu din[ur-gal]

FIG. 1.—Hand copy of the cuneiform tablet MAH 15962

PLATE XXVII



PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CUNEIFORM TABLET MAH 15962 OBTVERSE

PLATE XXVIII



PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CUNEIFORM TABLET MAH 15962 REVERSE

baby?" The names Qudādī and Qudādum appear in *MAD* III 225.

The transliterated *A-ba-ba* in lines 11 and 48 is interpreted as Apapa on the basis of the spelling *A-pa-pa* in Middle Assyrian texts *KAJ* 42:15, 56:22, 66:5, etc.

The sign UTU in ^dUTU-*mu-si-li* and ^dUTU-*tāk-lá-ku* is written as UD in lines 16 and 20 of the tablet and in lines 21, 22, 29, and 31 of the envelope, but as ZALÁG in lines 21, 30, and 32 of the tablet. Also in KUG.BABBAR in lines 17 and 27 of the tablet the second sign has the form of ZALÁG, not UD.

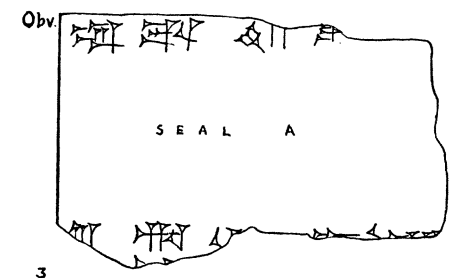
The price of the real estate sold is given in lines 17 f. and 27 as 3 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR *tí-ri*. The occurrences of KUG.BABBAR *tí-ri* in the Old and Middle Assyrian texts were discussed by Gelb in *OIP* XXVII 38; the etymology and meaning of *tí-ri* are still unknown. Owing to the scarcity of material in the Old and Middle Assyrian period which might shed light on the prices of real estate, the only material which can be quoted here comes from the New Assyrian period. Cf. e.g.: 32 shekels of silver for a field, *qaq-qi-ri pu-ši-e*, and an orchard (Johns, *ADD* 354); 8 minas of bronze for *qaq-qi-ri pu-ši-e* (356); 5½ minas of silver for a house, *qaq-qi-ri pu-ši-e* (357); 6 minas of silver for a field, house, *qaq-qi-ri [pu-ši-e]* (434). Prices for houses are: 2 minas of silver (325), 3⅔ minas of silver (328), 20? shekels of silver (329), 4 minas of silver (331), 2½ minas of silver (340), and 3½ minas of silver (349). The price of a house is given as 5 talents of tin in the Middle Assyrian text published in *KAJ* 145; this price may be compared with [x] talents of tin paid for a house and *qaqqurū paši-ūtu* in the Middle Assyrian text discussed above (*KAJ* 174).

The formula *iddinma ušappi* occurs often in the Middle Assyrian texts dis-

cussed by Koschaker, *Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit* pp. 28 ff. and Ebeling, *Urkunden des Archivs von Assur aus mittellassyrischer Zeit* (= *MAOG* VIII 1/2) p. 58 n. h. The spelling with *pi* in the second word is clearly indicated by *KAJ* 147:12, 169:12, and 175:31, while other parallel texts have *bi*, as in *KAJ* 79:13, 148:18, 149:12, etc. The exact meaning of the verb and its relation to the Old Assyrian *šabbu-um* or *šappu-um* remain to be determined.

The name *Za-bu-UR.SAG* in line 42, meaning "Zabû is a hero," must have been borne by a person with a Babylonian background. Cf. *Za-bi-um* and *Za-bu-um*, the name of the third king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and the compound names *Za-bi-um-a-bi*, *Za-bi-um-ilī*, all listed in Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names* p. 178. The interpretation of our name as *A!-bu-UR.SAG*, with ZA = A, is distinctly less plausible.

The name of the eponym is written *Ki-iš-^dMAR.DU* in line 47 of the tablet and line 34 of the envelope. The name can be interpreted in several different ways. The first part can be read either as *Ki-iš* = *qîš* or *Ki-mil* = *gimil*. The existence of the name *Ki-iš-^dMAR.TU* in the Middle Assyrian texts *KAJ* 65:4, 13 and 161:4, 8, 13, 20, where the sign KĪ cannot have the value *gi*, favors the first interpretation. The divine name written ^dMAR.DU can be interpreted either by taking the writing to stand for Martu, the Sumerian form of Amurru, or by assuming that the spelling ^dMAR.DU stands for Old Babylonian ^dMAR.TU, in a parallel development to the spelling ĤA.LÁ in line 9 of the envelope standing for the Old Babylonian ĤA.LA. Further parallels can be found in the case of Old Assyrian spellings KUG.KĪ and ĪR for KUG.GĪ and ĪR, respectively. In favor of the interpretation Qîš-Amurru, rather than Qîš-Martu, cf. also *Ki-iš-A-*



3

6

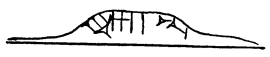
9

12

15

Lo.E

18



Seal A:

d ^h na-ra-am	... d ASAR ⁽¹⁾
-d EN-ZU	.....
LUGAL	.....
ki-ib-ra-lim	.....
ar-ba-im	.....

FIG. 2.—Hand copy of the envelope MAH 16213

PLATE XXIX



PHOTOGRAPH OF THE ENVELOPE MAH 16213

mu-ur-ri, *Ki-iš-ta-mur-ri* = Qiš-Amurri, Qiš(i)-Amurri, respectively, in Gelb, Purves, MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* p. 313.

VI. CONTENT OF THE TEXT

The content of the text is clear. Iddin-Aššur the elder son and Mašī-ilū (the younger son), both sons of Šamaš-mušēlī, sold a city lot to Šamaš-taklāku son of Warad-Šeru'a. The lot forms part of their inheritance which at one time had been acquired by Galzi son of Aji-qudādī, their grandfather. Neither the kind of lot nor its size can be ascertained at present. The lot is described as being adjacent to the city square and to the lots and houses belonging to four different persons. The price of the lot is given as three minas of a certain kind of silver. Next follows the standard legal formula stating that the sellers, namely Iddin-Aššur and Mašī-ilū, as well as their sons, have no right to lay claim against the buyer, namely Šamaš-taklāku, in respect to the lot sold and the three minas of silver. The formula stating that "this tablet is valid in place of the older valid tablet" means that another sale document must have been made some time in the past. The present document ends with a list of seven witnesses, including the scribe, and a date, giving the name of the month and of the eponym.

Although the tablet and the envelope cover the subject in substantially the same order and the same phraseology, there are some differences which merit mentioning. Among the important differences we note: In agreement with the standard procedure in the Old Assyrian (Cappadocian) texts, the names of the witnesses, preceded by *IGI*, "before," are listed at the end of the text on the tablet, but, preceded by *KIŠIB*, "seal," they are listed at the beginning of the text on the envelope. The five locations adjacent to

the lot being sold are listed in different order on the tablet and the envelope. The statement about the lot constituting the inheritance of Iddin-Aššur and Mašī-ilū appears on the tablet in lines 14–16, after the description of the location of the lot, but it comes in lines 9–10 of the envelope, before the description of the location; note also the difference in the spelling *zi-ti* on the tablet and *ḪA.LÁ* on the envelope. Lines 2–5 of the tablet, referring to the lot as constituting part of the acquisitions of Galzi, and lines 35–37, referring to the existence of an older tablet, are omitted on the envelope. Among differences of lesser importance the following can be noted: While *UTU-mu-si-li* is quoted without paternity in line 20 of the tablet, we find in line 6 of the envelope that this name is followed by *DUMU* [...]; to judge from space conditions in line 30 of the envelope, the name of the father of *UTU-mu-si-li* was written with no more than two signs. Instead of *ù-ša-be-ú-šu* in line 24 of the tablet, line 24 of the envelope reads *ù-ša-ab-be-ú-[šu]*. The apposition *DUMU.GAL* in line 28 of the envelope is omitted in line 28 of the tablet. The witness *A-mu-LUGAL-DINGIR.ME.EŠ* is quoted without paternity in line 43 of the tablet, while in line 6 of the envelope we find *DUMU x-[...]* added after this name.

VII. DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE TEXT

As there is no doubt that our text is written in the Assyrian, not Babylonian, dialect, the question to be established is the exact place of the text within the frame of Assyrian chronology. As stated at the beginning of this paper, our text, while resembling in many respects the texts of the standard Old Assyrian type, differs from them in several other respects. On the other hand, the new text is not of the Middle Assyrian type, as best known

to us from the texts published in the *KAJ*. Obviously, our text represents a new type to be placed chronologically somewhere in between the standard Old Assyrian period and Middle Assyrian.

In the system of writing the new text follows generally the rules of Old Assyrian. Note, e.g., the use of BA (no PA), GA (no KA, QA), DU (no TU), ME (no MI), and SI (only once ŠI, see below); also in the exclusive use of ÁB, BE, LÁ, and TÍ (which are much more common in the Old Assyrian texts than AB, BI, LA, and TI, respectively), the new texts follow the Old Assyrian practice. The spelling of *Ri-ši-a*, *Pu-ḫi-a*, etc. (lines 39 f.), with A and not IA, is strictly Old Assyrian; in Middle Assyrian these names would be spelled *Ri-ši-ia*, *Pu-ḫi-ia*, etc. The syllabic values BE = *bat* and LUM = *lum/hum* (if reading correct) are unknown in Old Assyrian. The Old Assyrian syllabic orthography, with its inability to indicate the difference between voiced, voiceless, and emphatic phonemes, is strictly followed in our text, in contrast to Middle Assyrian, which has developed signs to differentiate the three sets of consonantal phonemes. Epigraphically our text uses forms of signs which are almost indistinguishable from those in Old Assyrian; only the sign DINGIR has a form (as in New Assyrian) which seems to be unknown in Old Assyrian.

In contrast to the close agreement in respect to the system of writing between our text and the Old Assyrian texts, the differences between the two in other respects are quite numerous. First of all we note that our text represents a real estate contract, i.e., a type which is unknown in Old Assyrian. Some Old Assyrian texts refer to real estate, such as the texts discussed in Eisser and Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe I* (= MVAG XXXIII) Nos. 9 and 215, but only within the frame of other con-

tractual agreements. Certain legal formulaic expressions, such as *iddinma ušappû* (lines 23 f.) and *tuppum dannatum* (lines 35 and 37) are equally unknown in Old Assyrian. In the field of grammar we note the lack of mimation in the case of DUB-be *dan-na-tí lá-be-ir-tí a-ni-du* DUB-pu (lines 35 f.), while in all other cases the rules of mimation are observed rigorously. *Tuppum* is of feminine gender in our text (lines 35 ff.), as it is in Middle Assyrian, while this word is of masculine gender in Old Assyrian (cf. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* [= OIP XXVII] p. 59 n. 3). In respect to the three general characteristics of the Old Assyrian tablets, namely the slanting wedges, the division mark, and the dividing lines (cf. *op. cit.* p. 9), the new text follows Old Assyrian only in respect to dividing lines, which are generally not used in the Middle Assyrian period. Double consonants are written singly, as in Old Assyrian, with the exception of *da-an-na-at* (line 37) and *ù-ša-ab-be-ú-[šu]* (envelope line 24, contrasting with *ù-ša-be-ú-šu* on tablet line 24). Contrary to Old Assyrian, where šr has only the syllabic value *lim* (with the exception of the pseudo-logographic ^dUTU.ŠI), our text shows šr with the value *ši* in *Ri-ši-a* (line 39). Under the logographic spellings we note DUMU.GAL (lines 15 and 19), DUMU.ME.EŠ (lines 16, 20, 30, 31, 34), and DINGIR.ME.EŠ (lines 15, 29, 43), which are spelled syllabically in Old Assyrian; ḪA.LÁ (envelope line 9), A.ZU (line 41), UR.SAG (lines 42 and 44), and ^dAG (line 44), which are unknown in Old Assyrian; ITU (line 45), which is written ITU.KAM or ITU.I.KAM in Old Assyrian; and ^dNIN-É.GAL (line 45), the first element of which is spelled syllabically in Old Assyrian. The use of the determinative of plural ME.EŠ (lines 15, 16, 20, 29, 30, 31, 34, 43) and of personal names (*passim*) is unknown in Old Assyrian (cf. Gelb, *op.*

cit. pp. 41 and 50 f.). Finally, we should note the occurrence of the divine names Šeru^a (lines 22, 33) and Nabî^{um} (line 44) and of the eponym Qîš-Amurrim (line 47), which are not attested anywhere in the Old Assyrian texts (for lists of eponyms cf. Kemal Balkan, *Observations on the Chronological Problems of the Kārum Kaniš*).

Thus the conclusion that the new text falls within the period lying between the standard Old Assyrian (Cappadocian) and Middle Assyrian is obvious. Equally safe is the conclusion that our text must be dated much closer to the standard Old Assyrian period than to the Middle Assyrian period (as known to us mainly from the *KAJ* texts). The system of writing and epigraphic considerations, in which the new text follows rather faithfully the conventions of Old Assyrian, as well as the rather careful use of mimation, which disappeared entirely in the Middle Assyrian period, seem to support the conclusion that our text is younger by no more than a few generations than the standard Old Assyrian documents. That some names of witnesses, such as Zabû-qarrād, Nabî^{um}-qarrād, and perhaps others, have a Babylonian rather than an Assyrian background, should be noted, although no apparent conclusions as to the date of our text can be drawn therefrom. No help for the dating of the text can be obtained from the name of the eponym Qîš-Amurrim, since such an eponym is not attested in any known source. All the seal impressions appearing on the tablet and the envelope are dated to the Old Babylonian period, with the exception of seal A, dedicated to Narâm-Sin, who must be identified with Narâm-Sin of Akkad, rather than with Narâm-Sin of

Ešnunna, on the basis of the use of a title ("king of the four quarters") as well as epigraphic and iconographic considerations. Similar cases of re-use of older seals, although not too frequent, can be attested elsewhere.

Not much information can be obtained from our text as to its place of origin. Since real estate contracts are unknown among the Old Assyrian texts of so-called "Cappadocian" provenience, we must assume that our text originated in an area outside of Anatolia. From the occurrence of *ri-be-tim* "(city) square" in line 13, we can draw the conclusion that the real estate described in the text must have been situated in a city. We can only suggest that Assur, the city in which so many important epigraphic finds of the Old and Middle Assyrian periods have been made in the past, appears as the most likely candidate for the place of origin of our text.

After the major part of this paper had been written, I was informed by Professor Landsberger that Dr. Franz Köcher of the Berlin Museum had discovered a text in the Berlin Museum similar in type to the one here published. It is said definitely to come from the German excavations at Assur. The Berlin text, reading 1 *šu-ba-at* in line 1, assures the reading 1 *šu-bat* for 1 ŠU.BE of our text. It seems to provide no solution to the crux of line 1 discussed above on p. 168. The eponym mentioned in the Berlin text is unknown in the Old Assyrian sources. As for the rest of the text, we must await Köcher's publication.

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The Name of the Goddess Innin

Author(s): I. J. Gelb

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Apr., 1960), pp. 72-79

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](http://www.uchicago.edu)

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THE NAME OF THE GODDESS INNIN

I. J. GELB

AS FAR as I can survey the vast Assyriological literature, the name of the famous Sumerian goddess, accepted in the course of time into the Akkadian pantheon and identified with the well-known Semitic goddess Ištar, has been generally interpreted as Inanna, Innana, Ninni, etc., and derived from the Sumerian *Nin-anna*, meaning "the lady of heaven." Cf., e.g.:

Nom sumérien d'*Ištar*. C'était sans doute un nom composé, puisqu'on le trouve fréquemment suivi du suffixe du génitif. *Innana* est apparemment pour *Nin-ana* "la dame du ciel" (comparer le dialectal *Gašan-an-na*) (Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* I [1910] p. 61 and n. 6).

Secundum Thur. Dg. CL p. 61 nom. šumer. ab initio erat: *Nin-an-na*, quae dea se habebat ad *Anu* sicut *Nin-lil* ad *En-lil*, *Nin-ki* ad *En-ki*; et sicut ex *Nin-šušinak* fiebat *In-šušinak*, sic ex *Nin-an-na* *Inana* etc. (Deimel, *PB* [1914] No. 1617).

Au cours de l'histoire, le nom de cette déesse (= ^dNinni) sera écrit et prononcé de plusieurs manières: *In-na-na*, *In-na-an-na*, *In-nin*, *En-nin*. A l'origine, on disait sans doute *Nin-an-na* "la dame d'An ou du ciel" (Jean, *La religion sumérienne* [Paris, 1931] p. 62).

In-nin, *In-ni-na*, *In-nin-na*, *In-nin-ni*, *In-nin-nu*, *Ir-ni-na* s. d., aus *Nin-an-na* entstanden (siehe LC p. 61 f.; Babyl. XV 45) "Herrin des Himmels," sumerische Namen der Ištar (Tallqvist, *AGE* [1938] p. 328).

In-nin ist eine besonders in altbabylonischen Texten häufig belegte Schreibung für *nin-anna* > *in-anna*, falls dieses appellativisch gebraucht ist (Falkenstein, *ZA* XLIX [1949] 126). The translation "die Himmelsheerin" is given *ibid.* p. 107:13 and elsewhere.

Forme primitive (d'*Innina*-*Ninni* est) *Nin-anna* (dialectale *Gašan-an-na*) "Dame du

ciel" (Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* [Paris, 1949] p. 89).

Inanna, aussi *Ininna*, *Ninni*, etc., variantes probables d'un prototype *Nin. anna*: "Dame du Ciel" (Bottéro, *La religion babylonienne* [Paris 1952] p. 37).

As for the bride, *Inannak*, her name developed from *Nin-an-ak* (cf. *MDP* XVIII 57, in which *Ur-^dINANNA* is spelled out as *ur-ni-in-[na]-na*, and the variant forms *Nin-Šušinak*/*In-Šušinak*, *Nin-urta*/*Inušt*), would appear to have meant originally "the lady of the date clusters" (*an* : *sissinnu*, later reinterpreted as *an* : *šamû*) (Jacobsen, *ZA* LII [1957] 108 n. 32; cf. also p. 109 n. 36).

Apparently the fact that for some years now I have been reading the name of the Sumerian goddess as *Innin* (cf., e.g., *MAD* I p. 230 and *FM* p. 333) has been left unnoticed in Assyriological literature; at least I have not noted one single review of my publications on Old Akkadian texts, in which the interpretation as *Innin* has either been questioned or commented upon. Here in Chicago, in my own bailiwick, the Nippur Expedition helped to spread the name of *Inanna* and the glories of the temple of *Inanna*, uncovered at Nippur, to the far corners of the world.

It is my firm conviction that both the reading of the name of the Sumerian goddess as *Inanna*, *Ninni*, etc., and its interpretation as "the lady of heaven," now current in Assyriological literature, are false and unwarranted. I shall try in the following pages first to present the evidence bearing on the subject and then to follow it up with discussion. The evidence here gathered is ordered under two headings: A. Occurrences in lexical texts and

explanatory lists of DN's; B. Occurrences and B is in accordance with the grouping in other texts, including non-explanatory of the evidence presented in the chart on lists of DN's. The numeration used in A p. 76.

A. OCCURRENCES IN LEXICAL TEXTS AND EXPLANATORY LISTS OF DN'S

1. ^dINNIN: ^dINNIN / ^dIštar (KAV 63:17).
2. ^dIn-nin: ^dIn-nin_[INNIN] (CT XXV 18 ii 30).
4. ^dIn-ni-na: Ni-in / INNIN / šá ^dIn-ni-na šu-ma (CT XII 11 rev. i 25).
^dKará-šul / ^dIn-ni-na (RA X 81 i 4). Cf. ^dKár-dun, ^dKar-dun =
Ištar ša qarrādi in Deimel, PB Nos. 1680, 1678.
- I-ni-en-na*: The PN's Ur-INNIN and Ur-^dINNIN are spelled syllabically as
Ur-ri-ni-en-na and Ur-Ni-in-^{na} in an OB school text
(MDP XVIII 57).
7. En-nin: En-nin / INNIN / ^dIštar (CT XII 11 rev. i 26).
8. ^dEn-ni-na: ^dEn-ni-na / KI.MIN (= ^dIštar) (KAV 173:10).
^dEn¹-ni-na / K[I.MIN] (KAV 48 ii 6').
9. ^dIn-na-na: ^dIn-na-na_[INNIN] / ^dIštar ša te-bi-ib-[te] (CT XXV 30:14).
in-na-na: e-še-me-in / KI.E.NE.DI.^dINNIN / ki e ni sa-al-kud in-na-na-ku / me-
lul-tú šá ^dIštar (CT XI 47 iv 15; 50:8).
di-ig-b[i-ir] / KI.]NE.^dINNIN / ki i-zi in-na-na-ku / a-šur? pi-in-
d[i]? (CT XI 50:26).
ní(g)-id-ba / ŠUKU.^dINNIN / šu-ku-um in-na-nak-ku / ni-in-da-bu-u
(PBS V 106 iii 15 + JRAS 1905 Pl. after p. 829 i 5'). Cf. also
ni-id-ba / ŠUKU.^dINNIN / ni-in-da-bu-u (AOF XVII 120).
- in-na-an-na: ú-ku-ur-rim / EN.ME.^dINNIN / en me-e in-na-an-na-ku / [e-nu ša
^dIštar] (CT XI 49:6).
10. Na-na: URU.KI.ÁG. ^dINNIN / Rak-na-na (II R 48 ii 16).
[URU.KI.]ÁG ^dINNIN^{KI} / Ra-ak-na-na (II R 50:67).
11. Ni-in: Ni-in / INNIN / šá ^dIn-ni-na šu-ma (CT XII 11 rev. i 25).
Ni-in / MIN (= ^dIštar 1. 27).
- Nin: Cf. the Ur III PN written Ur-^dINNIN-da (YOS IV 43 seal) with
Ur-^dNin-da (1. 4). For ^dNin-da see Deimel, PB No. 2483.
12. ni-in-ni: ŠUKU.nt-in-nt ^dIN[NIN] / ni-in-da-bu-ú] (II R 39:63ab = CT
XIX 15).
13. ^d[Nin]¹-ni-na: ^d[Nin]¹-ni-na / K[I.MIN] (= ^dIštar) (KAV 48 ii 5').
14. ^dNin-an-na: ^dNin-an-na / ^dIštar (KAV 173:8).
^d[Ni]n-an-na / K[I.MIN] (KAV 48:4').
^dNin-an-na / ŠU (KAV 50 iii 12, beside ^dEn-an-na in 1. 11; CT
XXIV 4:19 = III R 69:23b, beside ^dEn-an-na).
^d[] / ^dNin-an-na / ^dIštar MUL (CT XXV 31:16). Cf. Sum.
^dGašan-an-na = Akk. ^dIštar (Reisner, SBH p. 134:5 f.; 136:
17 f.; and more in Deimel, PB No. 485) and ^dGašan-an-na /
^dINNIN / ^dIš-tar (Zimmern, Abh. der philol.-hist. Kl. der K.
Sächs. Ges. der Wiss. XXVII [1909] 707, 711, and 714, = MSL
IV p. 8:81), in which ^dINNIN is identified with ^dIš-tar and
^dGašan-an-na, the latter being the Emesal form of ^dNin-an-na.

15. *Ni-in-na-na*: See above under 4. *I-ni-en-na*.
 16. *Ir-ni-na*: *Ir-ni-na* / KL.MIN (= [*Ir-tar*]) (*CT* XXV 44, Sm. 1558:5; cf. also Pl. 17 ii 11).
Ir-ni-na / U.¹GUR¹ (*AKF* II 73:26 and n. 9, reconstructed on the basis of *KAV* 63 iii 22 and 65 iii 8).
IGI.KUR.ZA / *Ir-ni-na* (*CT* XXV 8:12). For *IGI.KUR.ZA* "under-world" cf. *MAOG* III/3 pp. 8 f.

B. OCCURRENCES IN OTHER TEXTS, INCLUDING NON-EXPLANATORY LISTS OF DN's

1. *innin*: In lists of DN's, from the Fara period on. Cf., e.g., Deimel, *Fara* II 1:3; *AKF* II 4:5, Ur III; *RA* XX 98 v 5 f., 14 ff., 18, OB; etc.
 In compound PN's, from the Fara period on. Cf., e.g., *Ur-innin* in Deimel, *Fara* III p. 34*; *MAD* I p. 230 and *FM* p. 333, both Sargonic; Schneider, *AnOr* XIX No. 206, Ur III; etc.
 In other texts, from the Pre-Sargonic period on. Cf., e.g., for the earlier periods Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI*, p. 265; Jean, *La religion sumérienne* pp. 62-67; Schneider, *AnOr* XIX No. 206; for the later periods cf. Deimel, *PB* No. 1617; Tallqvist, *AGE* p. 328.
2. *in-nin*: In Sargonic PN's:
In-nin-la-ba (*HSS* X 211:15; Kish 1931, 122 rev. ii l'; *KAH* II 1:3), with the meaning "Innin is a lion(ess)."
In-nin-sa-tu (*MDP* II MO C xvi, D xiv; *RSO* XXXII 93; *MAD* I 163 ii 33), with the meaning "Innin is a mountain."
In-nin-a-na-ak (*HSS* X 107:10; 179:20).
In-nin-me-šum (*MDP* II MO A vii).
- in-nin*: *RA* XX 98 v 11, OB list of DN's, also *innin* in ll. 5 f., 14 ff., 18. Said of Lamaštu (*ZA* XVI 154:12 = *PBS* I/2 113:5; *ZA* XVI 160 ii 29: 178 iii 7 = Haupt, *ASKT* p. 94 iii 61).
TCL VI 51:17, rev. 13, 27, NB incantation, = *innin* . . . *Ir-tar* MUL in l. 14.
 Passim in NB PN's (Tallqvist, *NBNB* p. 79; *BIN* II pp. 67 f., etc.).
- in-nin/nin*: A Sumerian epithet referring to *innin* (Falkenstein, *ZA* XLVIII 105:21 and p. 111 = *CT* XXXVI 33:21; *ZA* XLIX 106:13 and p. 126 = *CT* XXXVI 28:13; *ZA* LII 59:1 and p. 61; *AnOr* XXVIII 68 n. 3).
- in-nin-na-at*: *in-nin-na-at ilāni* said of Ištar (Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung"* p. 128:1 = Perry, *Hymnen an Sin* Pl. IV).
- in-ni-in-nu*: The spellings *in-ni-in-nu*, *i-nin-nu*, *in-ni-nu*, *en-ni-nu*, *en-ni-ni* stand for an Akkadian word for a kind of barley, corresponding

to the Sumerogram (še.)IN.NU.ĜA (cf. *CAD* under *inninu*). We may note, however, that the Akkadian word *inninnu*, etc., may correspond to another Sumerogram, used only in the Sargonic period, namely še.^dINNIN (*FM* 43:3) and ʾš¹E.INNIN (*MAD* I 297:10).

3. ^d(N)in-in: Deimel, *Fara* II 1 iv 18, list of DN's; also ^dINNIN in col. i 3.
mu ^d(N)in-in-na-še in Sum. (*BIN* VIII 158 iv 1).
 Delaporte, *Cat. Louvre* I T 83 = De Sarzec, *Déc.* II Pl. 30, 5b, Sargonic seal.
ITT IV p. 40 No. 7351, Ur III economic.
 In PN *Šu-dNin-in* (*UET* III 1414 x + 5, Ur III economic).
- ^d(N)in-nin: Barton, *HLC* II Pl. 87 No. 89 ii 11, Ur III economic.
4. ^dIn-ni-na: *BE* I 148 i 6' = *ZA* IV 104, Marduk-šāpik-zēri; also ^dIštar in l. 4.
^dIn-nin-na: *RT* XVI 177:7, NA votive, = ^dINNIN MUL.MEŠ *ibid.*
BA II 463:22 = *Babyloniaca* XII p. 9 and Pl. VII i 22, NA, Etana; also ^dIštar in l. 20.
 King, *BMS* No. 1:31 (var. -ni); 5:13 (var. -ni).
 Langdon, *NBKI* p. 276 iii 37; also ^dINNIN in ll. 30 and 34 and ^dIštar in l. 40.
 Passim in NB PN's (*BIN* II p. 68; *TCL* XIII 227:13, 28; etc.).
^dINNIN-na: Passim in NB PN's (*BIN* II p. 68; etc.).
 Vestments brought a-na ^dINNIN-na^{MEŠ} (*TCL* XIII 233:4, NB economic).
5. ^dIn-nin-ni: King, *BMS* No. 1:31 (var. -na); 5:13 (var. -na).
 In NB PN *Ardi-dIn-nin-ni* (Tallqvist, *NBNB* p. 14a = Strassmaier, *Nbn.* 348:18).
6. ^dIn-nin-nu: In NB PN ^dIn-nin-nu-iddin (Tallqvist, *NBNB* p. 79a = Strassmaier, *Nbn.* 900:9).
7. en-ni-na-at: Said of Lamaštu (*ZA* XVI 180 iii 31, variant en-ni-ni-it in *PBS* I/2 113 iii 17). I follow here the interpretation of von Soden, *Orient.* n. s. XXV 241 f., who connects *enninat*, *enninet* with *inninat*, listed above, and translates both words as "sie ist Inninmächtig," against *CAD*, which translates *enninat*, *enninet* as "wrathful" (under **ennenu*) and dissociates it from *inninat* "goddess" (under **innintu*).
 en-ni-nu/ni: See above under in-ni-in-nu.
12. ^dNin-ni: *YOS* IV 152, Ur III seal.
13. ^dNi-in-nin-na: *PBS* I/1 2 ii 42, OB religious.
14. ^dNin-an-na: *RA* XX 95:25, list of DN's, beside ^dEn-an-na in l. 24.
Coll. de Clercq I No. 190, OB seal.
CT XVI 3:95, with a variant ^dNin-na-an-na (*CT* XVII) 47:95, incantation.
 = šar-ra-tum ša [ša-me-e] (*AKF* I 21 ii, 4; cf. also Tallqvist, *AGE* p. 399).
15. ^dNin-na-an-na: *CT* XVII 47:95, with a variant ^dNin-an-na (*CT* XVI 3:95).

16. ^d*Ir-ni-na*: VAS XIII 86 rev. 1, OB econ., with ^d*Še-me-i-tum*. For later occurrences in religious literature, etc., cf. Deimel, *PB* No. 1594, and Tallqvist, *AGE* p. 329.
- ^d*Ir-ni-ni*: Gilgamesh V 6.
For later occurrences in religious literature, etc., cf. Deimel, *PB* No. 1594, and Tallqvist, *AGE* p. 329.

The evidence presented above under A and B can be subsumed conveniently in the following chart:

A	B
1. ^d INNIN	^d INNIN
2. ^d <i>In-nin</i>	<i>I-nin</i> ^d <i>In-nin</i> <i>in-nin/nin₉</i> <i>in-nin-na-at</i> <i>in-ni-in-nu</i> , etc.
3.	^d (N) <i>in-in</i> ^d (N) <i>in-nin</i>
4. ^d <i>In-ni-na</i> <i>I-ni-en-na</i>	^d <i>In-ni-na</i> ^d <i>In-nin-na</i> ^d INNIN-na ^d <i>In-nin-ni</i> ^d <i>In-nin-nu</i> <i>en-ni-na-at</i> , etc. <i>en-ni-nu/ni</i>
5.	
6.	
7. <i>En-nin</i>	
8. ^d <i>En-ni-na</i>	
9. ^d <i>In-na-na</i> <i>in-na-na</i> <i>in-na-an-na</i>	
10. <i>Na-na</i>	
11. <i>Ni-in</i> <i>Nin</i>	
12. <i>ni-in-ni</i>	^d <i>Nin-ni</i>
13. ^d <i>Nin¹-ni-na</i>	^d <i>Ni-in-nin-na</i>
14. ^d <i>Nin-an-na</i>	^d <i>Nin-an-na</i>
15. <i>Ni-in-¹na¹-na</i>	^d <i>Nin-na-an-na</i>
16. ^d <i>Ir-ni-na</i>	^d <i>Ir-ni-ni</i>

The following comments may be offered to the lists of occurrences presented in A and B and to the chart just above:

Ad No. 1. The written sign underlying ^dINNIN was identified with a symbol often found on Mesopotamian cylinder seals, which is said to represent "a gatepost with streamer used in the reed architecture of the earliest inhabitants of the country"

(Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 15). Cf. also Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im Alten Orient*, pp. 49 f.; Deimel, *ŠL* I³ No. 165: "Türpfosten e. Rohrrütte + Türmatte."

Ad No. 2. The evidence here gathered belongs to three different classes: (a) The name of the goddess is spelled out syllabically as ^d*In-nin* and *I-nin*. The spelling *I-nin*, occurring in the Sargonic period, is in accordance with the conventions of the Sargonic system of writing, which as a rule does not indicate long (double) consonants (*MAD* II 57 f.) and permits the omission of the semantic indicator (determinative) with DN's spelled syllabically (*MAD* II 30). (b) The occurrences of ^dINNIN (said of Lamaštu), *in-nin/nin₉* (in Sumerian, said of ^dINNIN), *in-nin-na-at* (said of Ištar), and *en-ni-na-at* (said of Lamaštu) all stand for an appellative noun derived secondarily from the name of the goddess; for parallels cf. *ištarît*, *ištar*, *enlilat*. (c) The Akkadian word *in-ni-in-nu*, *en-ni-nu*, etc., may correspond to the Sumerian *ŠE*. ^dINNIN, used for a kind of barley.

Ad No. 3. The spellings ^dNIN-*in* and ^dNIN-*nin* are probably best explained by taking the sign NIN as (n)*in* or *in₅*, parallel to ^dNIN-*urta* = Inurta, ^dNIN-*Šušinak* = In-Šušinak.

Ad No. 4. The forms with the final -a in Innina, etc., begin to be attested in the post-OB period. Cf. also Nos. 8–10. This a ending, of obscure origin, appears often in the names of gods, especially feminine, of the Mesopotamian pantheon; cf., e.g., Ea (older *Ḫaja*), Gula, Išhara, Mama, Nisaba, etc., listed in *MAD* II 189. The -a

suffix of *I-ni-en-na*, appearing in the OB PN *Ur-ri-ni-en-na*, may stand for the genitival *-a(k)*, so that the whole name may be interpreted as *Ur-Innen-a(k)*. It may be taken for granted that by the New Babylonian period the forms written with the final *-a*, as well as those written with the final *-i* and *-u* (under Nos. 5–6), expressed simply Innin, thus reverting to the form which was prevalent in Babylonia in the older periods. For the graphic rules governing the treatment of the final short vowel in New Babylonian see Hyatt, *YOSR* XXIII 24–28.

Ad Nos. 5–6. See end of preceding paragraph.

Ad Nos. 7–8. Instead of the initial *i*, vowel *e* appears in *En-nin*, *^dEn-ni-na* (both names of the goddess), *en-ni-na-at*, *en-ni-ni-it* (said of Lamaštu), and *en-ni-nu/ni* (an Akkadian word for a kind of barley). The forms with *e* are all late; some may be due to Assyrian influence.

Ad No. 9. In the unique spelling of *^dIn-na-na* for the goddess [INNIN] and in *in-na-na* and *in-na-an-na* known as the names of the sign INNIN we meet for the first time with forms having the vowel *a*, instead of *i*, in the second syllable. The form is badly attested and difficult to explain. The *i* > *a* change may have taken place by assimilation to the final *a* of *Innina*, or the form may have arisen as the result of a confusion of *Innina* with **In-anna* < *Nin-anna* (No. 14) or **In-nan(n)a* < *Nin-nan(n)a* (No. 15).

Ad No. 10. There is no need to waste much time on the unique equation of *Na-na* with ^dINNIN, occurring in URU.KI.-ĀG. ^dINNIN^(KI) = *Rak-na-na*. The obviously corrupt spelling is duplicated in the same context by the equation of URU.KI.-ĀG. ^dMe-me^(KI) with *Ra-ki-mu/ma*. If *Na-na* is actually meant, this form could be explained as the result of a confusion of Innana (see No. 9) with the name of the

well-known goddess *^dNa-na-a* (cf. Deimel, *PB* No. 2264).

Ad No. 11. No constructive comments can be offered to the equation *Ni-in* for ^dINNIN. *Ni-in* may stand simply for *Nin* meaning “lady.”

Ad No. 12. The gloss *ni-in-ni* found with ŠUKU.^dIN[NIN] in A 12 is unique and difficult to explain; what we expect is *nidba* (cf. A 9), or *nidaba*, or *nindaba*. The unique occurrence of *^dNin-ni* on an Ur III seal (B 12) may or may not be pertinent to a discussion of ^dINNIN; it may represent a completely different deity, parallel in form to such names of DN’s as *Na-na*, *Na-an-na*, *Na-ni*, *Nu-nu*, etc.

Ad No. 13. The unique spellings *^{ar}Nin¹?-ni-na* (A 13) and *^dNi-in-nin-na* (B 13) occur in difficult context; they may represent *Nin-Nin(n)a*.

Ad No. 14. As noted above, p. 72, all the different forms of Innin discussed in this article are said to be ultimately derived from the name of the goddess Nin-anna, meaning “the lady of heaven.” The fact that of all the forms of Innin it is the form Inanna that is prevalent today in Assyriological circles testifies to the common acceptance of this derivation, and it is obvious that the form Inanna, nowhere actually attested in the sources, has been picked by scholars not on the basis of usage but etymological reasoning.

The derivation of the forms Innin, Inanna, etc., from Nin-anna is based on three assumptions: (a) The goddess Innin belongs to the Ištar circle, just as the goddess Nin-anna belongs to the same circle. (b) The form *Ni-in-¹na¹-na* (A 15) supports the derivation of Inannak from Nin-an-ak (Jacobsen, *ZA* LII 108 n. 32). (c) The name of the goddess Innana should be derived from Nin-ana because the former is followed frequently by the suffix of the genitive and must therefore be considered

a compound name (Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* I p. 61 and n. 6).

The following comments may be made to these three assumptions. *Ad* (a): The fact that Innin, like Nin-anna, belongs to the Ištar circle (e.g., in *KAV* 48 and 173) is of no consequence for the formal derivation of Innin from Nin-anna; cf., e.g., ^a*Iš-ḫa-ru*, ^a*A-nu-na*, ^a*Tu-ba-ka*, ^a*Ši-du-ri*, and many other feminine divinities (also in *KAV* 48 and 173) listed as belonging to the circle of Ištar. *Ad* (b): It is hard to see in what way the spelling *Ni-in-¹na¹-na* supports the derivation of Inannak from Nin-an-ak, unless we correct the reading of *Ni-in-¹na¹-na* to *Ni-in-¹an¹-na*, which is paleographically inadmissible, or read *Ni-in-¹na¹-na* as *Ī-in-¹na¹-na*, which is improbable in a school text requiring spellings with simple syllabic values. *Ad* (c): The strongest argument in favor of the derivation of Innin, etc., from Nin-anna was provided by Thureau-Dangin, who pointed out that ^a*INNIN* is frequently followed by *-ke₄* and *-ka-ke₄* with the genitival *-k-*, instead of *-né* and *-na-ke₄*. In other words, the written ^a*INNIN* should represent a compound In-ana(k), which would yield *In-an-ak-e*, written ^a*INNIN-ke₄* and, with the double genitive, *In-an-ak-ak-e*, written ^a*INNIN-ka-ke₄*; if ^a*INNIN* were to represent a simple, not a compound, name, the expected forms would be *Innin-e*, written ^a*INNIN-né* and, with the double genitive, *Innin-ak-e*, written ^a*INNIN-na-ke₄*. This is admittedly a powerful argument, but several qualifying statements may be made against it. First of all, the forms with *-k-* occur almost exclusively in the early periods. Next, if the occurrence of the genitival *-k-* indicates that the written ^a*INNIN* represents a compound name, then this compound name could be In-nina(k) or the like, not necessarily In-ana(k). And finally, the use of *-k-* does not have to be interpreted as the genitival

-k-, for it could also stand, at least in the early periods of Sumerian, after a single root ending in *-ŋ*, such as *Inniŋ*, or possibly a compound root, such as *In + niŋ*, (*N*)*in + niŋ*, or the like.

In addition, the following points against the derivation of Innin, etc., from Nin-anna should be noted. The attestation of the goddess Nin-anna in the Mesopotamian sources, in contrast to Innin, is surprisingly limited. The overwhelming evidence collected in this article gives Innin as the oldest and best attested form, which is phonetically far removed from the form Nin-anna. While the phonetic change of *nin* to *in* is fully admissible in Sumerian (cf. p. 76) and the vowel *a* in the second syllable is attested in a few cases discussed on p. 76, there remain two points of phonology which cannot be so easily adjusted: The distribution of single and double consonants in the form Innin and in the secondary form Innina shows double *n* following the first vowel *i* and single *n* following the second vowel *i*, while the distribution of the single and double *n* in Nin-anna is reversed. The oldest and best attested form Innin ends in a consonant, while Nin-anna ends in a vowel *-a*.

Ad No. 15. The unique spelling *Ni-in-¹na¹-na* for ^a*INNIN* occurs in an OB school text (A 4) and it may represent *Nin-Nana*. The spelling ^a*Nin-na-an-na* is found as a variant of ^a*Nin-an-na* and it may be best interpreted as ^a*Nin- <na- > an-na* by taking it as a scribal error; if it is not, then the possibility of interpreting ^a*Nin-na-an-na* as *Nin-Nanna* should also be considered.

Ad No. 16. The only reason why the name of Irnina is discussed in this article is that the name of this goddess is generally taken as being derived from Innina; cf., e.g. Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* I pp. 61 ff.; Deimel, *PB* No. 1594; Tallqvist, *AGE* p. 329. The reasons for this derivation are given on such phonetic grounds as "Irnina procède

sans doute de *Innina* et *Irnini* de *Innini* (*r* compense le redoublement, comparer *arnabatum* à côté de *annabatum*, *kursū* à côté de *kussū*)" (Thureau-Dangin) and on such theological grounds as "*Ir-ni-na* (like *Innin*), eine Erscheinungsform der *Ištar*" (Tallqvist). The truth is, however, that the phonetic grounds given in support of the *Innina* > *Irnina* derivation do not appear to be valid. All the evidence showing an *nn* : *rn* alternance indicate not the *nn* > *rn* change, but only *rn* > *nn*. Besides such well-known examples as *arnabu* > *annabu*, *arnabatu* > *annabatu*, *arnu* > *annu*, *qarnu* > *qannu*, and *gurnu* > *gunnu*, cf. especially the name of the well-known canal situated near Sippar, regularly spelled ¹⁰*Ir-ni-na* (for occurrences cf. Kraus, *ZA* LI 58 f.), but once also ¹⁰*In-ni-na* (II R 51/2 49a). In the light of the above evidence, and since rivers and canals were frequently deified in Mesopotamia (cf., e.g., Arah̄tum, Daban, Turul, Zilakum, and many others), I consequently favor the identification of the name of the goddess *Irnina* with that of the canal *Irnina*. This identification may be supported by the evidence listed above under A 16, which shows that the goddess *Irnina* was connected not only with *Ištar* but also with the gods of the underworld. This shows the twofold character of the goddess *Irnina*. Originally a river and an underworld goddess, she may have passed into the circle of *Ištar* if and when the written *Irnina* came to be pronounced as *Innina*, leading to identification with the well-known goddess *Innina* belonging to the *Ištar* circle.

The following conclusions may be drawn on the reading of the sign ⁴INNIN and the interpretation of the feminine divinities associated with it:

Nos. 2-8. These seven groups yield the forms *Innin*, *Innina*, *Ennin*, and *Ennina*. Of these, the form *Innin* is the oldest and best attested. The forms ending in *-a*, namely *Innina* and *Ennina*, as well as those beginning with *e*, namely *Ennin* and *Ennina*, are late and much less frequently attested. All the best sources show double *n* after the first *i* vowel, and single *n* after the second *i* vowel. The apparent exceptions can be explained as follows: The form *I-ni-en-na* (A 4) occurs in a school text; the form *in-ni-in-nu* (B 2) represents an Akkadian word borrowed from Sumerian, in which the reduplication of the final *n* is obligatory, as in *gurun* > *kurunnu*, *dub* > *tuppu*, etc.; in the forms *in-nin-na-at* (B 2) and ⁴*In-nin-na* (B 4) the sign *nin* may have the value *ni(n)*.

No. 9. *Innan(n)a*. The form is badly attested and difficult to explain.

No. 10. *Nana*, or possibly *(In)nana*. Unique.

No. 11. *Nin*. Difficult.

No. 12. *Ninni*. An independent goddess?

No. 13. *Nin-nin(n)a*. Unique.

No. 14. *Nin-anna*. An independent goddess.

No. 15. *Nin-nan(n)a*. Unique.

No. 16. *Irnina*. An independent goddess.

In the above list we have met with many forms, some of which represent clearly independent divinities, such as *Innin*, *Nin-anna*, and *Irnina*. The extent to which these and perhaps other originally independent divinities were or may have been confused with one another, owing to the partial phonetic similarity of their names, is a matter for theological investigation, which is beyond the scope of this paper.



AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples

Author(s): I. J. Gelb

Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (1961), pp. 27-47

Published by: [The American Schools of Oriental Research](#)

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE WEST SEMITIC PEOPLES

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In their continual struggle for survival, the settled populations and the established states of the Fertile Crescent had to contend throughout their history with the inroads of barbarians living on their flanks: the peoples of the mountains in the North, such as the Gutians, Lullubians, Subarians, and Hurrians; and the Semitic nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the deserts and semi-deserts in the South and the East.

The monograph here discussed¹ represents the first comprehensive study of a very important topic, concerned with the first appearance and the successive history of a group of peoples who were nomads or are assumed to have been nomads at one time in their past history. Ethno-linguistically speaking, all these peoples can be subsumed under the term "West Semitic," to be distinguished from "East Semitic," which includes only the Akkadians (or Assyro-Babylonians). Jean-Robert Kupper, a member of the Franco-Belgian team of scholars, which under the aegis of André Parrot and Georges Dossin has done so much for the enrichment of our knowledge of ancient Western Asia through the discovery, publication, and interpretation of the Mari materials, is best known for his several constructive contributions in the field of Mari studies, and thus was well prepared to tackle this difficult task, which would have been well nigh impossible of accomplishment only a few years ago without the light shed by the Mari discoveries.

In a brief introduction Kupper begins with a discussion of the general problem of nomadism as it first appears on the oriental scene. He notes that the type of nomadism attested in the most ancient sources is not the same as that known to us so well as Beduin nomadism, since the former was based on small cattle, while the latter was based on the camel. Although the question of the earliest date of the domestication of the

camel in the Ancient Orient has not yet been solved satisfactorily, it is generally assumed that the camel was unknown in Mesopotamia before the 12th century B. C.² According to Kupper, the lack of the camel as a vehicle of transportation, coupled with the need of keeping flocks of smaller cattle near steady sources of water, forced the early nomads to avoid the waste lands of central Arabia and to stick to the fringe lands East and South of the Fertile Crescent, in the area called Ḥamād³ by the Arabs of our day.

It is from that area that the four great Semitic migrations⁴ are generally assumed to have come: first the Akkadian, at some unknown date in antiquity; then the Amorite, mainly at the beginning of the Old Babylonian period; then, from the 12th century B. C., the Aramean; and finally, the well-known Arab migration. Of these four migrations Kupper treats in his book only the two middle ones, namely the Amorite and the Aramean.

The chronology followed by Kupper is apparently that of Sidney Smith, as can be judged from his dating of Hammurapi to about 1800 B. C. (p. xviii).

Kupper's discussion of the early Semitic nomads

2. However, Kupper himself notes the mention of the camel in the Patriarchal Stories, which has generally been taken as anachronistic. A recently published economic text from Alalah (Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* No. 269:59 = Wiseman, *JCS* XIII 29, 33, and Goetze *ibid.* 37), dated to the late Old Babylonian period, lists quantities of fodder for camels (ANŠE. GAM.MAL). [Cf. W. G. Lambert, *BASOR* 160 p. 42.]

3. The Arabic word *ḥamād*, denoting semi-arid lands, of the type intermediate between fully cultivated land and the desert, may have a long antiquity if my idea that the hapax legomenon *ḥa-ma-te*, denoting a topographical term for the area near the Tartar River in Scheil, *Tukulti-Ninip II*, line 47, represents the same work in Akkadian garb. If this is right, then the second topographical term in the same line of the same Assyrian inscription, namely *mar-ga-ni* (in plural), may be identified with the Arabic *marj* "meadow", "grass-land".

4. S. Moscati, *The Semites in Ancient History* (Cardiff, 1959) pp. 72 ff., argues persuasively that violent Semitic invasions occurred from time to time on a background of continuous and mainly peaceful penetration.

1. Review article of Jean-Robert Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule CXLII. Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1957. Pp. xxxii + 283.

is organized in five large chapters numbered and entitled: I Les Hanéens, II Les Benjaminites, III Les Sutéens, IV Les Amorrhéens, and V Les Habiru. While Chapters I, II, and the first half of III are based mainly on the Mari sources and are concerned with peoples who appear at approximately the same time on the political horizon, the second half of Chapter III is concerned with the Ahlameans and Arameans, who appear later⁵ than the three just mentioned peoples, and could have been treated more profitably in a separate chapter at the end of the book. Chapter IV is subdivided into three parts, of which the first one treats of the country Amurru and the Amorites, the second of the West Semitic peoples, and the third of the god Amurru. The treatment of the Amorites and West Semites in two separate subdivisions of Chapter IV is justified by Kupper on practical grounds. While, as will be seen later, he takes these two groups of peoples to be of the same ethnic background, it seemed advisable to him to gather the data pertaining to the two groups separately and to leave to the general discussion the question of their mutual relationship. The fact that the god Amurru is so much at home in the religion of Babylonia proper and even Elam (p. 245), while he is practically unknown in the West, that is, in Mesopotamia⁶ and Syria, has not been explained to our full satisfaction (cf. also below p. 47). This whole chapter on the Amorites and West Semites is paralleled by the corresponding parts of Edzard's recently published monograph.⁷ It is

5. The early references to a person called *Ahlamu* in the Mari economic texts (pp. 108 and 136), to the geographical names *Aram* and *Arame* dated to Narâm-Sin (p. 113), the Ur III geographical name *Arami* (p. 112), and the Ur III personal name *Aramu* (p. 112) seem to me to have nothing in common with the Ahlameans and Arameans, respectively, except a certain similarity in sound. I even doubt the connection between the Ras Shamra personal names ³RMJ and *Armeja*, the *eqlāti aramīma* of Alalāḥ (p. 114), and the Arameans. Staying on safe historical ground, the first real reference to the Ahlameans are to be found in the EA letters and Middle Babylonian texts (pp. 108 f.), and those to the Arameans in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I (pp. 111, 133).

6. To avoid descriptive adjectives I use in this article the term "Mesopotamia", in the Greek sense, for the area which corresponds to the modern Jezireh in contrast to the term "Babylonia", which represents the area south of the modern Baghdad.

7. Dietz Otto Edzard, *Die "zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens* (Wiesbaden, 1957).

surprising to what large an extent the two authors agree in their main conclusions. Chapter V on the Habiru's is kept to a minimum, since it is intended simply as a résumé of the questions extensively treated previously in the monographs by J. Bottéro and M. Greenberg.⁸ To Kupper, the term Habiru is not an ethnic term and has nothing to do with the Hebrews, but represents a descriptive adjective or an appellative for a certain class of the population, originally of nomadic origin, who, organized in military bands, were in the habit of roaming, fighting, and pillaging either on their own or in the service of various mighty princes. A short chapter with conclusions, a map of the ancient Near East, and an extensive index of proper names complete the volume.

Some general remarks on the title and structure of Kupper's monograph should be made. First of all, the book is not so much about the nomads as it is about the early West Semitic populations. These are found either roaming around as full-fledged nomads, or in a semi-settled status in the service of Mesopotamian princes and rulers, or in a fully settled status in such areas as Babylonia and Syria. Furthermore, the book is not limited to the times of the kings of Mari, as one would gather from the title, but extends both before and after that period. This is true of the discussion of the Ahlameans and Arameans, which takes us well into the first millennium B. C., and of the discussion of the Amorites and the Habiru's, which takes us to times both before and after the Mari period. Thus, the organization of the volume is not historical. While the first two and a half chapters deal with peoples who are either exclusively or best attested in the Mari period, Chapter IV on the Amorites and West Semites deals extensively with peoples who historically

8. J. Bottéro et al., *Le problème des Habiru* (Paris, 1954); M. Greenberg, *The Hab/piru* (New Haven, Conn., 1955). Cf. also M. G. Kline, "The *Ha-BI-ru*, kin or foe of Israel", *Westminster Theological Journal* XIX (1956) 1-24, 170-184, XX (1957) 46-70; H. Cazelles, "Hébreu, Ubru et Hapiru", *Syria* XXXV (1958) 198-217; and R. Borger, "Das Problem der 'apiru' ('Habiru')", *ZDPV* LXXIV (1958) 121-132. According to the latter, the term *apiru*, meaning "dusty", "covered with dust" (meaning known from Syriac), may have acquired in the course of time the general meaning of "foreigner", "immigrant".

represent antecedents to the peoples known from the Mari sources. I am under the impression that the author may have originally intended to write a monograph on the nomadic populations of the Mari period, but decided in the course of time to extend the scope of the monograph to the form it now has. This impression of mine seems strengthened if we analyze the monograph on the basis of the extent of coverage. The most complete appear to me the first two and a half chapters, in which all the known information is exhaustively gathered, with detailed discussion of the different areas, leaders, occupations, activities, names, and divinities connected with the individual people. The other chapters cover their subject-matter less completely, especially Chapter IV on the Amorites and West Semites, a topic on which I have done extensive research in the past few years. Although the Egyptian Execration Texts attesting West Semitic names (pp. 238f.) and other Egyptian sources referring to the Sutians (pp. 141ff.) are discussed, I can find nowhere in the monograph a reference to Egyptian sources concerning the Amorites. I also miss a discussion of the Amorites in the Old Testament.

The book is well written and should serve as a model for historical investigations based on philological sources. Its conclusions are generally sound, and I have no doubt that they will rapidly become part of our accepted knowledge of ancient oriental history. The monograph contains a number of new and important geographical identifications and some extensive lexical notes, such as on *nawûm* "campement" (pp. 12ff., cf. also Edzard, *ZA* LIII 168-173), *sugâgum* "chef de clan ou de village" (pp. 15-20), *ga-ju* "clan," "tribu" (p. 20, etymology unknown), *têbibtum* "purification," "enregistrement" (pp. 23-29, cf. also *CAD* under *ebêbu* mng. 2c-3'), *dâwîdûm* "victoire" (pp. 60-62; actually *dawdûm*, cf. also Landsberger *apud* Tadmor, *JNES* XVII 129ff., connecting the Mari word with Akkadian *dabdû* "defeat," and Gelb in a forthcoming issue of *JNES*.)

I do not intend to discuss here the few points of disagreement in respect to the interpretation of West Semitic names which exist between Kupper and myself, such as his *Iâ-il* (p. 215) for my *Ja'il*, his *Abban* (p. 267) for my 'Abba-'Il⁹, his

Wilânu (p. 282) for my *Ja'ilânu*, since this would necessitate a full presentation of evidence which is beyond the scope of this article. From his remarks on *Ibal-pî-El* (p. 224 n. 1) and on the Alalah hybrid names (p. 233) we can note that Kupper is not entirely immune to the influence of the various *Mischnamen*, *Mischformen* theories, which, in contrast to the position taken on this question by Poebel, *Die sumerischen Personennamen zur Zeit der Dynastie von Larsam und der ersten Dynastie von Babylon* (Breslau, 1910), have of late been widely propounded in the field of ancient oriental onomastics.

In order to give a better understanding of the historical picture as reconstructed by Kupper, I shall try in the following to discuss the early history of the West Semitic peoples in chronological order, from their first appearance in the Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic sources through the classical period of the Old Babylonian dynasties to the middle of the second millennium B. C. I will leave out of the discussion the problem of the relationship of these early West Semites to the later Ugaritans, Arameans, and South Arabs. This is a chapter in the history of the ancient Near East which yet remains to be written. Geographically, my discussion progresses from Babylonia to Mesopotamia to Syria and Palestine.

BABYLONIA FROM THE PRE-SARGONIC TO THE UR III PERIODS

The country or region known as *Martu* or *Kur Martu* in Sumerian¹⁰ and *Amurru(m)* or *mât Amurri* in Akkadian appears occasionally as being at war with the Sargonic and Ur III kings. Its location is certainly in the West, as can be judged from the following data: (1) Šar-kali-šarri, the fifth king of the Sargonic dynasty, reports in one of his dates a victory over MAR.TU achieved in

10. The written MAR.TU is normally taken as *Mar-tu* on the basis of the spelling *Mâ-ar-d[u]-e*, listed in K. p. 149 n. 1. Instead of *Mâ-ar-d[u]-e*, Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder* p. 120, n. 2, proposed recently the reading *Mâ-ar-r[i]-e* and explained the Sumerian *Marre* as derived from *Amurru(m)* via *Amarru*. However, in favor of *Martu*, rather than *Marre*, cf. *Ma-artu-ne šu-ba-ti* (*Orient.* XVIII 28 rev. 57) = *Mar-tu-ne šu-ba-ti* (26 rev. 41), compared with *Elam-e-ne šu-ba-ti* (line 38), and possibly *URU-Ma-ar-ti*?^{KI}, glossed AN.AN.MAR.TU, in *VAS* VIII 13:14, discussed by Feigin, *AJSL* LI 22 ff., and Edzard, *Die "zweite Zwischenzeit" Babylonien* p. 23 n. 94.

9. Cf. below, p. 34.

the mountains of *Ba-sa-ar*, which correspond to the modern Jebel el-Biṣrī, situated west of the Euphrates in the direction of Palmyra. This piece of information agrees with the statement found in the Gudea inscription, according to which large stones were brought to Babylonia from *Ba₁₁-sal-la*, the mountain of MAR.TU (pp. 149f.). (2) The fourth year of Šu-Sin, the fourth king of the Ur III dynasty, is named after the construction of a fortress built as a protection against the MAR.TU and named Muriq-Didnim, meaning "one which keeps Didnum distant." This information parallels that found in the Gudea inscription, according to which alabaster was brought from *Ti-da-nūm*, the mountain of MAR.TU (pp. 156ff.). For the interpretation as Didnum, Didanum, rather than Tidnum, Tidanum, see my forthcoming discussion in *JNES*. The exact location of this ancient Didnum is unknown, but, to judge from the West Semitic parallels, it must have been situated in the area between the Euphrates and Syria.¹¹ (3) IM. MAR.TU "West" is one of the four cardinal points of the compass, to be contrasted with IM.KUR "East," named after the mountain range east of the Tigris (p. 165).¹² The self-evident conclusion, which is drawn by Kupper from these sources, is that MAR.TU is to be localized west of Babylonia and not east of the Tigris, as proposed by Landsberger and Bauer. The exact definition of the term "west" in the Old Akkadian period can be given only on the basis of the *Bašar*: Jebel el-Biṣrī equation. For the location of Amurru in Syria in later periods see the discussion on pp. 41f. below.

At approximately the same time that the foreign country MAR.TU appears in the Babylonian sources we also find persons with an appellative MAR.TU living peacefully in Babylonia. While such names appear sporadically in the Fara and Sargonic texts (pp. 150f.), it is not until the Ur III period (p. 151–155) that the large number of attestations—over one hundred

—permits us to draw certain conclusions as to their linguistic character. The persons bearing such names come from different cities of Babylonia. In some, such as Lagash, they bear names which are largely Sumerian or Akkadian, while in others, such as Drehem, they bear names which are largely neither Sumerian nor Akkadian, but obviously Semitic. Some Ur III texts refer to prisoners taken in booty from MAR.TU (p. 156). We note that in some areas the Amorites became so assimilated as to give their children local names, while in others they retained their own, native, onomastic habits. The language of the latter names we call simply Amorite. More about it later.

BABYLONIA IN THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

Towards the end of the reign of Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the Ur III dynasty, and during the period of the local dynasties which ruled Babylonia after the break-up of the Ur III empire, references to fighting with the Amorites recur more often (pp. 157–169). This time, however, the fighting with the Amorites does not take place in the West, outside of the boundaries of Babylonia, but right within it. It is clear that at the end of the Ur III period the desert Amorites were moving into Babylonia in a powerful migration and were taking over one city after another.

At the same time the onomastic picture of Babylonia underwent a substantial change. Besides the great majority of the population bearing Akkadian and Sumerian names, there now appear hundreds, perhaps thousands, of persons bearing Semitic names different from Akkadian. While some persons, rather few in number, are called Amorite in texts (pp. 169–174), most of the persons bearing names of the same type appear without any ethnic denotation (pp. 213ff., 219–224). These non-Akkadian names are borne not only by private individuals and officials, but also by kings and rulers of dynasties, such as those of Larsa, Babylon, Kish, Marad, Sippar, Kazallu, Eshnunna and other city-states in the Diyala Region (pp. 197–206). At Larsa, e.g., the first seven rulers, from Naplānum to Sumu-El (with the possible exception of Zabaja) bear non-Akkadian names; they are followed by rulers all of whom bear Akkadian names. At Babylon, the first two rulers, namely Sumu-

11. The Hebrew and Arabic Dedan, which occurs as *URU Da-da-nu* in an inscription of Nabonidus recently published by Gadd, *Anatolian Studies* VIII (1958) 58:24, represents the same name as *Didnum* but has to be located much farther south, near Medina in Arabia.

12. Commonly used in the Sargonic period, as, e.g., in *HSS* X 1; *RTC* 148; the Man-ištušu Obelisk, etc. The oldest occurrence is found in *DP* 211.

abum¹³ and Sumu-la-El, bear non-Akkadian names; they are followed by three rulers bearing Akkadian names, with Hammurapi and the rest of the dynasty reviving the old, non-Akkadian, tradition in name giving.

As soon as scholars began to study these new Semitic names, appearing so profusely in the Old Babylonian period, they recognized that they were couched in a West Semitic and not East Semitic (= Akkadian) tongue. Up to about thirty-five years ago the question of what these names were to be called was answered simply: they were to be called Amorite. This conclusion was based partly on the fact that some West Semitic names occur with the denotation MAR.TU and partly on the observation that the West Semitic names without this ethnic denotation begin to appear in mass in Babylonia after and as a consequence of the Amorite invasions and conquests which took place at the end of the Ur III dynasty and the beginning of the Old Babylonian period. The practical identity of the West Semitic names of the Old Babylonian period with names of persons called Amorite in the Ur III period was taken for granted. The fact that Amurru was known from the previous periods to be situated in the West (see above p. 30), the recognized home of the West Semites, seemed to strengthen the conclusion that the West Semitic names of Babylonia are to be called Amorite.

This picture was completely upset by the theories propounded in 1925–26 by B. Landsberger¹⁴ and Theo Bauer,¹⁵ according to which the country Amurru was not situated in the West but east of the Tigris and the language of the Ur III

MAR.TU names was to be sharply distinguished from that of the West Semitic names appearing without any ethnic denotation in the Old Babylonian period.

According to the Landsberger and Bauer theories, the localization of the country Amurru in the West is to be rejected because the location of Bašar and Didnum in the West cannot be proved and the connection between the country Amurru and the term West, denoting a point of the compass, may be due to a late speculation on the part of the Babylonian astronomers. Basing themselves on one single piece of evidence, namely the fact that Kudur-mabug, father of Warad-Sin and Rīm-Sin, the two last kings of Larsa, bore at times the title of *ad-da* ^{KUR}MAR.TU interchangeably with that of *ad-da E-mu-ut-ba-la* in Sumerian or *a-bu E-mu-ut-ba-la* in Akkadian, which means father of MAR.TU or of Emutbal, respectively, they proposed instead that Amurru be localized in the area of the Pusht-i-Kuh mountains, east of the Tigris. Landsberger's and Bauer's conclusion that the language of the Ur III MAR.TU names is to be sharply distinguished from that of the West Semitic names appearing in the Old Babylonian period without any ethnic denotation was based on their linguistic evaluation of the names. According to them, while the Ur III MAR.TU names were couched in a language which they called "dialektakkadisch," the Semitic, non-Akkadian names of the Old Babylonian period were written in a variety of Canaanite, which they called "ostkanaanäisch."

Almost every one of these conclusions and the supporting arguments was found wanting in the course of time, as pointed out by scholars who participated in the discussion of the Amorite problem in the years following upon the appearance of Landsberger's and Bauer's theories (e.g., Albright, Dhorme, Goetze, Jacobsen, J. Lewy, Noth, Pick) and as is becoming ever clearer on the basis of new information derived from the discoveries made at Mari, Chagar Bazar, and Alalāḫ. Kupper's position is quite clear and emphatic on these points.

The question of the localization of MAR.TU in the West, based on the localization of Bašar in the West, is ironclad and cannot be brushed aside with one-sentence verdicts. Note especially that the mountains Bašar of the Old Akkadian

13. Sumu-abum, the founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon, was famous enough to live in the onomastic tradition of Syria, as is apparent from the name *Ia-pa-aḫ-Su-mu-a-bi* in a text from Alalāḫ (No. 56:47) and JP-ŠMW-B on objects from Byblos (Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* pp. 165 f. = Pl. XCVII No. 618 and pp. 174 ff. = Pl. XCIX ff. No. 653). For similar cases of semi-deification of historical figures, cf. *Sumuabi-arim*, *Ūṣi-Sumu-abum*, *Ammī-šaduqa-iluni*, *Ḥammu-rapi-bāni*, and several other names of the Old Babylonian period.

14. "Über die Völker Vorderasiens im dritten Jahrtausend", *ZA* XXXV (1924) 213–238, especially pp. 236 ff.

15. *Die Ostkanaanäer* (Leipzig, 1926). Cf. also his "Eine Überprüfung der 'Amoriter'-Frage", *ZA* XXXVIII (1929) 145–170.

period appear as *Bisuru*, *Bešri* in the later Assyrian sources in a form much closer to and even identical with the form *Jebel el-Bišri* of the present day (p. 150). Landsberger's and Bauer's conclusion that MAR.TU was originally a designation of the West(-wind), after which the country of the Amorites of the middle of the 2nd millennium B. C. was named and not vice-versa, was supported by the observation that when the term MAR.TU is used for the West(-wind) it never carries the geographic indicator (= determinative) KI. Of how little value this argument is one can gather by observing dozens of occurrences of geographical names in the texts of Sumer and Akkad in the oldest periods appearing without any geographic indicator. The fact that Kudur-mabug called himself "father of KUR MAR.TU" interchangeably with "father of Emutbal" means simply that he considered himself the ruler of those Amorites who at one time, at the end of the Ur III dynasty, established themselves in the area of Emutbal, east of the Tigris. The fact that at that time vast areas east of the Tigris were populated by the MAR.TU = Amorites is well known. The use of MAR.TU in the title of Kudur-mabug does not point to the original location of MAR.TU in the East Tigridian region, but implies a secondary conquest of that region by some of the marauding MAR.TU beduins. This is also the position of Kupper (p. 243). The titles *ad-da* KUR MAR.TU, *lugal* MAR.[TU], or *lugal da-ga-an* KUR (also KI) MAR.TU^(KI) were borne by Hammurapi and Ammī-ditāna, kings of the Old Babylonian dynasty (p. 176). Pertinent also is a text made known by Weidner,¹⁶ which lists *palē Amurrī* (written BAL-*e* MAR.TU-*i*) "the dynasty of the Amorites," following upon *palē Šulgi* "the dynasty of Šulgi" (= Ur III dynasty) and preceding the *palē Kaššī* "the dynasty of the Kassites." As "the dynasty of the Amorites" should indicate the most important dynasty between the Ur III and the Kassite dynasties, it should be equated with the dynasty of Babylon, whose kings bore at the time the title of "father of the country of the Amorites." The use of the term (KUR) MAR.TU by Babylonian rulers does not indicate the existence of a real, political, organism, but reflects a tradition which may go

back to the time of the conquest and full ethnic control of the country by the Amorite invaders. While it is difficult to visualize such Old Babylonian rulers as Hammurapi and Ammī-ditāna as anything but Akkadian in language and in culture, the persistence of the Amorite ethnic elements within Babylonia at the end of the Old Babylonian period is documented in the *Seisachtheia* of Ammī-šaduqa, which still recognizes two separate ethnic groups, the Akkadians and the Amorites (pp. 31, 173).¹⁷

According to the theories of Landsberger and Bauer the language of the Ur III MAR.TU names is a dialect of Akkadian, which is to be kept sharply apart from the East Canaanite language, in which appear the vast number of the West Semitic names of the Old Babylonian period. The first point, referring to the alleged dialectal Akkadian character of the Ur III MAR.TU names, has never been substantiated by its proponents, and consequently has never been taken seriously in the subsequent discussion of the topic by other scholars. Let it suffice to refer here to an Ur III text,¹⁸ which was published a long time ago, but which apparently has remained unnoticed, mentioning a certain person, named *Ḫa-bi*, who was an *e m e - b a l* MAR.TU, that is, an interpreter or dragoman of MAR.TU. The existence of MAR.TU dragomans implies that at least some MAR.TU people were foreigners who spoke a language not understandable to the population of Babylonia. On the second point, pertaining to the relationship between the languages of the names of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, the various opinions are not so definite. Kupper himself, although making both the people of the Ur III MAR.TU names and of the West Semitic names of the Old Babylonian period derive from the desert areas in the West (p. 243), prefers to keep them terminologically separate, by calling the former "Amorites" and the latter "West Semites." There is no problem about the term to be used for the Ur III MAR.TU people, since the names bear regularly the denotation MAR.TU and must consequently be called "Amorite." Kupper

17. Cf. also the recent publication of F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-šaduqa von Babylon* (Leiden, 1958).

18. De Genouillac, *La Trouvaille de Dréhem* (Paris, 1911) 81 rev. 15.

16. In *MVAG* XXVI/2 p. 40.

rejects the term "East Canaanite" of Landsberger and Bauer for the language of the non-Akkadian names of the Old Babylonian period (pp. 239f., 243), and prefers to call it "West Semitic" on the grounds that "West Semitic" is a general, noncommittal term, which leaves open to the future the exact assignment of the onomastic material in question. In rejecting the term "East Canaanite" on the grounds of its narrowness, Kupper is completely right. The proponents of the term "East Canaanite" based their conclusions on an all too subjective evaluation of a limited number of isoglosses which link the language of the West Semitic names of the Old Babylonian period with Canaanite, that is, for instance, Hebrew and Phoenician, and overlooked or played down all those isoglosses which link the Old Babylonian names with other West Semitic languages, for instance, Aramaic or South Arabic. Indicative of the cavalier use of terminology is Bauer's defence of the term "East Canaanite" in ZA XXXVIII 155. When forced to admit the existence of certain important isoglosses linking the language of the Old Babylonian names with Aramaic, he began to consider the possibility of a "hebr.-aram. Sprachgemeinschaft" and of a "kan.-aram. Gruppe," and was not unwilling to consider early Aramaic simply as a dialect of Canaanite. The fact is that, if Aramaic is to be included under Canaanite, then the term "Canaanite" loses all its independent value,¹⁹ as it could just as well be identified with North West Semitic. Up to the time of Bauer's writing the term "Canaanite" had meaning only when used for a group of languages or dialects (especially Hebrew and Phoenician) to be contrasted with the Aramaic group, all linked together within the frame of North West Semitic. Now Ugaritic has to be added to that group. The preference in favor of the term "West Semitic" rather than "North West Semitic" for the language of the non-Akkadian names of the Old Babylonian period can be justified on the grounds that the wider term "West Semitic" also includes South Arabic, which cannot a priori be excluded from the consideration of the linguistic affiliation

of the language of the Semitic, non-Akkadian, names of the Old Babylonian period.

Although, historically speaking, Kupper links together the two groups of names from the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods by assigning them to two successive waves of the same nomadic peoples of the desert (pp. 242f., 261ff.), he prefers to keep the two groups terminologically distinct on grounds which are partly linguistic and partly chronological. On the linguistic side, Kupper draws the conclusion that, while the linguistic connections between the two groups of names cannot be denied, they are relatively few in number (pp. 154f., 197). On the chronological side, Kupper points out that the two groups of names come from two different periods. This artificial bifurcation between "Amorites" and "West Semites," though perhaps partially justified on chronological grounds, comes most clearly to the fore in Kupper's discussion of the early history of Larsa, which he begins with the "Amorite" Naplānum in one chapter (pp. 156, 196) and continues with the "West Semite" Abi-sarê in another (p. 197).

It is my firm conviction that the degree of the linguistic relationship between the Ur III MAR.TU and the West Semitic names of the Old Babylonian period has been seriously underestimated by all the scholars who have written on the subject.²⁰ This will come out clearly, I hope, in the article on the Ur III MAR.TU names which I am now preparing for publication. However, I should like to point out here a few salient points. The great majority of the Ur III names have the well-known *-ānum* ending, as in *Gulbānum*, *Humrānum*, *Nukrānum*. Some, much fewer in number, express or begin with a verbal element of the *jaqtul* form, as in *Janbi'ilum*, *Janūsum*. Asseverative *la* occurs in such names as *La-tābum*, *'Ila-la-'Il*. *M* is preserved, in spite of the labial in the root, in *Mardabānum*, *Mardānum*. All these characteristics of the Ur III MAR.TU names find their correspondence in the West Semitic names of the Old Babylonian period. The practical identity of the language of the Ur III MAR.TU names with that of the West Semitic names of the Old Babylonian period becomes even more apparent when we note that

19. Cf. Moscati, *The Semites in Ancient History* pp. 98 f.: "As for Canaanite, this term has, so to speak, a purely negative value, being applied to whatever is not Aramaic; and hence for the earlier phase, before Aramaic makes its appearance, it has no *raison d'être*."

20. The only scholar who still keeps the two linguistic groups completely separate is Landsberger; see *JCS* VIII 56.

the same words and roots appear in the names of both periods, and that many of the Ur III MAR.TU names appear in a form which is disguised by the influence of Akkadian or the ignorance of Amorite names on the part of Akkadian scribes — such names as *En-gi-mu-um* for *Ia-an-qi-mu-um* / *Janqimūm* / or ^dUTU-*ši*-^dIM for *Sa-am-si-A-du* / *Šamši-Haddu* / — and when we take into consideration the large number of additional MAR.TU names of the early Old Babylonian period, which by usage belong to the same class as the MAR.TU names of the Ur III period, names such as those found in the texts from Isin recently published in *BIN IX* (*Milkī-li-'Il*, *Kalb-'Il*, *Enūsum*) and the unpublished texts from Tell Asmar (*Milkī-la-'El*, *'Abba-'El*, written *A-ba-'El*, *Muṭi-me-'El*). To be sure, certain characteristics can be detected in the Ur III MAR.TU names which cannot be fully paralleled in the Old Babylonian, but they should be classed as points pertaining to onomastic habits rather than to linguistic differences. We note, for instance, the predilection of the Ur III MAR.TU names for the *-ānum*²¹ formation to a degree unparalleled in the West Semitic names of the Old Babylonian period. The fact that the divine name 'El or 'Il plays such an important role in the Ur III MAR.TU names is no stranger than that Dagan, when appearing in West Semitic names, is more at home in names from Mari or in names of persons having some connection with the Mari region than anywhere else (pp. 69ff.). Such points of emphasis, or even difference, if one will, as can be found in comparing the Ur III MAR.TU and the Old Babylonian West Semitic names are no more than are to be expected, considering the known difference in time separating the two groups in question, as well as an unknown factor, namely the possibility that the different groups of invading nomads might have been of different geographical background.

MESOPOTAMIA IN THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

Before passing on to a discussion of the ethno-linguistic situation in Mesopotamia, the present-day Jezireh, in the Old Babylonian period, we should try to obtain a bird's eye view of the situation in the previous periods. Owing to the

21. Cf. the distribution of *-ānum* in geographical and personal names of Syria and Palestine, discussed below pp. 42.

scarcity of available sources, our picture must necessarily be very sketchy.

For the Pre-Sargonic period we know of a Mari dynasty holding hegemony for a short time over Babylonia, according to the Sumerian King List. The votive inscriptions excavated at Mari list a number of rulers and officials of Mari bearing Akkadian names or names of an unknown linguistic affiliation,²² but no West Semitic names.²³ In the Sargonic period Mari formed part of the Sargonic Empire, and the economic texts from Chagar Bazar, Tell Brak, and Assur, scarce as they are, show only a population of Akkadian and unknown origins, but again no West Semites. For the Ur III period our information is slightly richer, especially as far as Mari is concerned. In that period Mari was under the rule of Babylonian *šakanakku*'s, "viceroys,"²⁴ all bearing Akkadian names. The general population of Mari was also Akkadian, as can be deduced from a list of persons connected with Mari gathered a long time ago (Gelb, *AJSL* LV [1938] 80) and some additional names from Mari occurring in recently published texts. A similar ethnic situation prevailed even in the period between the end of Ur III and the beginning of the Old Babylonian period, as can be gathered from the texts recently published by Jestin, *RA* XLVI (1952) 185–202, and discussed by Gelb, *RA* L (1956) 1–10.²⁵ The Babylonian character of the city Mari deduced from personal names is strengthened by considerations which can be drawn from a list of divinities worshipped at Mari, all of whom are of Akkado-Sumerian background (cf. my conclusions in *JNES* XIII [1954] 270). Thus the characterization of the Mari population of the Old Babylonian period by Kupper p. 244 as being "babylonisée" or "accadisée" is not

22. The term "unknown linguistic affiliation" (or "background"), as used in this study, refers to languages and peoples which are clearly non-Semitic, non-Sumerian, and non-Hurrian. The question of the ultimate relationship of these "unknown" languages and peoples with those of Anatolia and the areas north of Mesopotamia is of no importance for the purposes of this study.

23. Cf. provisionally Parrot, *Syria* XXX (1953) 208–211.

24. Not "grands 'patésis'" (= ensis), Kupper p. 33.

25. Goetze, *Journal of Semitic Studies* IV (1959) 144 n. 4, pointed out that out of over 60 names, some — very few — may be Amorite, such as *Ma-aḥ-ri-'El*? and *Su* (or *Šu*)-*mu*-*A*-*Da-gan*.

quite correct. The truth is that at least from the Pre-Sargonic to Ur III periods Mari was a thoroughly Akkadian city, and we must consequently take the whole region on the Euphrates, stretching from Mari in the North to Rapiqu in the South, as forming a provincial outpost of the Babylonian civilization. Outside of Mari, our information for the Ur III period is not so reliable because the names are connected with cities which may lie on the outskirts or even outside the core area with which we are concerned here. From Mardaman in the northern part of Mesopotamia, we know of Guzuzu, Naktam-atal, and Nerišahu, names which are either Hurrian or of unknown linguistic background. The names from Ebla (Gulaa, Ili-Dagan, Izin-Dagan, Kurbi-lag, Meme-šura, Zurim) and Uršu (Budur, Gulaa, Ili-Dagan, Kurbi-lag, Nanau) are either Akkadian or of unknown background. While Ebla and Uršu were probably situated in Syria just west of the Euphrates, Mukiš, from which we know the name Gababa (of unknown linguistic affiliation), is certainly to be localized in the area of Aleppo. A unique piece of information is found in an unpublished tablet from Drehem quoted in excerpts as follows: “^d*Da-gan-a-bu lu kin-gi₄-a Ià-ši-li-im enšī Tu-tu-la^{ki}*”²⁶, that is “Dagan-abu, the messenger of *Ià-ši-li-im*, the ensi of Tuttul.” While the name *Dagan-abu* is clearly Akkadian, the name *Ià-ši-li-im* may be interpreted as *Jašši-Lim*,²⁷ that is, West Semitic *Jašši-Lim*, and would furnish the first and the only sure proof of the existence of West Semites in Mesopotamia in the Ur III period.

In a study published some time ago J. Lewy²⁸ pointed out for the first time the existence of West Semitic elements in the so-called “Cappadocian” (= Old Assyrian) texts from Kültepe, dated roughly to the time following upon the Third Dynasty of Ur. Among those worth noting here is the *-a* ending in the word *kumra* “priest” and the month name *warah Tan-mar-ta* (and variants), as well as such personal names as *Wa-ar-ḫi-lá*, *A-bi-la*, *Ri-im-i-la*, and *A-bi₄-šú-ra*.

26. Schneider, *Le Muséon* LII (1949) 9, from a Pinches manuscript. [Cf. now Sollberger, *AOF* XIX 120.]

27. While the reading *Ià-ši-li-im* seems the most plausible, the possibility of reading *Ni-ši-li-im*, *I-ši-li-im*, and even *I-lim-li-im* cannot be fully disregarded.

28. J. Lewy, “Zur Amoriterfrage”, *ZA* XXXVIII (1929) 243–272.

Further additions to the list of West Semitic elements in Cappadocian were made by J. Lewy in a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in 1956, the manuscript of which he kindly placed at my disposal. I note from it the occurrence of the West Semitic personal names *Bi-ni-ma-ḫu-um* (and the parallel *Bu-ni-ma-ḫu-um*) and *Ili₅-ma-da-ar*, as well as the important observation that the god Amurru was frequently invoked by the Assyrian colonists (together with the god Aššur) to affirm the truthfulness of their statements.

Our conclusions in respect to the rather limited West Semitic imprint on the most ancient Mesopotamia, drawn mainly on the basis of personal names, is confirmed by the study of geographical names. Most of the place names of the earliest periods, such as Atamḫul, Ḫalwahiš, Šuala, Zumuḫdur, are of unknown linguistic affiliation, while a few, such as Kakkabān, Mardamān Zarḫānum, Armān(um), may represent either Semitic or Semiticized names.

The emerging ethno-linguistic picture of the most ancient Mesopotamia, north of the Baghdad region, shows the population of the area partly composed of Akkadians and partly of peoples of unknown linguistic affiliation, with but very few traces of the West Semites. Since our information is sketchy, I do not wish to sound too apologetic on this point. What needs to be stressed is that our conclusions are drawn on the basis of available sources, that these sources are at present rather limited in number and weight, and it is quite possible that new information from as yet unpublished texts may force us to change our conclusions to some degree.

The ethno-linguistic situation of the earliest Mesopotamia changes abruptly and radically during the Mari period, which corresponds roughly to the time when Šamši-Adad and Išmê-Dagan ruled in Assyria, and Sin-muballiṭ and Hammurapi in Babylonia. Our knowledge of this period has increased tremendously in the past few years, thanks mainly to the great discoveries at Mari, supported by the new information uncovered at Chagar Bazar in northern Mesopotamia.

After the fall of the Ur III dynasty in Babylonia, Mari became independent and was ruled by a dynasty whose kings chose the divine name Lim as a component of their names (pp. 32f.). The

first independent rulers are Jaggid-Lim, whose name appears on a seal recently published by Weidner in *AOF* XVIII (1957) 123, and who was a contemporary of Ila-kabkabû, father of Šamši-Adad, who later became king of Assyria, and Jaḥdun-Lim son of Jaggid-Lim, who called himself king of Mari, Tuttul, and the land of Ḫana. After Jaḥdun-Lim, Mari fell under the control of Šamši-Adad, king of Assyria, and was administered in his name by his younger son, Jasmaḥ-Adad. Following the disorganization which befell Mesopotamia upon the death of Šamši-Adad, Mari again became independent under the rule of Zimri-Lim, son of Jaḥdun-Lim, who was a contemporary of Išmê-Dagan, son of Šamši-Adad, the weak king of Assyria, and of Hammurapi, the powerful king of Babylonia. After a reign of about thirty years, Zimri-Lim and his kingdom fell to the rising star of Babylon.

The rulers of the Lim dynasty at Mari bear names which are clearly West Semitic. Since, as we have seen above, Mari was Babylonian both in respect to its local rulers and its individuals in the period preceding the Lim dynasty, the appearance of a West Semitic dynasty on the throne of Mari implies a radical change in the ethno-linguistic situation of the Mari region. The time when this change took place is unknown, since the duration of the preceding period of the Babylonian *šakanakku*'s at Mari (see above p. 34) is unknown. Neither can anything definite be said about the original home of the Lim dynasty. To suggest that it may have come from the area of Tuttul on the sole ground that we know of a Lim name of an ensi of Tuttul in the Ur III period (see above p. 35), seems unwarranted. Kupper, pp. 32ff., is inclined to connect the origin of the Lim dynasty with the Ḫana region (see also below p. 37).

During the Mari period Assyria, too, was ruled by a dynasty of West Semitic origin, beginning with Šamši-Adad, who established himself on the throne of Assyria by gradual steps via Babylonia (= Karduniaš) and the city Ekallâte in Assyria. Šamši-Adad's West Semitic background is evidenced by the name of his father Ila-kabkabû / 'Ila-kabkabuhu / or Ila-kabkabî and the names of ten kings in the Assyrian King List, numbered 11-20, who may well have to be taken as ancestors of Šamši-Adad but who ruled not as kings of Assyria, but as sheikhs of a tribe

in some unknown part of the large West Semitic territory (pp. 207-213). While rejecting Landsberger's suggestion that the ancestral home of Šamši-Adad may have been in the Tirqa region on the ground that Tirqa was under the political control of the Lim dynasty of Mari in the days of Jaḥdun-Lim, Kupper (pp. 212f.) is inclined to consider the Upper Ḫabur region, with its center at Šubat-Enlil, as the most likely possibility for the ancestral home of Šamši-Adad.

An interesting and perhaps rather important point to note is that the conquest of Mari and Assyria by the West Semites was achieved later, in fact some two hundred years later, than that of Babylonia, which was conquered by the West Semites as far back as the time of Naplānum, the first king of Larsa. This is clearly true for Assyria and it may not be far from true for Mari if we can rely on the available evidence, which does not take the West Semitic Lim dynasty of Mari farther back than Jaggid-Lim. The conclusion which may be drawn from it is that the great West Semitic expansion which began at the end of the Ur III and the beginning of the Old Babylonian period started not in Mesopotamia north of Baghdad, but in the desert regions south of the Euphrates.

Kupper treats the history of the West Semitic peoples in three separate chapters, dedicated to the Ḫaneans, Benjaminites, and Sutians, respectively.

Of these three large tribal groups, the Ḫaneans seem to be more involved in the history of the Mari period than the two other groups. The Ḫaneans roam as nomads through the whole expanse of the Mari kingdom, including the Upper Country in the region of the Upper Khabur river (pp. XVIII, 11). They live not only in encampments called *nawûm* (p. 12), but also as semi-nomads (p. 73), in villages and cities (pp. 12f.). They recognize the authority of the kings of Mari, for whom they often furnish military contingents (p. 260). The name of the people called Ḫaneans is connected with the name of the country Ḫana, which Kupper (pp. 38, 44) dissociates from the name of the city Ḫanat, situated on the Euphrates some two hundred kilometers south of Mari, and locates around Tirqa in the area of Mari proper. On this point I agree fully with Kupper. Note that the city Ḫanat (present-day 'Anat) is hardly ever men-

tioned in the Mari texts (p. 44) and that, because of its spelling ⁴*Ha-na-at*^{KI} with the divine semantic indicator, it is clearly connected with the name of the female divinity *Ḫanat* (= West Semitic 'Anat), while the name of the country *Ḫana* is spelled in the oldest sources as *Ḫi-na*^{KI} and *Ḫé-na*^{KI} (p. 38 n. 1) and in the Babylonian geographical lists as *Ḫé-a-na*^{KI} (pp. 41ff.), presupposing a Semitic form, the first consonant of which is *ḫ*, *h*, *'*, or *j*, the second *'*, *j* or the like, and the third *n*.²⁹

The name of the country *Ḫana* forms part of the titulary of two rulers of Mari, *Jahdun-Lim* and *Zimri-Lim*, who call themselves "king of Mari, Tuttul, and the country *Ḫana*" (p. 30). The fact that *Jahdun-Lim* fought with the "seven kings, sheikhs of *Ḫana*"³⁰ is explained plausibly by Kupper in terms of a pacification of his own territory rather than a conquest of foreign lands (p. 32). An important Mari text, discussed by Kupper (pp. 31, 35ff.) refers to the king of Mari, *Zimri-Lim*, as being king of the *Ḫaneans* as well as king of the *Akkadians*.³¹ What that implies is the existence of two main strata of population at Mari: the older *Akkadians*, who occupied Mari from the periods preceding the *Lim* dynasty; and the *Ḫaneans*, the West Semitic newcomers, including the new ruling class with its royal family (p. 35). From the cases in which the *Ḫaneans* are mentioned in connection with other ethnic designations, as in *Ḫa-na-a DUMU.MEŠ ia-mi-im* (p. 72) or *Ḫa-na*^{MEŠ} *Ja-ma-ḫa-mu-um* (pp. 21, 73), one may draw the conclusion that the term "*Ḫaneans*" may have acquired second-

arily a general meaning "nomads," "bedouins"³². The references to the *Ḫaneans* may be rounded out by mentioning lists of *Ḫanean* workers living at Mari and *Šuprum* and receiving rations (p. 34), and noting that *Ḫaniaḫḫe*, that is, "*Ḫaneans*" in Hurrian, represent a social class at *Alalah IV* (see below p. 39) below the ruling *marijanni* (pp. 44f.). For a discussion of the term "*Ḫanean*" see below pp. 45ff.

Thus we can see that the *Ḫaneans* represent different kinds of people: the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples who occupy extensive territories in Mesopotamia and South of the Euphrates, partly in the service of the kings of Mari, partly in hostility to them; the ruling dynasty of Mari; and the West Semitic population of *Alalah* and presumably other areas of northern Syria, subjugated by the Hurrians.

Chapter II of Kupper's monograph is dedicated to a discussion of the people whom he calls *Benjaminites* in French (after biblical usage) and *Benê-Yamina* (p. 47) or *Bini*^{meš}-*ia-mi-im* (p. 72) in West Semitic (parallel to *Benê-Sim'al*, pp. 54, 68, 81). Before accepting either term, we should discuss all the pertinent spellings found in the Mari texts. From the materials gathered by Dossin, *Mélanges Dussaud* II 982, and *RA* LII 60ff., we know that the name of the people in question is written regularly with the logogram *DUMU.MEŠ* or (more rarely) *DUMU*, followed by the syllabic spellings *-ia-mi-na*, *-ia-mi-na*^{KI}, *-ia-mi-na-a*, *-ia-me-na*, *-i-ia-mi-na*, *-ia-mi-ni*, *-ia-mi-nim*, and *-ia-mi-in*.³³ Against the West Semitic interpretation as *Binū-Jamīna* or the like it was recently pointed out by Tadmor, *JNES* XVII 130 n. 12, that West Semitic words used in the Akkadian of Mari were never rendered by a logogram; however, Tadmor's interpretation as *mārū iamīnā* "the sons of the

29. Something like the name of the city 'Ijjōn in Naphtali in the O.T.

30. The territory occupied by the nine *Ḫanean* kings (^{KUR}*Ḫa-nu-ū* 9 *LUGAL.E.NE*) in the geographical treatise generally assigned to Sargon of Akkad, covers a stretch of land on the southern bank of the Euphrates extending "from the 'bridge' of Baza on the way to *Meluḫḫa*" (= Arabia) in the south to the "Cedar Mountains" (= Mt. Amanus) in the north (*KAV* 92 = *AOF* XVI 4).

31. Although the text offers philological difficulties, its general meaning seems to be that, since the king of Mari is not only king of the *Ḫaneans* but also king of the *Akkadians*, he should not ride horses, but a chariot or mules, implying that it may have been the custom of the *Ḫaneans* to ride horses, but that the *Akkadians* were in the habit of riding in chariots or on mules. Cf. also below p. 41 n. 45 on the question of the origin of the horse.

32. Some such secondary semantic development is probably implied in the case of *Aḫlamū Aramaja* (p. 111) and *MAR.TU Su-ti-um* (pp. 88, 178); for parallels cf. also *Ia-mu-ut-ba-la-ju Ḫa-bi-ru* (p. 111).

33. For the time being, I leave out of consideration two groups of spellings discussed by Dossin in the second of the two articles cited above, namely *DUMU.MEŠ-ia-mi*, *DUMU.MEŠ-ia-mi-i*, *DUMU.MEŠ-ia-mi-im* and *DUMU.MEŠ-mi-i*, *DUMU-mi-im*, *Ma-ar-mi-i*, because I cannot see how they can be connected with, or phonetically derived from, the forms spelled *DUMU.MEŠ-ia-mi-na*, etc., discussed in the body of the text.

south," parallel to *mārū si-im-a-al* "the sons of the north", is improbable because of the existence of spellings such as DUMU.MEŠ-*ia-mi-na*^{K1}, with the semantic indicator ^{K1}, in ARM II 53:12, 26 and 137:27. In partial agreement with Tadmor's suggestion the word in question is interpreted as *mār^{mes}-jamīna*, *mār-jamīna*, *Mārū-jamīna* by Edzard, ZA LIII 169, and Falkenstein, *op. cit.* p. 283. My own proposal to read simply Jamīna "Jaminites" and to take DUMU.MEŠ and DUMU as semantic indicators is based on the following observations: (1) that forms with or without DUMU(.MEŠ) are freely attested at Mari, as, e.g., in the designation of the tribal name Jawmaḥamū (p. 73 n. 1) and Ja'ilānum (p. 53);³⁴ and 2) that the word for Jaminites occurs once without DUMU(.MEŠ) in [I]a-mi-nu-um (ARM I 67:7, at the beginning of the line) and once separated from DUMU.MEŠ, in DUMU.MEŠ-Si-ma-al ù Ia-mi-in (ARM I 60:9). In the following discussion I write "Jaminites" consistently for Kupper's "Benjaminites."

Kupper, p. 47, begins Chapter II with the following sentence: "à côté des Haneans, les Benjaminites tiennent une place d'égale importance dans la correspondance de Mari." It is true, of course, that the chapter on the Benjaminites is not far behind that on the Haneans in size and that the number of references to both in the Mari correspondence may approximately be equal, but does that mean that the Jaminites and the Haneans played equal or approximately equal roles in the history of Mari or Mesopotamia generally in the Old Babylonian period? While at first I had strong doubts about the correctness of the phrase "d'égale importance," gradually I have come to realize that Kupper may be right, perhaps not so much for the history of Mari proper in the Mari period as for that of Babylonia at the end of the Ur III period.

The Jaminites lead a way of life similar to that of the Haneans, but they are more nomadic (pp. 55, 72) and generally appear more hostile to the kings of Mari (p. 72). They live in encampments, more rarely in cities (pp. 56f., 78). The areas occupied by the Jaminites are widely scattered, around Mari and Tirqa (p. 47), in Jebel el-Bišri (p. 47), in Syria (p. 49), and particularly

in the area of Harraṇ and in Upper Mesopotamia (pp. 48, 79, 260). Kupper (pp. 49f.) furnishes good evidence that under Jaminites are to be included the four important tribes of the Ubrabū, Jaḥrurū, Amnanū, and Jariḥū. Since the first three are frequently mentioned in the texts of Babylonia proper (pp. 51ff.), the obvious conclusion is that the Jaminites must have played an important role during the period of the West Semitic migrations into Babylonia at the end of the Ur III period. In the chapter on the Jaminites Kupper also discusses the tribes of Rabbū (p. 53), Ja'ilānum³⁵ (pp. 53f.), and Jawmaḥamū (p. 73), although the reasons for their inclusion under the Jaminites are not quite evident. The inclusion of DUMU.MEŠ-Šim'al, who live in the Upper Country (pp. 54f.) and whom Kupper defines as "fils du Nord" in contrast to the DUMU.MEŠ-Jamina, whom he calls "fils du Sud," is doubtless more pertinent.

While our knowledge of the Haneans and Jaminites in the Old Babylonian period is derived mostly from the Mari sources, that of the Sutians comes mostly from the Babylonian sources. The Sutians are generally people of the steppe and desert south of the Euphrates (pp. 90, 107, 178), often infiltrating the settled areas of Babylonia and Mari as robbers (pp. 84, 260) or in the pay of foreign rulers (p. 86).

SYRIA AND PALESTINE IN THE OLD AND MIDDLE BABYLONIAN PERIODS

Moving from Mesopotamia to the Syro-Palestinian area we find that our available information on the latter up to and including the Ur III period is exceedingly scanty. Whatever can be said for sure about the few scattered names connected with Northern Syria and the adjacent areas east of the Euphrates (see above p. 35) is that they are not West Semitic.

For a period from 1900 to 1850 B.C., important light on the ethnic situation of Palestine is shed by the Egyptian Execration Texts (pp. 238f.). The majority of the personal names occurring in the texts are clearly West Semitic. While a number of names cannot be safely interpreted, mainly because of difficulties of the Egyptian system of writing, there is no evidence in the Execration Texts of any Hurrian names or names

34. The parallel usage, with or without LÚ.MEŠ or LÚ, is to be noted with the tribal designations Hanū, Japtur, Jariḥū, Jamutbal, Turukkū, and Ubrabū.

35. Not Wilānu, as in K. p. 282; see above p. 29.

connected with other non-Semitic languages of the northern areas. The main divinities occurring in the Semitic personal names are 'MW /'Ammu/, HDDW /Hadadu/,³⁶ and ŠMŠW /Šamšu/. Most of the names are composed of two elements, such as JTNHDDW /*Jattin-Hadadu*/; mimation is sometimes preserved, sometimes omitted; pre-consonantal *n* is usually preserved, more rarely assimilated; the Semitic suffix *-ānu* occurs quite often and normally without mimation, as in JP'NW /*Japu'ānu*/, but the system of writing does not permit us to decide safely whether the suffix is *-ānu* or *-ōnu*. The same uncertainty prevails also in all other names in the Execration Texts in which either the Old West Semitic *ā* or Canaanite *ō* could be reconstructed, as well as in the case of the consonantal pairs *š* and *t*, *ś* and *š*, *ḥ* and *ḫ*, which may or may not have been phonemically distinct in the West Semitic names of the Execration Texts. It is for this reason that I feel rather uneasy about the statement of Goetze in *JSS* IV (1959) 144f. that the names of the Execration Texts are all Amorite; as far as I can judge the situation, it is impossible at the present time to decide between two conclusions, one, that the language of the names in the Execration Texts preserves the characteristics of the older West Semitic language, namely Amorite, and the other, that it shows the innovating features of Canaanite. For more on this question, see below p. 44.

About a hundred years later than the Execration Texts are the Mari sources pertaining to Syria and Palestine. The approximately twenty names of rulers and officials of such cities as Aleppo (p. 232), Qaṭna (p. 236), Carchemish (p. 230), Byblos (p. 237), and Ḥaṣūra (p. 237) are all West Semitic.³⁷

The picture of West Semitic Syria as based on the Mari sources is not correct, however, according to Kupper (p. 232), because the older Alalakh sources, which are only two generations later than the Mari sources, are said to show Syria to be dominated by Hurrians, with the

West Semites clearly playing a secondary role (pp. 233ff.). The whole situation requires a more detailed investigation of the Hurrian expansion westward and of the relation of the Hurrians to the West Semites, which I will attempt in the following pages.

Excepting possible cases of sporadic infiltration, the Mari and Chagar Bazar sources show Hurrians limited to the northern part of Mesopotamia (pp. 230, 232).³⁸ Two generations later we find strong Hurrian elements in the older texts of Alalakh VII in the form of Hurrian personal names, Hurrian month names, and Hurrian glosses and linguistic forms. It is first of all on the matter of the proportion of Hurrians to Semites in the population of Alalakh VII that I am inclined to disagree with Kupper (p. 233), who takes them to be in five-to-three proportion,³⁹ while my own (rather exact) count of the names yields almost the reverse proportion of three to seven (exactly 86 : 188). Aside from these two classes of names, Alalakh VII contains a number of Akkadian names and many more of unknown or uncertain background. Although the names of the ruling dynasty of Alalakh (and Jamhad) are clearly West Semitic, probably because of a trend to preserve dynastic names, the spoken language of the court, or perhaps rather of the scribes, may have been Hurrian, as may be deduced from the fact that the gentilic adjective "Amorite (groom)" is not expressed by Akkadian *Amurrû* but by Hurrian *Amurubḫi*⁴⁰, bearing the well-known Hurrian gentilic suffix. A much stronger Hurrian imprint is recognizable in the later texts from Alalakh, from the so-called Alalakh IV level. In the matter of relations of Semites to Hurrians, it is important to note the existence of the term *Ḥaniaḫḫe* (again with the Hurrian gentilic suffix), "Haneans," representing a social class below the ruling *marijanni* (see also above p. 37).

The ethnic reconstruction of the earliest Syria given above is not fully paralleled by that obtained from the study of Syrian geographical names. We are now fortunate in possessing extensive information in the form of some three hundred place names, found in the texts from the

36. The spelling with double *d* in HDDW indicates probably Hadadu, not Haddu, because double consonants are usually expressed in the Egyptian writing by single consonants, as in 'MW (= 'Ammu).

37. Only *Ib-ni-IM*, king of Ḥaṣūra, bears a name which may represent an Akkadianized form of West Semitic *Jabni-Haddu*.

38. Cf. also Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* pp. 62 ff.

39. Even higher Hurrian proportions are suggested by Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* p. 9, and Alt, *ZDPV* LXXI (1955) 62.

40. Cf. Landsberger, *JCS* VIII 56 n. 103.

Alalah VII and IV periods, which shed important light upon the toponymic situation of the Alalah-Aleppo region. Out of all these names I have found only four which are presumably Semitic, namely Dimat, Huršānu, Huribte, and Maraba, while all other geographic names are non-Semitic. Many of these non-Semitic names can be grouped by their suffixes: *-uwa* in Azazuwa, Suḥaruwa, Ušuwa, etc.; *-ija* in Iburija, Kubija, Kuzubija, Uwija, etc.; *-ik* in Apratik, Arazik, Adabik, Jarabik, etc.; *-ka* in Arnika, Unika, and Šanuka? (or Tabega); *-(a)še* in Annaše, Arinnaše, Awirraše, Hutiluraše, Tarmanaše, etc. Kupper (pp. 235 and 241) gives a simple answer to the question of what language is represented in these non-Semitic names of Alalah; to him they are Hurrian.⁴¹ This answer does not appear satisfactory to me, because at least the suffixes *-uwa*, *-ija*, and *-ka* often occur in names from areas or periods which cannot be called Hurrian. As far as I am concerned, names with these suffixes and the great majority of Alalah geographical names are of unknown linguistic affiliation; only the names with the *-(a)še* suffix⁴² can legitimately be called Hurrian because of parallels in Hurrian milieus, such as Nuzi, but not outside the Hurrian area.

Much more information on the ethnic situation of Syria can be obtained from the El-Amarna, Boğazköy, and Ugarit sources. Being later in time than the Alalah VII and IV sources, they testify to a growing Hurrian expansion. Especially valuable in this respect are the numerous Ugarit materials (pp. 235f.). Agreeing with Alalah VII and IV, the three main classes of population at Ugarit are of Semitic, Hurrian, and unknown origin, but the proportion of Semites to others is much greater at Ugarit than in the North. Similar conclusions can be drawn on the basis of geographical names. The major part of these names is still of unknown background. As at Alalah, these names can be recognized by the suffixes *-uwa* (Arruwa, Ulmuwa, Zazaḥaruwa), *-ija* (Ananija, Aranija, Ja'nija), *-ik* (Atallik = "TLG"), *-ka* (Hurika, Šammiga, Šatega, etc.). The Hurrians are represented by names with the suffix *-(a)ši* (Hišmaraši, Hunduraši, etc.). Again, the striking difference between Ugarit, on the

one hand, and Alalah, on the other, lies in the much stronger proportion of Semitic geographical names at Ugarit. This may be due partly to difference in time, partly to difference in geographic location. Situated as it was between the Alalah-Aleppo region in the North and the Phoenician coast in the South, Ugarit may have been more exposed to the Semitic influence emanating from the South than were the areas situated north of Ugarit.

The sequence of the ethnic elements of Syria can be reconstructed as follows. The first attested population of Syria was of unknown ethnic affiliation; this is shown by the Ur III sources pertaining to Syria and by the extraordinary number of Syrian geographical names which are neither Semitic nor Hurrian. The second population in time was West Semitic; this is shown by the West Semitic personal names pertaining to Syria occurring in the Mari sources and the heavy proportion of West Semitic personal names in the older Alalah sources. The third ethnic element is represented by the Hurrians; its late appearance on the Syrian scene is indicated by the fact that no Hurrians are attested for Syria in the Mari sources and by the growing, not waning, Hurrian influence in Syria, as time went on, from Alalah VII to Ugarit. Thus I am not in accord with the conclusions reached by Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* p. 9, that the Hurrians represent "the native population of ancient Syria," or that of Kupper, p. 235, "que les tablettes d'Alalah, loin de nous faire assister au début de la pénétration hurrite en Syrie septentrionale, nous plongent dans un milieu positivement hurrite." On the contrary, my position in this respect is that, barring the possibility of earlier occasional infiltration, the time of Alalah VII marks the very beginnings of the Hurrian occupation of Syria.⁴³

As has been noted above, our conclusions in respect to the ethnic reconstruction of Syria based on personal names are not wholly paralleled by those based on geographical names. There is

41. He follows in this respect Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* p. 9.

42. Cf. now Goetze, "Hurrian Place Names in *-š(š)e*" in Friedrich Festschrift pp. 195-206.

43. Certain of my conclusions presented here have been anticipated by A. Alt, "Nichtsemitische Ortsnamen im Gebiet von Ugarit", *ZDPV* LXVII (1945) 113-127; *idem*, "Vorläufiges über die Ortsnamen des Landes Mukiš", *ibid.* LXXI (1955) 60-69; M. Noth, "Zum Ursprung der phönikischen Küstenstädte", *Die Welt des Orients* I (1947-52) 21-28.

nothing surprising about this, since we know from many parallels that, while the geographical names are conservative and tend to preserve the old ethnic picture, personal names tend quickly to reflect a new ethnic situation. Our best parallel comes from Babylonia of the most ancient times, where almost all the geographical names are non-Sumerian and non-Akkadian, while the personal names are Sumerian and Semitic.

In respect to the question Semitic : non-Semitic, the ethnic situation in the South, that is, in Palestine and along the Phoenician Coast, differs thoroughly from that reconstructed above for the North. The Egyptian Execration Texts (see above p. 38) attest for Palestine only West Semitic personal and geographical names and a small group of names which cannot be interpreted at the present time, but no trace of anything that might safely be called Hurrian. The EA sources, a few centuries later, list a large number of Semitic names, most of them agreeing in structure both with the names of the older Execration Texts and the younger O.T. The non-Semitic geographical names of Palestine and Phoenicia occurring in the EA sources such as Lakiša = Lachish in Palestine and Ammija in Phoenicia, are exceedingly few. The corresponding personal names in this area are either West Semitic or Hurrian. The evidence of the Execration Texts, contrasted with that of the EA sources, shows clearly that Hurrians are newcomers in Palestine and Phoenicia.

Certain important conclusions can be drawn for the whole Syro-Palestinian area. (1) The oldest attested population of Syria is of unknown ethnic affiliation, followed by West Semites, and then by Hurrians, while the oldest attested population of Palestine and the Phoenician Coast is West Semitic, followed by Hurrians. (2) Palestine and the Phoenician Coast were settled by West Semites long before Syria was. (3) Palestine, and perhaps the Phoenician Coast, may represent the original habitat of the West Semites.

Our next problem is to investigate the relationship of the West Semitic names occurring in Syria and Palestine to the concept of Amurru and the Amorites.

In discussing the Babylonian sources up to the Ur III period we found Amurru to be situated generally in the West from the point of view of

Babylonia, and more specifically in the area of Jebel el-Biṣrī and Did(a)num in the Syrian Desert (above p. 30). In the Old Babylonian period, at the time of Kudur-mabug of Larsa (above pp. 31f.), Amurru formed a small political unit east of the Tigris, representing a late and ephemeral conquest by the Amorites. In the sources from Mari, Alalāḥ, El-Amarna, Ugarit, and Boğazköy, which we are about to discuss, the concept of Amurru is linked clearly with Syria.

Two Mari texts, recently made known by Dossin,⁴⁴ mention Amurru in important contexts (K. p. 179). One refers to the ambassadors of four Amorite kings and of Ḥaṣūra, and the other alludes to Jaminites in the lands of Jamḥad, Qaṭna, and Amurru. The sequence in which the three names occur in the latter passage may or may not be geographically oriented. If it is, then Amurru should be placed south of Qaṭna, which is situated north of Hamath in Syria (see also below p. 44).

The older Alalāḥ sources referring to horses⁴⁵ and grooms of Amurru, as well as to merchants going to and from Amurru (p. 179) are not specific enough as to the location of Amurru, but considering the geographic horizons of the Alalāḥ materials, Amurru could not have been too distant from Alalāḥ. It is because of the weight of the Mari and Alalāḥ evidence that Landsberger finally admitted in *JCS* VIII 56a that the Amurru of the Old Babylonian period was situated in the West, in contrast to his previous position, according to which Amurru lay in the area east of the Tigris.

The question of Amurru in the EA sources is more complicated, and much has been written on it all through the years since the publication of the EA tablets. The discussion of Amurru in the EA

44. In *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* XXXII (1957) 37.

45. The mention of Amorite horses in the Alalāḥ texts, coupled with data based on the Old Babylonian texts from Chagar Bazar concerning the training of horses (K. p. 35) and from Mari concerning the riding of horses by the Ḥaneans (but not by the Akkadians, see above p. 37) raises an interesting question as to whether the horse was actually imported into the Near East from some undefined area in Central Asia, such as Turkestan, for instance, as generally assumed, or whether it was not rather native to Amurru and the adjacent areas of Arabia long before its alleged introduction into the Near East, at the turn of the third millennium B.C., by the Indo-Europeans. What is the provenience of the equine strain or breed known as "the Arabian horse"?

period cannot be dissociated from that of Kinaḥna "Canaan."

The EA letters, supported by the evidence from Boğazköy and Ugarit, show Amurru to be a state with an unknown capital and governed by rulers who assured their independence by astute diplomacy with two powerful neighbors, the Hittites and their satellites in the North and the Egyptians and their satellites in the South. The core of Amurru lay in the area east of the Lebanon, bounded on the north by the kingdoms of Ugarit, Qaṭna, and Nuḥašši,⁴⁶ on the east by those of Kadesh and Damascus, and on the south by the Egyptian possessions in Palestine. Its extent westward, toward the Mediterranean Sea, is not quite certain. We know not only from the EA letters of Rib-Addi of Byblos, but also from Ugarit⁴⁷ and Egyptian⁴⁸ sources that Amurru reached to the Sea, most probably in the area of Ṣumur and Irqata, some distance north of Byblos.

In contrast to the unified and independent state of Amurru, Kinaḥna "Canaan" was, in the EA period, a large region broken up into dozens of city-states, all under the suzerainty of the Egyptian pharaohs, who exercised their control over the region by appointed commissioners. The EA evidence shows that the cities Ḥinnatūna (EA 8), Akšapa (RA XV 100), and Ḥašūra (EA 148) in Palestine, and Ṣidon and Tyre (EA 148) on the Phoenician Coast are to be included in Canaan. Since we know from the Idrimi inscription that Ammija, to be located near Byblos according to EA texts, lies in Canaan, the indirect evidence of EA 131 and 137 should be construed as placing Byblos within Canaan. The evidence linking Ṣumur with Canaan (EA 131) is more difficult to evaluate since the name of Bišitānu of Ṣumur (EA 62) has an *-ānu* ending, which is not Canaanite (see below). Thus the texts cited above place Canaan in Palestine and along the Phoenician Coast as far north as Byblos and Ammija (and even Ṣumur). In reconstructing the boundaries of Canaan of the EA period I have relied on evidence which seems to me safe and sure. I am fully aware of the fact that such EA texts as No. 109, 151, and 162 may be construed by other scholars as containing evidence extending

Canaan into the territory which I include here under Amurru.

The geographical distinction between Amurru and Kinaḥna, as delineated above, receives a full confirmation from a study of the linguistic and onomastic characteristics of the two regions.

While the geographical names ending in *-ūna/i* (mostly in the oblique case) are quite at home in Palestine, as in *Ḥinnatūna/i* = Hebrew *Ḥannatōn*, *Ajjalūna* = Hebrew *'Ajjalōn*, *Ašqalūna* = Hebrew *'Ašq'elōn*, and on the Phoenician Coast, as in *Ṣidūna* = Hebrew *Ṣidōn*, *Batrūna* = modern *Batrūn*, we find names ending in *-ānu* (and the like) just north of Palestine, in *Lablāni*, etc., = Mt. Lebanon, *Šarijāna* = Mt. Hermon, and very rarely at Alalaḥ (*Huršānu*) and Ugarit (*Raḥbāni*, *Ḥarmāni/a*, *Siḡān(n)i*).⁴⁹ As for personal names, the suffix *-ūnu* is attested nowhere, *-ānu* only in Bišitānu of Ṣumur, and occasionally in the later texts from Alalaḥ (but nowhere in the older texts from Alalaḥ), and passim in the texts of Ugarit. Thus while *-ūnu*, with *ū*, is at home in Palestine and along the Phoenician Coast, which were defined as Canaan (just above), *-ānu*, with *ā*, is found in Alalaḥ and Ugarit, with its southern boundaries at Ṣumur, Mt. Lebanon, and Mt. Hermon, all comprised most probably within the boundaries of the state of Amurru.

The distribution of the *ūnu* : *-ānu* suffix in the regions of Canaan and Amurru shows the *ā* > *ō* (written *ū* in cuneiform) change, characteristic of Canaanite. The same change is exemplified also in many glosses, such as *anūki* = Hebrew *'anōki*, *zūkini* /*sōkin*/ = Hebrew *sōken* (as against *zākini* /*sākin*/ at Alalaḥ and Ugarit), *rūḥi* /*rō'i*/ = Hebrew *rō'ē*, *Be-ru-ta* = Hebrew *B'erōt*, *Šurri* = Hebrew *Šôr*, *Gi-ti-ri-mu-ni-ma* = *Gitt(i)-rimōnīma*, all found in letters coming from Palestine and the Phoenician Coast, but not in letters from Amurru and elsewhere outside the Canaanite area.

The apodictic statement made above in respect to the *ā* : *ō* distribution in the Amurru : Canaan areas has to be justified, since a number of exceptions may be alleged against it.

49. Interesting conclusions about the present-day distribution of the *ān* suffix and its variations in the Syro-Palestinian area are drawn by B. S. J. Isserlin, "Place Name Provinces in the Semitic-Speaking Ancient Near East", Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society VII (1956) 83-110, esp. pp. 89 ff.

46. Tunip is at times independent (Boğazköy sources), at times it belongs to Amurru (EA 161).

47. Nougayrol, *CRAI* 1957 p. 80.

48. Breasted, *ARE* III §310.

First we shall discuss the cases in the Palestinian and Phoenician areas where \bar{a} occurs instead of the expected \bar{o} . The name ${}^aDa-ga-an-ta-ka-la$, showing *Dagān*, not *Dagōn*, occurs in the EA letters 317–318, but their being grouped with Palestinian letters in Knudtzon's EA edition is completely arbitrary, as the letters could very well have originated in the North. The occurrence of Bišitānu (beside Šabi-ilu, Maja, and Arzaja) at Šumur (EA 131) may mean that Šumur lies on the boundary between the Amorite and Canaanite areas.

As for the cases in the Amorite area where \bar{o} , instead of \bar{a} , occurs, we should note, first of all, *A-du-na*- dIM at Mari (Syria XIX 109), which was interpreted by Albright, *JAOS* LXXIV 228 n. 39, and Landsberger, *JCS* VIII 56 n. 103, as containing the Hebrew word *'adōn* "lord;"⁵⁰ similarly interpreted by Gordon, *RA* L 132 was the name *A-du-ni*- dU at Ugarit (*MRS* VI p. 196 No. 15.42 ii 20'). As the interpretation of *a-du-na/ni* as "lord" is impossible in Amorite (since the many occurrences from Mari, Chagar Bazar, and Ugarit show only the form *'adāttum*, from *'adāntum* "lady," presupposing a masculine form *'adānum* "lord" in the Amorite area), the element *a-du-na* must be taken as "our *adum*;" cf., for the word, such parallels as *A-di-DINGIR* and, for the formation, *Na-ap-su-na*- dIM , both at Mari. The interpretation of the divine name Elkunirša, husband of Ašertu, occurring in a myth from Boğazköy, as Canaanite 'L QN 'RŠ "Schöpfer (oder Besitzer) der Erde" by Otten, *MIOF* I (1953) 125–150, esp. 135ff., and others, looks speciously good in favor of the existence of \bar{o} in the north. Nevertheless, the phonetic difficulties involved in the 'RŠ : *irša* identification and the difficult question of how a Canaanite form could have reached the Hittites across the Amorite territory make me hesitant about accepting the proposed interpretation of the name Elkunirša. The word *ab(b)ūtu* "fathers" occurs quite frequently in the EA letters (cf. *EA* Glossary p. 1361), especially in the letters from Byblos, but also once each in the letters from Šidon (144), Tyre (150), Šamḥūna in Palestine (224), and Qaṭna (55). While Byblos, Šidon, Tyre, and

Šamḥūna lie in the Phoenician-Palestinian area, Qaṭna lies in the Amorite area. If it were true that *ab(b)ūtu* reproduces the Hebrew form *'abōt* for "fathers," as claimed by Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* p. 31, and by Dhorme, *Recueil Édouard Dhorme* pp. 465f., then we would have to admit that \bar{o} forms were known at Qaṭna in the Amorite territory. The new information now available from Mari, occurring in the phrase *abūt bītīm* (*ARM* VII 190:16 and 214:7'), shows, however, that *ab(b)ūtu* is not a Canaanite form but an Akkadian plural of the type of *awīlūtu*, *šībūtu*, etc. Finally, in respect to the possibility of assuming an *a > o* change in *zuḥru* "back," occurring in letters from Canaan, but also from Abd-Aširta of Amurru (*EA* 64, 65), it should be noted that EA *zuḥru* corresponds in formation to the Arabic word *zuḥr*⁵¹ "noon," and not to *zahr* "back," as assumed by Böhl, *op. cit.* pp. 15 and 83, and Dhorme, *op. cit.* p. 459.

In investigating the $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ phonetic change we should try to establish not only its geographical, but also its chronological distribution. The main question before us is: when is the $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ change attested for the first time? Disregarding the case of *A-du-na*- dIM , which has been taken care of (just above), all the sources of the Old Babylonian period, from Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, show nothing but the vowel \bar{a} in all cases but one, the name of Ḥašūra. The latter occurs several times in the Mari sources. We had occasion above p. 41, in the discussion of the location of Amurru, to discuss the important passage referring to ambassadors of four Amorite kings and of Ḥašūra. The passage is important for the location of Ḥašūra because, if we take the conjunction "and" seriously, it would mean that Ḥašūra was situated outside Amurru in the Old Babylonian period. The second occurrence⁵² (*ARM* VI 23:23, discussed above p. 41 and K. p. 179) is also important for the location of Ḥašūra, since it lists Ḥašūra immediately following upon Jamḥad and Qaṭanum. That this geographical sequence is genuine, is indicated by a late Assyrian "routier," listing a number of places, among them

51. The same formation as in Hebrew *šoh'rajīm* "noon".

52. The other references to Ḥašūra in the Mari archives (*ARM* VI 78:5, 10, 14, 15; VII 236:7') yield nothing for its location. Cf. also the reference to Ibni-Haddu king of Ḥašūra, discussed above p. 39.

50. The reading ${}^aA-du-ni-AM$ on a seal inscription tentatively proposed by Albright, *loc. cit.*, should be corrected most probably to *A-du-an-ni-am* (DUMU *Ri-iš-DINGIR* *İR* aUTU - dIM).

Ḫa-zu-ur^{K1} (var. *Ḫa-sur*^{K1}) immediately following upon *Ḫallaba* and *Qatana*.⁵³ Thus *Ḫašūra* must be located south of *Qatna*, which corresponds to modern Mishrife, situated north of Hamath in Syria, and nothing stands in the way of identifying the Mari and late Assyrian *Ḫašūr(u)* with *Ḫašūra* of the EA letters and the biblical *Ḫašōr* of Galilee, which was one of the most powerful Palestinian kingdoms in pre-Israelite times.⁵⁴

The biblical name of *Ḫašōr* has been generally explained as expressing the word *ḫašār*,⁵⁵ with the standard Canaanite *ā > ō* change. The word *ḫašār* occurs in chronological order first in the Akkadian *ašūrum* of the Ur III geographical names (*MAD* III 7), then in *ḫašārum* "enclosure" in a Mari text (*CAD*) and passim in New Babylonian (*CAD*), and finally in Arabic *ḫaṣār* "wall," "enclosure." Theoretical at least, *Ḫašōr* could develop from *Ḫašūr*, a *qatūl* formation, but this is much less likely because of lack of parallels to that formation from either the root *ḪZR* or *ḪDR* in other Semitic languages.

If *Ḫašūra* of the Mari texts is identified with the biblical *Ḫašōr*, if the name of the biblical *Ḫašōr* represents an original *qatāl* formation — and I wish to reiterate here that I do not see anything anywhere that would deny the validity of these two assumptions — then we are faced in *Ḫašūra* of the Mari texts with the oldest example of the *ā > ō* change and consequently with the oldest evidence of a Canaanite language.⁵⁶ This linguistic contrast between a Canaanite form with *ō* in Palestine and forms with *ā* everywhere in the North fits perfectly the statement of a Mari letter, discussed above (p. 43), which refers to *Ḫašūra*

as outside the area occupied by the four Amorite kingdoms, as well as our definition of Canaan, an *ō* area, contrasting with *Amurru*, an *ā* area, in the EA period (see above pp. 42ff.).

In spite of the chain of evidence presented above in favor of the existence of Canaanite in Palestine in the Old Babylonian period as a linguistic entity separate from Amorite, spoken in the North, in the vast area stretching from Syria, through Mesopotamia, to Babylonia, I am still not fully convinced.⁵⁷ This doubt is based on my faithful attachment to the principle "testis unus, testis nullus." What we need is further evidence concerning specific Canaanite isoglosses, such as those pertaining to the consonantal structure, from the Palestinian and possibly Phoenician areas and dated to the Old Babylonian period. It is quite possible that a more thorough evaluation of the Execration Texts may furnish us with such evidence.

While we may have difficulty in evaluating the evidence in respect to the single or multiple character of West Semitic in the Old Babylonian period, there are no such problems in the Middle Babylonian period. The South, that is, Palestine and the Phoenician Coast, was occupied by Canaanite and the North, that is, Syria and Mesopotamia, was occupied by Amorite (e. g., at Alalah), Ugaritic (in a small coastal enclave), and the beginnings of what later became the Aramaic dialects (as used by the early Aḥlameans and Arameans living in a nomadic and semi-nomadic state in the desert areas between Syria and Mesopotamia).

RÉSUMÉ

West Semitic Migrations. Our oldest sources pertaining to the West Semites come from Babylonia. While we find West Semites living there peacefully side by side with the native population all the way from the Pre-Sargonic, through the Sargonic, to the Ur III periods, it is only from the last-named period that our attestation is sufficient to permit certain ethnic and linguistic evaluations (above pp. 29 f.). We know nothing about the time when the West Semites moved into Babylonia. Since they are called *MAR.TU* "Amorites" in the sources (above pp. 30 f.), we may safely assume that they came ultimately from a

53. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* p. 268, 312 f., and Goetze, *BASOR* No. 147 p. 23.

54. The identification was taken for granted by Dossin and Kupper (p. 179), as against Landsberger, *JCS* VIII 115 n. 233, who pointed out that the variant spelling *Ḫa-sur* in the Assyrian "routier" speaks in favor of positing the form *Ḫasur*, with *s*, instead of *Ḫašur*, with *š*.

55. Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*; Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*; Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* p. 24.

56. The fact that an *ō* form of *Ḫašūra* occurs at Mari, an *ā* area, should not be disturbing since the forms of the geographical names as a rule tend to be faithfully recorded in foreign areas. Cf., e.g., *ō* forms of ^{KUR}*Bi-ru-ū-ti* = Beirut (*MRS* IX p. 255) and ^{KUR}*Ši-du-[na]* = Šidon (*MRS* VI p. 267), both occurring in Ugarit, an *ā* area.

57. See above p. 39.

country called MAR.TU = Amurru, which contemporary sources place in the West, more specifically around Jebel el-Biṣrī, in the Syrian Desert (above p. 30).

From the end of the Ur III and beginning of the Old Babylonian periods, we find new waves of West Semites entering Babylonia and Mesopotamia. They came in two large migrations at an interval of about two hundred years. The first wave entering Babylonia succeeded in overthrowing the Ur III dynasty and establishing itself as the dominant political force in the various parts of the country, such as Larsa, Kish, Babylon, and the Diyala region (above pp. 30 f.). Since during that period Mesopotamia was most probably free of West Semites we assume that the conquest of Babylonia was achieved by West Semites coming from the areas south of the Euphrates and not from Mesopotamia. Two hundred years after the beginning of the West Semitic penetration of Babylonia important ethnic changes took place in the North. The thrones of Mari and Assyria were occupied by dynasties of West Semitic background and vast areas of Mesopotamia were fully settled by West Semitic peoples (above pp. 35 f.). It may be taken for granted that the West Semitic movement into Mesopotamia in the Old Babylonian period originated from across the Euphrates, just as did the earlier West Semitic movement toward Babylonia.

Our sources pertaining to the West Semites in Syria and Palestine flow almost uninterruptedly from the Old Babylonian period on. Two important conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the study of geographical names and of other, less important considerations: (1) The Semites entered Syria in mass in the Old Babylonian period, encountering a population of unknown, but certainly not Hurrian, ethnic affiliation. (2) The Semites must have been established in Palestine long before the Old Babylonian period, and nothing prevents us from assuming that they may have been native to the area from time immemorial (above p. 41).

Their Languages. The language of the first West Semitic wave entering Babylonia can be reconstructed only with some difficulty because of the scarcity of adequate materials, which consist mainly of over one hundred names of persons called MAR.TU in the Ur III period, many of whom had become so assimilated during their long

stay in Babylonia that they bore either Akkadian or Sumerian names (above pp. 41f.). Our knowledge of West Semitic in the Old Babylonian period has increased tremendously in the past decades. Our sources come not only from Babylonia, but also from Mesopotamia (Mari, Chagar Bazar) and Syria (Alalah). The linguistic unity of all these West Semitic sources of the Old Babylonian period is beyond all question. The conclusion which I reached on the basis of a study of the Ur III MAR.TU names is that any characteristics which can be detected in the Ur III MAR.TU names as compared with the West Semitic names of the Old Babylonian period pertain more to onomastic habits than to linguistic differences (above pp. 33f.). As far as I can see, all the available evidence pertaining to the West Semites up to and including the Old Babylonian period, from Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, indicates one single West Semitic language. Outside of that area, only Palestine poses a problem. On the basis of the occurrence of Ḥaṣūra in the Mari texts, for Ḥaṣōr in Palestine, showing the $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ change, it may be assumed that Canaanite represented a linguistic entity separate from the rest of West Semitic already in the Old Babylonian period. But the evidence is unique, and further light, presumably from the Egyptian Execration Texts, is needed to settle the question (above p. 44). By the Middle Babylonian period West Semitic is composed of several separate linguistic entities: Canaanite, Amorite, Ugaritic, and the beginnings of Aramaic.

Terminology. There is no difficulty in finding a term for the West Semites living in Babylonia up to and including the Ur III period. As their names normally carry the appellation MAR.TU, there is no doubt that, at least within the confines of Babylonia, their bearers were called MAR.TU "Amorites" (above pp. 30f.). The geographical term MAR.TU = Amurru denotes in the same period a territory in the West, in the area of Jebel el-Biṣrī in the Syrian Desert.

Of the various terms used for the West Semites of the Old Babylonian period, four will be discussed below. They are: (1) "West Semitic" or "North West Semitic," (2) "East Canaanite" or "Canaanite," (3) "Ḫanean," and (4) "Amorite." We shall take them up one by one in this order.

The term "West Semitic" languages and dialects is used extensively by Kupper in his mono-

graph and by myself in this article for all those early West Semitic peoples who bore no known ethnic appellation, primarily in order to differentiate them from those peoples who called themselves Amorite and thus to avoid prejudicial judgments in respect to their real terminology. The term "West Semitic" is definitely to be preferred to "North West Semitic," because the former includes the Arabic group of languages, which cannot *a priori* be excluded from ethno-linguistic considerations concerning the earliest Semites different from Akkadians. While the use of the term "West Semitic" may be justified in general discussion, it is not an appropriate term for a definite ethno-linguistic entity. The term "West Semitic" is normally used in the field of Semitics for a group of languages which were or are spoken in the vast West Semitic area, at one time or another, from time immemorial to the present day. What we should try to do in the case of early West Semitic languages is to find specific terms for specific linguistic entities.

There is no need, it seems to me, to discuss further the term "East Canaanite" introduced some thirty years ago by Landsberger and Bauer, as this was done exhaustively above pp. 30f. The surprising thing is the widespread use of the term "East Canaanite" and its correlative "Canaanite" even up to the present time in Assyriological and Semitological literature, even though the terminology and its underlying theories have been generally rejected by all those scholars who participated in the discussion of the topic immediately upon the publication of the studies of Landsberger and Bauer. Two main reasons advocate against the terms East Canaanite or Canaanite: (1) The terms are too narrow, because they *a priori* exclude all other West Semitic languages from consideration of the linguistic relationship of the West Semitic language in question, (2) The terms are wrong, because the West Semitic language in question is different from Canaanite, as we know it mainly from the EA period on.

In a recent re-evaluation of the history of the West Semitic peoples of the Old Babylonian period Landsberger introduced two new terms, namely "westliche Hälfte der Ostkanaanäer" and "Hana'-Leute" (*JCS* VIII 56 n. 103). It is not clear from Landsberger's discussion whether those terms are to be applied to all the West Semitic peoples living East of Babylonia or only to those

living in Syria, specifically around Alalakh. While the term "western East Canaanites" was introduced by Landsberger for either a part or the whole of the west branch of the East Canaanites, the term "Haneans" is said to have been used by the West Semites themselves. The strange-sounding term "western East Canaanites" was justly criticized by Goetze (*JCS* IV 144n. 2) and, like all the terms connected with "Canaanite", should be consigned to limbo. More serious is the consideration of the term "Haneans." The only piece of evidence adduced by Landsberger in favor of the term "Haneans" is the fact that the term *Haniabhe* (that is, "Haneans") represents the designation for the native population of Alalakh (above p. 37). Several other considerations may be added to this, such as that the king of Mari called himself king of the Akkadians as well as of the Haneans (above p. 37), that the term "Hanean" may have acquired a secondary meaning of "nomad," "beduin" (above p. 37), that the Haneans formed an inherent part of the population of Mari (above p. 37), and that the area occupied by the seven or nine Hanean kings covered a long stretch of land extending south of the Euphrates, from Syria to southern Babylonia (above p. 37).

Returning to the term "Amorite," discussed at the beginning of this section on *Terminology*, we note the following important uses of "Amorite" in the Old Babylonian period in Babylonia proper: We find foreign Amorites invading Babylonia (pp. 30f.), the Amorite dynasties established at Babylon and Larsa (pp. 30f.), persons called MAR.TU living in Babylonia (p. 30), and the population of Babylonia divided into Akkadians and Amorites in the Seisachtheia of Ammi-šaduqa (p. 32). The link between, or rather the identity of, the Amorites and West Semites is established by the fact that the names of the rulers of the Amorite dynasties of Babylon and Larsa, and of other Babylonian cities, such as Kish, Marad, Sippar, Kazallu, Eshnunna, etc. (p. 30), as well as of hundreds or perhaps thousands of individuals, are all West Semitic and almost identical in type and structure with the Amorite names of the preceding Ur III period (pp. 36f.).

The important thing to note is that the name of the divinity Amurru occurs both independently and as a component of Akkadian personal names in Babylonia and Elam (p. 28), as well as As-

syria (p. 35), even in periods preceding Old Babylonian. Since the name of the god Amurru occurs in thoroughly Akkadian context and not as a component of West Semitic names, it may be suggested that Amurru represents the patron deity of the earliest Amorite wave entering Babylonia and Assyria, who became fully accepted into the Akkadian pantheon and Akkadian onomastics (cf. also K. pp. 245ff.).

As against the numerous usages of the term "Amorite" in the sources from Babylonia and Assyria, this term is relatively rare in the West, specifically at Mari and Alalāḥ. We learn from the Mari sources that Amurru was a kingdom in Syria (above p. 41), that Mašum was a DUB. SAR MAR.TU⁵⁸ of the Assyrian king Šamši-Adad (K. pp. 194, 252f.), and that *A-mu-rum* was the name of a *ga-ju* "clan" (K. p. 20, 181, cf. also ARM VII 227:12'). The Alalāḥ sources often refer to horses and grooms of Amurru, as well as to merchants going to and from Amurru (above p. 41).

It is clear from the evidence presented above that there are two, and I believe only two, terms which may vie with each other as likely candidates to cover the West Semites to the end of the Old Babylonian period. These are "Ḫanean," used mainly in the West, namely at Mari and Alalāḥ, and "Amorite," used mainly in Babylonia and Assyria. There is no general term to cover all the West Semites of the areas and periods discussed here, and none is expected, if we can judge the situation by the limitations of ethnic terminology used elsewhere, such as Itali, Graeci, Germani, etc. The task of terminology is not so much to choose a "correct" term, which it seems to me is well-nigh an impossibility in the case of ethnic terminology,

58. Cf. EME.BAL MAR.TU in an Ur III text discussed above p. 32.

but to choose one likely term and use it consistently.

In pleading in favor of the term "Amorite" as against "Ḫanean," I should like first of all to call attention to the fact that the term "Amorite" for the West Semites was fully established in Assyriological and orientalist circles before its rivals "East Canaanite" and "Canaanite" (*requiescant in pace*) gained currency, and that the term "Ḫanean" is relatively new and has a much narrower over-all application than the term "Amorite." The most important support for the term "Amorite" results from the observation that in the post-Old Babylonian period this term was used extensively by the peoples of the West Semitic area (EA, Ugarit, O. T.) and of the neighboring countries of Egypt, Anatolia, and Assyria, where and when the term "Ḫanean" is completely unknown.

In conclusion I should like to propose the following three subdivisions of the term "Amorite" in ethno-linguistic and historical usages:

(1) *Old Amorite*: From the oldest times to the end of the Ur III dynasty. The country Amurru is in the West. Amorites are attested in Babylonia.

(2) *Middle Amorite*: Old Babylonian period. The country Amurru is in Syria. Amorites are attested in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia. Only one West Semitic language was used throughout that area. Palestine and the Phoenician Coast may be either Amorite or Canaanite.

(3) *New Amorite*: Middle Babylonian period. The country Amurru is in Syria. The Amorite language, used in Syria, is to be contrasted with Canaanite, Ugaritic, and possibly the beginnings of Aramaic.

[For an important discussion of cuneiform passages pertaining to Ḫašōr, including a newly discovered inscription on a jug, see A. Malamat, Journ. of Bibl. Lit. LXXIX (1960) 12-19].



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Author(s): I. J. Gelb

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3, Erich F. Schmidt Memorial Issue. Part One (Jul., 1965), pp. 230-243

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](http://www.uchicago.edu)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/543125>

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THE ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIAN RATION SYSTEM

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IN HIS well-known study of the pre-Sargonic texts of the "temple of Bau" at Lagash-Girshu, P. Anton Deimel, *Šumerische Tempelwirtschaft zur Zeit Urukaginas und seiner Nachfolger* (*AnOr* II [Roma, 1931]), 1 ff., translated the Sumerian term *še-ba* as "Gersten-Lohn," and similarly *ziz-ba*, *ninda-ba*, and *sig-ba* as "Weizen-, Brot-, and Woll-Lohn (or -Lohnung)," respectively. He had used the same terms previously in *Fara* III, 15* (for the Fara texts) and in *Orient.* XXXIV f. and XLIII f. (for the Lagash-Girshu texts).

The translation of *še-ba* and of other types of *-ba* as "Lohn, wages, salaire," etc. is now fully dominating the field of Assyriology. Very few of the scholars who translate *še-ba* as "(barley-) rations" are aware of the weighty implications of the term "rations" versus "wages."

The fact is that there is as much difference in meaning between rations and wages as there is between *še-ba* and *á*, and between the semi-free class of workers, forced to perform labor for which they receive rations, and the free class of workers offering their services in hire. And the fact is that the only system dominating the picture of early Mesopotamian economic history is that of a semi-free class of laborers receiving *še-ba* "rations," and it was not until the later stage of the Ur III period, but mainly from the Old Babylonian on, that the rise of free laborers, offering their services as *lú-ḫun-gá*, "hirelings," brought about a radical change in the economic and social system of the country, and with it the institution of *á*, "wages."

The object of this study is first to straighten out the meaning of *še-ba* and of related terms for rations and then to place the ration system within the framework of the ancient Mesopotamian society.

The time covered in this study is the second half of the third millennium B.C., with its four main epigraphic subdivisions, Fara, pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, and Ur III. The emphasis on the Sargonic and Ur III periods is justified by the fact that our best documentation for the ration system comes from that time.

The old Mesopotamian ration system involves regular distribution of three basic commodities: barley, oil, and wool. These three kinds of regular rations are discussed in the following three sections.

Še-ba, "BARLEY RATION"

Word for word, the Sumerian compound *še-ba* consists of *še*, "barley," and *ba*, "distribution, division, allotment," and means "distribution of barley." The Sumerian verb *ba* corresponds to the Akkadian *zāzum*, both meaning "to distribute, to divide, to allot." Cf. *CAD* under *zāzu*, p. 76. Nothing in these basic meanings of Sumerian *ba* and Akkadian *zāzum* leads easily to a secondary meaning "wages." The compound *ŠE.BA* is used as a Sumerogram in Akkadian texts.

That *še-ba* or ŠE.BA cannot mean "wages" but only "rations" in all the early Mesopotamian periods before the Old Babylonian period can be proved by the following evidence:

(1) ŠE.BA is issued for animals in a number of Sargonic texts of Tell Asmar (e.g., *MAD* I 154; 292; 306), of Susa (*MDP* XIV 71), and of unknown origin (*BIN* VIII 122; 131); also rarely in the Ur III texts (*CT* I 6-7).

(2) ŠE.BA is issued for infants or nursing babies, called DUMU.GA in the texts of Gasur (*HSS* X 184; 187; 188), and GABA in the texts of Susa (*MDP* XIV 11; 51; 61; 71).

(3) ŠE.BA is issued for divinities (^dA-ba₄ and ^dŠu-nir) in the Sargonic texts of Susa (*MDP* XIV 51; 71).

(4) *Še-ba nam-ra-ag* (*TCL* V 6039 end) corresponds to *šà-gal nam-ra-a-ag* (*Dok.* II 329 end) in two parallel Ur III texts from Umma, listing barley issued to captive women and children. The use of *šà-gal*, which normally denotes barley rations issued to animals, means that *še-ba* is here considered as rations on the level of fodder for animals, and certainly not as wages.

(5) In contrast to the term *še-ba*, "rations," used regularly in all the periods from Fara to Ur III, both the terms *á*, "wages" (originally, the amount of work done in x days), and *lú-ḫun-gá*, "hireling," are exceedingly rare in early periods, from Fara to Sargonic. In the Ur III period, when the institution of wages develops to a fuller extent, the total amounts received by hirelings add up to much more than the standard rations. See e.g., *PDTI* 368; *TMH* n.F. I/II 121; and *Kraft* 7 (unpublished), according to which the total received by hirelings includes 150 quarts as wages plus 60 quarts as rations, thus amounting to 210 quarts of barley per one man in one month. On the standard ration of 60 quarts see below p. 233.

By extension, the word *še-ba* or ŠE.BA involves the distribution of both ŠE, "barley," and GIG, "wheat," in a Sargonic text (*HSS* X 66), which is not surprising considering that ŠE also has the meaning of "grain" in general (*MAD* III 256). In fact, the meaning of ŠE.BA was further extended to cover not only barley and grain in general but also the two other commodities which were regularly distributed as rations, namely ì, "oil, fat," and síg, "wool." Cf. DUB ŠE.BA ì, "the tablet of the rations of oil" (*MAD* I 49), and quantities of ŠE, síg, and ì given for ŠE.BA of PN's (*MAD* I 291). Since barley is by far the most common commodity distributed in the old Mesopotamian ration lists, *še-ba* or ŠE.BA in the greatest number of occurrences means simply "barley ration."

The greatest extension of the meaning of *še-ba* is found in the Ur III texts from Ur (*UET* III), where the term *še-ba* stands for the distribution of *še*, "barley," *ninda*, "bread," ì, "oil," *ku₆*, "fish," *zú-lum* and *ù-ḫu-in*, "dates," and *gú-tur*, "peas," singly or in any combination of the different commodities, as in the following examples:

še alone (passim)

še and ì (1025; 1049; 1066 = ì-*giš*; 1377)

še and *ku₆* (1070)

še, ì, and *ku₆* (1032)

še, ì, *ku₆*, and *zú-lum* (1047)

še and *zú-lum* (1033; 1039; 1415)

ì alone (1053; 1054; 1063; 1144)

ì-*giš* alone (1041; 1046; 1146; 1149; 1151; 1182)

ì and *ku₆* (1040)

ì and *zú-lum* (1062; 1091)
 ì, *zú-lum*, and *ninda* (1048; 1072)
*ku*₆(-ìzì) alone (1046; 1182; 1185)
zú-lum alone (1070; 1090; 1092; 1093)
ù-lu-in alone (1105)
gú-tur sumun alone (1002)

One interesting point about the use of *še-ba* in *UET* III texts is that the term *še-ba* includes all kinds of food, but not, e.g., wool, in contrast to *MAD* I 291, referred to just above. It is surprising that the use of *še-ba* for rations of different kinds of food is not known in the Ur III period outside of Ur.

A strange hybrid in the form ì-*še-ba* for "rations of oil," and not "rations of oil and barley," was used by an Ur scribe in *UET* III 1181 (and 170).

While *še-ba* is the all-purpose term for barley rations, no matter whether distributed to human beings, animals, or divinities, other terms are used in the lists at times in opposition to *še-ba*, at times replacing it. These terms are: *ša-gal*, used for barley rations for animals but also for captives and for the *erín* class of workers/soldiers; *še-kur*₆-*ra* (or *kur*₆), used for barley issued as subsistence for free persons; *sá-dug*₄, used mainly for distributions to divinities; *nig-kú-a* (mainly in *UET* III texts), used for food issued to individuals on special occasions; and *nig-dáb* (mainly in *UET* III texts), used for food and wool issued to divinities and for cultic purposes. Cf., e.g., *še-kur*₆-*ra* for *engar* "peasants" (Reisner, *TUT* 94 ii 34), in contrast to *še-ba* for semi-free persons (*op. cit. passim*, and commonly in Ur III); also *še-kur*₆ parallel to *sá-dug*₄ (*UET* III 156; 974; 1377), *še-ba* parallel to *sá-dug*₄ (*UET* III 94; 961; 1031), *še-ba* parallel to *ša-gal* (*TCL* V 6039; *Dok.* II 329, discussed above p. 231), and *nig-kú(-a)* parallel to *nig-dáb* (Oppenheim, *CCTE* F 4 and I 9). For the Old Babylonian period, note that one text uses ŠE.BA as barley rations for (semi-free) female weavers, ŠA.GAL for birds, and KUR₆ for free individuals (*CT* VIII 21d, translated by Kohler and Ungnad, *HG* III No. 773, and Harris in *JESHO* VI [1963], 143 f.).

The amount of rations received by individuals depended in the first place, on the sex and age of the recipient and, in the second place, on his status and the type of work he performed. The terms for sex and age differentiations are discussed below on pp. 238ff.

The barley ration system of the Sargonic period can be best reconstructed from the Gasur and Susa texts. The amounts are given in *silà*, "quarts" per month.

MEN (GURUŠ)	WOMEN (GEMÉ)	Sons (DUMU. NITA)	CHILDREN Daughters (DUMU. SAL)	Infants (DUMU. GA) (GABA)	SOURCE
60	30	30	30, 20		<i>HSS</i> X 183
60		30?, 20?, 15			<i>HSS</i> X 184
60	30	20	20	10	<i>HSS</i> X 187
60	30	30, 20	20	10	<i>HSS</i> X 188
120, 60	30	30, 20	20		<i>HSS</i> X 190
	30	20		10	<i>MDP</i> XIV 11
60, 40, 30	30	20	20	10	<i>MDP</i> XIV 51
	30		20	10	<i>MDP</i> XIV 61
60, 40, 30	30	30, 20	30, 20	10	<i>MDP</i> XIV 71

The ration system is very much standardized all through the Sargonic and Ur III periods, although deviations of different types are found occasionally.

In the *MDP* XIV 71 Sargonic text the great majority of *guruš*, "men," receive 60 quarts of barley per month, others 40 or 30 quarts; several hundred *gemé*, "women," receive 30 quarts, but 5 *gemé.šu.gi₄*, "old women," only 20 quarts; a larger number of *DUMU.NITA*, "boys," receive 30 quarts, a smaller number only 20 quarts; and while *DUMU.SAL*, "girls," receive normally 20 quarts, a small number of them receive 30 quarts.

In the Ur III text, Fish, *CST* No. 263 (Pls. XLVII f.) probably from Drehem, *guruš*, "men," receive 125, 75, 60, 50, 40, or 30 quarts; among them the ration of 125 quarts is assigned to the *guruš-engar*, "farmers," and 50 quarts to *guruš-šu-gi₄*, "old men;" *gemé*, "women," receive the standard ration of 30 quarts, but the rations of *dumu-nita*, "boys," vary from 25 to 20 to 15 to 10 quarts, and those of *dumu-SAL*, "girls," from 15 to 10 quarts. The *dumu-nita* and *dumu-SAL* who receive 10 quarts must obviously correspond to the *DUMU.GA* or *GABA*, "infants," of the Sargonic period.

In the *CT* III 9 f. Ur III text from Lagash, the male workshop foremen called *guruš ugula-uru* receive 60 quarts, most of the other *guruš*, "men," also 60 quarts, although a few receive 50, 40, or 30 quarts; the *gemé ugula-uru*, "female workshop foremen," get 40 quarts, other *gemé*, "women," usually 35 quarts, some 25 or 20 quarts; *dumu*, "children," without distinction as to sex, receive 20, 15, or 10 quarts. Here, too, *dumu* who receive 10 quarts must correspond to the older term *DUMU.GA* or *GABA*.

For sources pertaining to the barley ration system in the Fara texts, see Deimel, *Fara* III p. 13* and Nos. 61–91, especially No. 91, also Jestin, *TSS* 150. While the figure of 96 quarts of barley per man dominates in the lists, no clear picture of standard rations can be reconstructed for this period.

Texts pertaining to the barley rations in the pre-Sargonic period at Lagash-Girshu have been collected by Deimel in *Orient.* XXXIV f. and XLIII f. The rations of barley average out to 72, 48, and 36 quarts per man, 36 and 24 quarts per woman, and 18 and 12 quarts per child, thus approximating the standard rations of barley in the Sargonic and Ur III periods. The exact amounts differ from class to class and require a more minute examination than can be given here.

Under normal circumstances, barley rations were issued once a month. Cf. *lu iti-da-ke₄* "persons (receiving rations once) a month," (*DP* 154; *HSS* III 3; etc.) in pre-Sargonic; *še.BA (šu) 1 iti* (*HSS* X 108; 190; *BIN* VIII 122; 123; 130) or *še.BA iti 1* (*MDP* XIV 71) in Sargonic; and *še . . . iti-da* (*CT* IX 50 b; *Orient.* XLVII 382; Barton, *HLC* III 114 xv; BM 23581, unpublished) or *še-ba iti-da* (*CT* III 7 x) in Ur III.

ì-ba, "OIL RATION"

The information about oil rations is much less satisfactory than that about barley rations, both in terms of quantity and quality.

The term for "oil rations" in the *UET* III texts is normally *še-ba* (see p. 231, but also *ì-ba* (*UET* III p. 103), and even *ì-še-ba* (*UET* III 1181, discussed above on p. 232). Elsewhere, the term *ì-ba* occurs very rarely, as in *HSS* IV 3 and Oppenheim, *CCTE* p. 4.

The meaning of *ì* as "animal fat" or "vegetable oil" cannot be discussed here. Let it suffice to note that the most common oil was *ì-šaḫ*, "lard," from the Fara to the Sargonic

period, but *ì-giš*, "sesame," in the Ur III period. Neither can we enter here into the discussion of the extent to which oil was used as food and/or as ointment.

The amounts of oil listed in the Sargonic texts from Tell Asmar are normally 3 quarts per woman and 6 quarts per woman with a child (*MAD* I 7; 11). An unpublished Sargonic text of Adab yields 1/2 quart of oil per man, in addition to 60 quarts of barley and 1 shekel of silver, all paid as wages (A 663). A Susa text lists the distribution of 1 quart of sesame oil each to different individuals (*MDP* XIV 50).

In the Ur III period the following information is available: According to Reisner, *TUT* 164¹⁹ and BM 17807 (unpublished), several hundred women receive each 10 *gín*, i.e., 1/6 of a quart of oil. The same amount, namely 10 shekels of oil, in addition to 60 quarts of bread, is received by each Elamite worker in a month (*ITT* III 6175). According to *HSS* IV 3 iii, 6466 women receive each one quart of oil; as can be deduced from the verb *ba-ab-še_x* (*ERIN*) in cols. v, vi, rev. iv and v, some quantities of oil were issued for the purpose of anointing, not consumption.

The main problem that we face in connection with the oil rations concerns the time they were issued: were oil rations issued once a month, once a year, or several times a year at some regular or irregular intervals? Unfortunately, in the case of oil rations, we have no parallels to the *še-ba sig-ba* texts (p. 236), which deal with the distribution of both barley and wool in the year, and furnish clear evidence that barley rations were issued once a month and wool rations once a year (pp. 233 and 235). Apparently oil was not distributed as regularly as barley and wool. This comes out also from the fact that the expression for "upkeep" is not only *še-ba ì-ba sig-ba* in the Ur III *ditillas* (Falkenstein, *NSGU* III pp. 161 f.), but also *še-ba sig-ba* alone (Falkenstein, *NSGU* III pp. 161 f., and below, p. 236).

Good evidence concerning the period for which oil rations were issued is to be found in *ITT* III 6175, referred to above, which reads as follows: (1) 3 *guruš Elam I(pi) ninda-ta* (2) 10 *gín ì-ta iti l-kam* (3) *iti 2-šè* (4) *iti Gán-maš-ta* (5) *iti Še-il-la-šè* (6) *Elam nam-ra-ag-me*. The meaning is quite clear: 12 captive Elamites received 10 shekels of oil and 60 quarts of bread in a month, to be issued in 12 months. Since 60 quarts of bread (or grain) is the standard monthly ration of a *guruš* worker, we must assume that 10 shekels of oil also represent the standard monthly ration. No safe conclusions can be drawn from a Diyala Sargonic tag from the Diyala Region (*MAD* I 49), reading *DUB ŠE.BA ì šu 1 MU*, "the tablet of oil rations for 1 year," since it is not known whether the tablet concerned dealt with oil rations issued once a year or with the composite issues of 12 months in the year.

The best picture of oil rations can be obtained from the Ur III texts found at Ur and published in *UET* III; the amounts given below refer to *silà*, "quarts."

MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	SOURCE
	4, 2	2, 1½, 1	1040
	4, 3	4 (once)	1041
5, 3, 2½		1	1047
4, 3	5	1½, 1	1048
5, 4, 3, 2½	5, 3	1½, 1	1049
5			1053; 1054; 1063, etc.
5, 4, 3	3		1066
5, 4, 3	4		1431

The information based on *ITT* III 6175 and other texts, according to which a man or a woman received 10 shekels (or 1/6 of a quart) of oil in a month, or 2 quarts in a year, can be adjusted with that derived from the *UET* III texts, according to which a man or a woman received from 2 to 5 quarts of oil, by assuming that the *UET* III texts represent yearly, not monthly, rations. This conclusion is favored by the fact that over one-half of the *UET* III texts concerned with the distribution of oil rations are dated to the twelfth and eleventh months of the year.

In one respect the rationing of oil differs from that of wool. While wool rationing normally takes place once a year (see below p. 235), oil rationing can take place either once a year or twelve times a year, with variations depending on local conditions.

Sig-ba, "WOOL RATION"

More information is available about the rationing of wool than about that of oil.

According to one Sargonic text from Lagash (*ITT* I 1065), 46 GURUŠ receive each 10 *ma-na sig*, while their *ugula*, "foreman," gets 20 *ma-na*. In two Sargonic texts of unknown origin, *BIN* VIII 148 and 152, GURUŠ receive amounts of wool varying from 5 to 10 pounds, while GEMÉ get 4 pounds, and children get 3 or 2 pounds.

Among the many Ur III wool ration texts we can quote the following, with the amounts of wool given in *ma-na* "pounds" per year:

MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	SOURCE
4		1½, 1	<i>CT</i> VII 50b
4, 3	3	1½, 1	<i>CT</i> XXXII 34 f.
	3	2, 1½, 1	Chiera, <i>STA</i> 4
	3	3, 2, 1½, 1	Chiera, <i>STA</i> 6
4	3	1½, 1, ½	<i>RTC</i> 399
4, 3		2, 1½, 1	<i>HSS</i> IV 2
4, 3, 2		1½, 1	<i>YOS</i> IV 211 iv
	3	2, 1½, 1	Reisner, <i>TUT</i> 156
	4, 3	2, 1½, 1	Barton, <i>HLC</i> III 113 f.
4	3	2, 1½, 1, ½	4 NT 208, unpublished
	3	2, 1½, 1	BM 15283, unpublished
	3	1	BM 15902, unpublished
4		2, 1½, 1	BM 23581, unpublished

The usual wool rations of the pre-Sargonic texts of Lagash amount to 4 or 3 *ma-na* (also less), but no safe conclusions can be drawn because of the lack of information about the period or periods during which wool was rationed and about the exact weight of the *na₄-sig*, with which the wool was weighed in pre-Sargonic times (see Deimel, *AnOr* II, 49–70, especially pp. 68 a, 69 a, and 69 b). For discussion cf. *AnOr* II, 68 b and 70 b.

Many pre-Sargonic and Ur III wool ration lists record the issues of one garment (*túg*) in place of the required wool ration. See *AnOr* II 70 b; *RTC* 399; *HSS* IV 2; BM 23581, unpublished.

The evidence in the Ur III period shows clearly that wool was rationed once a year. Cf. *sig* . . . *mu-a ba-dam* (**ba*-(*e*)*d-am*) in contrast to *še* . . . *iti-da ba-dam* (Barton, *HLC* III 114 xv end, collated; BM 23851, unpublished, *passim*) and *sig* . . . *mu-a pi-dam* (**b(a)*-*ed-am*) in contrast to *še* . . . *iti-da pi-dam* (*CT* VII 50 b twice; *Orient.* XLVII 382 end). On the monthly rationing of barley see above p. 232.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF RATIONS AND ISSUES

Presented in the following chart is a reconstruction of the standard rations of barley, oil, and wool, as deduced from charts on pp. 232, 234, and 235, and from hundreds of other ration texts, gathered but not cited here.

KIND	TIME	AMOUNT			MEASURE
		MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	
barley	once a month	60	30	25, 20, 15, 10	quarts
oil	once a year	4	4	2, 1½, 1	quarts
wool	once a year	4	3	2, 1½, 1	pounds

The three kinds of standard rations recognized in the ancient Mesopotamian system, either in their Sumerian forms *še-ba*, *i-ba*, *sig-ba*, or in their corresponding Akkadian forms *iprum*, *piššatum*, *lubuštum*, become in the course of time, in the Ur III *ditilla*'s and the adoption texts of later periods (cf. Falkenstein, *NSGU* II 10 n. 9, and above p. 234), general expressions for the maintenance or upkeep of persons to be taken care of in privately owned households.

The three kinds of rations are regularly listed separately whenever issued to large personnel of a palace or temple household.

Only in the case of the temple households of Lagash in the Ur III period do we regularly find the so-called "*še-ba sig-ba* lists" dealing with two kinds of rations, namely barley and wool. Cf., e.g., Reisner, *TUT* 151; 162; Barton, *HLC* III 113 f.; Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* 399; *HSS* IV 2; and others.

All three terms appear in an Ur III text (*YOS* IV 101) dealing with the issue of rations, not with rationing proper.

Besides *še-ba*, *i-ba*, and *sig-ba*, that is, rations of barley, oil, and wool, several other kinds of rations occur in the texts, the most important of which are *ziz-ba*, *ninda-ba*, *zid-ba*, and *tug-ba*, that is, rations of emmer, bread, flour, and cloth, respectively. Emmer rations are found mainly in the pre-Sargonic texts of Lagash (Deimel, *AnOr* II 3-24). Bread rations occur in two Fara texts (Deimel, *Fara* III 93 and 101) and at Lagash (Deimel, *AnOr* II 24-40). Flour rations occur in three Fara texts (Nos. 92, 98, and 99). The occurrences of *tug-ba* in place of *sig-ba* were noted above on p. 235 for the pre-Sargonic and Ur III texts.

Outside of rations called *še-ba*, *i-ba*, *sig-ba*, *ziz-ba*, *ninda-ba*, *zid-ba*, and *tug-ba*, the only other terms for *ba*-distributions known to me are *ku₆-ba*, *nig-sa-ḥa-ba*, and *ga-kug-munu_x-kug-ba*.

The term *ku₆-ba* occurs apparently only in the Ur III text *ITT* II 4203, but many more texts dealing with the distribution of fish exist without using the term.

The terms *nig-sa-ḥa-ba* and *ga-kug-munu_x-kug-ba*, are found only in the pre-Sargonic texts of Lagash, treated by Deimel in *AnOr* II 15-19 and 40-47, and denote distribution of various commodities such as dates, oil, cheese, milk, etc., on special occasions and to a special kind of personnel.

Many more texts, from Fara to Ur III, deal with rations of commodities listed above without using any terms for rations. The most common of these are distributions of *ku₆*, "fish," *zú-lum*, "dates," and *ninda*, "bread," best attested in the Ur III texts from Ur

(see *UET* III index under the terms). For the distribution of onions see my article, "The Philadelphia Onion Archive," soon to appear in Landsberger's *Festschrift*.

Still more commodities are distributed in a haphazard way, sometimes at festivals or on other special occasions, sometimes as replacements for commodities regularly rationed. Among these are: meat of sheep and cattle; milk, cheese, butter, and other dairy products; onions, legumes, cucumbers, and other vegetables; dates, figs, apples, and other fruit; condiments; and beer and wine.

We may safely assume that certain rations were replaced by others during periods of overabundance or shortage of one commodity or another normally given as rations.

Clear evidence in favor of replacing commodities in the ration system is to be found in the Ur III texts from Ur (*UET* III). These are the sources:

5 silà ì-giš mu 10(silà) še-še	1045; 1046; 1182; 1185
10(silà) ì-giš mu 20(silà) še-še	1046
2½ silà ì-giš mu 5 silà še-še	1046; 1187
4 silà ì-giš mu 20(silà) ku ₆ -izi-še	1046; 1182; 1185

From these ration texts, called *še-ba* (see above p. 231), we learn that rations of sesame oil were issued in place of the barley or fish rations. For the use of the term *mu* . . . (-še) cf., e.g., 1 UD₆.ŠE *sá-dug₄ lugal mu ŠAH.ŠE*, "1 grain-fed sheep, the royal offering, in place of 1 grain-fed pig" (*UET* III 153).

If we compare the replacement rates of the three commodities listed above in the chart with their actual prices in the Ur III texts, we find discrepancies which require some discussion.

In the case of the replacement of barley by oil we find that 1 quart of oil was issued in place of 2 quarts of barley. Since the price of barley was stabilized at Ur, and in the Ur III period generally, and even in all the periods from Fara to Ur III, at about 1 shekel of silver for 300 quarts of barley, we find that if 1 quart of oil corresponds to 2 quarts of barley, then 150 quarts of oil correspond in price to 300 quarts of barley. The resulting price of 1 shekel of silver for 150 quarts of oil is much less than the prices for this commodity known from other Ur III texts, according to which only about 10 quarts of sesame oil can be obtained for 1 shekel of silver (see, e.g., Curtis and Hallo, *HUCA* XXX [1959], 127). Thus we must reach the conclusion that either the oil issued as rations was much spoiled or adulterated or that the oil became very cheap or, contrariwise, the barley became very rare and expensive during the year named "Ibbi-Sin 10" at Ur, in which the *UET* III texts with which we are concerned are dated.

There are no problems with the prices of fish in the three Ur texts cited above. By positing the price of 1 shekel of silver for 150 quarts of oil or 300 quarts of barley, we find that if 4 quarts of oil or 8 quarts of barley correspond to 20 quarts of fish, then 750 quarts of fish cost 1 shekel of silver. This price corresponds closely to the price of 1 shekel of silver for 600 quarts of *ku₆-izi* fish, known from three other Ur III texts (Curtis and Hallo, *op. cit.*, p. 130).

Two more Ur III texts from Ur should be discussed in connection with the replacement of barley by oil, namely *UET* III 1025 and 1377. In the actual listing of the amounts of commodities being rationed and of the persons receiving them only barley rations are given; but in the totals both barley and oil are listed at the rate of 1 quart of oil corresponding to 10 quarts of barley (1025; 1377) or 1 quart of oil corresponding to 15 quarts

of barley (1025). This yields 30 or 20 quarts of oil for 1 shekel of silver, a price which differs considerably from the price of 150 quarts of oil for 1 shekel of silver obtained from texts listed in the chart on p. 234. The two texts have a date marked as "Ibbi-Sin 8," and may therefore testify to an economic situation which was different from that of "Ibbi-Sin 10." It should be remembered that the sequence of dates noted as "Ibbi-Sin 8" and "Ibbi-Sin 10" cannot be established at present, and that the reign of Ibbi-Sin was full of social and economic unrest which might have resulted in great shortages of certain commodities in certain periods.

The evidence in favor of special rations offered on the occasion of festivals is quite extensive. Cf., e.g., fish or carcasses of sheep distributed on the New Year's festival (*zag-mu*, *UET* III 88; 89; 1303) or large amounts of barley distributed on the occasion of *nig-ezem-ma dingir-ri-ne* (*CT* III 5-8 viii 9 + x 19 = xv 23) and as *še-ba zag-mu-ka* (x 17 = xv 21).

Thus, the distribution of different commodities may be analyzed under three headings.

(1) Standard rations: *še-ba*, *ì-ba*, and *sig-ba*, distributed at regular periods in the year:

(2) Replacements for standard rations: *túg-ba* distributed in place of *sig-ba*; and occasionally *ziz-ba*, *ninda-ba*, *zid-ba* and other commodities, distributed in place of *še-ba*. Some of these replacements may have become standard; others may have been issued only in periods of shortage or overabundance of certain commodities.

(3) Supplementary issues: fish, dairy products, vegetables, fruits, and beverages, distributed over and above the standard rations during festivals and on special occasions.

PERSONNEL RECEIVING RATIONS

The following picture of personnel, classified by age and sex, emerges from the ration lists:

OLD PERSONS:	<i>šu-gi₄</i>	(not distinguished by sex)
	<i>guruš-šu-gi₄</i>	"old man"
	<i>gemé-šu-gi₄</i>	"old woman"
	<i>um-ma</i>	
GROWN PERSONS:	<i>guruš</i>	"man" (Latin "vir," not "homo")
	<i>gemé</i>	"woman"
IMMATURE CHILDREN:	<i>dumu</i>	(not distinguished by sex)
	<i>ša-dùg</i>	
	<i>dumu-nita</i>	"boy" ("son")
	<i>ša-dùg-nita</i>	
	<i>dumu-SAL</i>	"girl" ("daughter")
	<i>ša-dùg-SAL</i>	
INFANTS:	<i>DUMU.GA</i>	"nursing babies" (not distinguished by sex)
	<i>GABA</i>	
	<i>AMAR.GABA</i>	
	<i>dumu-nita-gaba</i>	"boy infant"
	<i>dumu-SAL-gaba</i>	"girl infant"

The following should be said in commentary to the table presented above:

Old persons, called *šu-gi₄*, *guruš-šu-gi₄*, and *gemé-šu-gi₄*, occur relatively rarely in the ration lists because, depending on their age, they are normally listed either with grown persons or with children. For the latter case note 7 *šu-gi₄*, "seven old (women)," who

receive each 2! (wrongly copied as 3) pounds of wool, are listed under *dumu-ne*, "children," at the end of the text (Chiera, *STA* 4 vii 4 and viii 1). In another Ur III text (*UET* III 1040 rev. 6) 2 *gemé-šu-gi₄* receive as rations 1 quart of oil which is the minimum rate for children, in contrast to 4 and 2 quarts, received by the *gemé*. Also in two unpublished texts from Lagash (BM 17749 and similarly BM 23581) 2 *gemé-šu-gi₄* receive only 20 quarts of barley, the same as children, in contrast to the ration of 60 quarts for the men, and 30 quarts for the women. By contrast, in other cases, old people are treated as well as full-working men and women. Cf., e.g., Fish, *CST* No. 263 (Pls. XLVII f.), *CT* I 6-7, etc. According to *UET* III 1431 1 *gemé-šu-gi₄* receives as much as 5 quarts of oil, which is 1 quart more than the ration of 4 quarts received by the 2 *gemé-sag-dub*. The corresponding Akkadian words for old persons are *šibum*, "old man," and *šibtum*, "old woman."

Guruš and *gemé* denote grown persons, those able to perform a full man's or woman's work. The available information does not permit us to circumscribe their age, but as an educated guess I should propose it to be between thirteen and forty. There is no evidence known to me, from Fara to Ur III, that *GURUŠ eṭlum* ever denoted "a young man in the age group between the full-grown man and the adolescent male," as proposed in the *CAD* under *eṭlum*, pp. 407 f., or that it meant a "(junger) Mann," as proposed in Von Soden, *AHW*, pp. 265 f.

The Sumerian term *gemé*, Akkadian *amtum*, represents full-grown women, corresponding more or less to the age group of the male *guruš* or *eṭlum*. The term is used irrespectively of whether or not the women are known to be the wives of the *guruš*. The word *GEMÉ* or *amtum* apparently has the meaning "wife" in the Mari text *ARM T* IX 291, and not "servant-woman" as taken in *ARM* IX pp. 228-37. For the meaning of *amtum* as "the (second) wife" in the Cappadocian texts, see J. Lewy, *HUCA* XXVII (1956) 3 f., and Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963), p. 164. Whenever the term *gemé*, like the corresponding *guruš*, occurs in the ration lists and parallel lists of the personnel of large palace and temple households, it does not represent the slave-class.

The terms *um-ma* (*TMH* V 34 iv; 39 iv; 190 vi; N 467, unpublished), *um-ma-gemé* (Phila. N 459, unpublished), and *gemé-um-ma* (CBS 6136, unpublished) occur only in the ration lists of the Sargonic period from Nippur.

The boys and girls are regularly listed in the ration texts with the *gemé* and *guruš*, whose children they represent. Children are listed much more commonly with the *gemé* than with the *guruš*, and whenever they are listed with their fathers they usually represent the boys.

The assumption of an interchange in meaning between "son" or "daughter" and "boy" or "girl" results from texts such as *Orient.* XLVII 382, Ur III, in which the same children are denoted as *dumu*, "sons" or "daughters," in the body of the text, but as *dumu-nita*, "boys," and *dumu-SAL*, "girls," in the final resumé of the text.

The well-known use of the term *ša-dùg* for young sheep and goats in the Ur III period has been noted by Deimel, *ŠL* 384, 177. Although doubtless also known to Deimel, he has failed to note in his *ŠL* the use of *ša-dùg* for children in the pre-Sargonic texts of Lagash, as in the following examples: *ša-dùg-nita* and *ša-dùg-SAL*, interchanging with *dumu-nita* and *dumu-SAL*, are listed together with their mothers in the barley ration texts (*Orient.* XXXIV 43 ff.; XLIII 1 ff.); *ša-dùg-nita* = *dumu-nita* and *ša-dùg-SAL* = *dumu-SAL*, all occur in the important "family text" *Dok.* I 19 (= *Orient.* XXVI

31 ff. No. 1); the totals of 174 *gemé* and 68 *ša-dùg* in *DP* 159 (= *AnOr* II 33 No. 12) testify to the small proportion of children listed with their mothers.

Word for word, the term *ša-dùg* means "sweet heart." The exact age of the *ša-dùg* children is as indefinable as that of the corresponding *dumu*.

There is not much doubt that children listed with their parents in the ration lists are immature children. This conclusion is based on the observation that both the number of parents listed with children, and the number of children listed with their parents is too small in relation to the expected average of two children per family. This leads to the conclusion that only immature children were listed in the ration texts, while the mature children were considered to be on the same level as their parents. To be sure, the terms "mature" and "immature" may not be taken in their literal sense, as children who get rations comparable in amount to those of their parents may be those on the border-line between childhood and maturity or those who performed strenuous work requiring higher rations.

Occasionally there is a certain amount of leeway in the classification of children. We note, for instance, that according to the Sargonic text *MDP* XIV 71, the *DUMU.NITA* receiving the maximum amount for boys, namely thirty quarts of barley, are listed in the totals together with the *GURUŠ* receiving thirty quarts, which represents the minimum rate for men; similarly, the *DUMU.SAL* receiving thirty quarts are listed in the totals together with the *GEMÉ* receiving the same amount of rations.

The term *DUMU.GA*, "infant," is found mainly in the Sargonic texts from Gasur (*HSS* X 184; 185; 187; 188; 197). Outside of Gasur, I know only of *DUMU.GA* in *ITT* I p. 15, 1231; *BIN* VIII 245 ii, both Sargonic; and *CT* X 25 iii 12, Ur III. The term *DUMU.GA.NITA* occurs in *BIN* VIII 144, Sargonic.

The term *GABA* is standard in the Sargonic texts from Susa (*MDP* XIV 11; 51; 61; 71). Outside of Susa, the term occurs in *MAD* I 255; *UET* II Pl. L No. 49; and *ITT* I p. 10, 1151.

The term *amar-gaba* occurs only in the ration lists of the Sargonic period from Nippur (*TMH* V 39 iv; 44 vi; 186 vi). According to unpublished texts from the same archive the *amar-gaba* are listed together with *dumu* (Phila. 29-13-738; N 358).

The terms *dumu-nita-gaba* and *dumu-sal-gaba* are found only in the Ur III period (*UET* III 1033; 1040; *BE* III 107).

Because of the very small number of occurrences of the terms denoting infants in the ration texts, we have no hesitation in assuming that infants were generally included under the terms *dumu*, *dumu-nita*, and *dumu-sal* in all cases when the latter receive the lowest rations for children, namely ten quarts of barley.

A term used in the ration lists which denotes neither age nor profession is *nu-sig*, "orphan," found in the pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash and the Sargonic texts from Nippur. The terms *nu-sig-nita* and *nu-sig-sal* are used in the former (*Orient.* XXIV 99 ff.) and *dumu-nu-sig* in the latter (*TMH* V 36 iv; 39 i, iv, 186).

It is impossible to go into details concerning the differentiations in the rationing system due to differentiations in professions and types of work performed, because this would involve a full discussion of matters of social stratification which cannot be taken up here.

Standard rations were issued mainly to a social class which I have called "serfs" for a number of years, but prefer now to call "the *guruš* class." The term "serfs" should be avoided because of its definite connotation in connection with medieval feudal systems.

However we would define the social and economic system of most ancient Mesopotamia, it certainly was not feudal. The word *guruš* has two main meanings. Its first meaning is simply "man," Latin "vir" (see above p. 239). In its derived meaning it denotes a social class of semi-free status, to be contrasted with the free and the slave classes. This is clear from such evidence as the Sargonic text published in *MDP* XIV 71, which lists barley rations for the *GURUŠ*, *GEMÉ*, and *DUMU* (*passim*) separately from those for the *ARÁD É* (rev. iv). Note also the occurrences of *ugula guruš* (Jestin, *TSŠ* 368 ii, Fara; *OIP* LVIII 297 No. 10, pre-Sargonic), which can only mean "the foreman of the *guruš* (-personnel)," and not "the foreman of men." The difference between the semi-free *guruš* class and the free class of the *engar*, "peasants," is indicated by an unpublished Ur III text from Nippur (4 NT 208), which lists wool rations for *guruš*, *gemé*, and *dumu* separately from those for the *engar* and *dumu-engar*. In my usage, the term *guruš* for a social class, naturally, includes not only *guruš* but also *gemé* and *dumu*. All through the early periods of Mesopotamian history the *guruš* class formed the major labor force. The *arád* (and *gemé*) performed minor tasks as household slaves, they were much fewer in number than the *guruš* class, and their effective role in the economy of most ancient Mesopotamia was insignificant in comparison with that of the *guruš* class of workers.

All through the periods, from Fara to Ur III, we have great difficulty distinguishing personnel living permanently in a household and working for that household all year around from personnel working for the household only during certain parts of the year. The former obviously would have received rations all through the year, the latter only during the months spent working for the household.

The clearest evidence for distinguishing the two types of personnel is to be found in the pre-Sargonic texts of Lagash-Girshu.

Certain kinds of personnel, including the male *igi-nu-du₆* and *il* and the *gemé-dumu*, "women (and their) children," received rations each month, twelve times a year. This can be proved by the texts collected by Deimel in *Orient.* XXIV 43–116 and XLIII 1–80, with monthly ration periods from one to twelve (*1 ba-am₆* to *12 ba-am₆*).

By contrast, the ration texts for the *lú-kur₆-dab₅-ba* personnel, collected by Deimel in *Orient.* XXIV 1–31, list only four monthly ration periods (*1 ba-am₆* to *4 ba-am₆*), and we must assume that the *lú-kur₆-dab₅-ba* personnel received rations for only four months in a year. Only from the sixth year of Urukagina do we have evidence (*Orient.* XXXIV 27–31) that the *lú-kur₆-dab₅-ba* personnel received rations up to eleven times a year. This is in the year of great political upheavals at Lagash-Girshu, forcing the household of Bau to take care of the non-permanent personnel in time of need and stress. The *lú-kur₆-dab₅-ba* personnel represents individuals who received land on prebend (*kur₆*) from the household of Bau, in return for which they owed taxes and service for about four months a year.

Parallel conclusions in respect to the permanent and non-permanent personnel of the household of Bau can be drawn from the texts dealing with the issue of grain for rationing purposes, collected by Deimel in *Orient.* XXXIV 35–41. Two classes of personnel are distinguished: the *lú-kur₆-dab₅-ba* with monthly ration periods from one to five (*1 ba-am₆* to *5 ba-am₆*), and the *lú-kur₆-nu-dab₅-ba*, "persons not receiving *kur₆*," also noted as *gemé-dumu*, "women (and their) children," or as *lú-iti-da*, "persons (receiving rations each) month," with monthly ration periods from one to twelve (*1 ba-am₆* to *12 ba-am₆*).

The work performed by the *guruš* class of people is of two kinds: (1) agriculture and

animal husbandry and (2) manufacturing. The term "agriculture" is used here in the widest sense and includes field agriculture proper, work in gardens and orchards, milling, oil-pressing, and beer-brewing; under animal husbandry we can include shepherding, fattening of animals, butchering, and preparation of animal food products. Under manufacturing we can include work on products made of wool, linen, leather, wood, metal, stone, clay, etc.

Individuals of the *guruš* class formed personnel, called *gìr-sè-ga* (= Akkadian *girsegûm*) in the Ur III period, who worked in a household, called *é* in Sumerian or *bîtum* in Akkadian. These households belonged to the palace (king, state), temples, and to private individuals. Certain households specialized in the production of a certain commodity, such as *é gemé*, "gynoikeia," which specialized in weaving, or *é kìn-kìn*, "mill," which was involved mainly in milling flour. Here are some examples of households:

ŠE.BA É	MAD I 163
É GEMÉ	MAD I 290
še-ba gîr-sè-ga šà Ba-ba-az ^{KI}	Fish, <i>CST</i> No. 263
še-ba gîr-sè-ga é kìn-kìn gîbil	Reisner, <i>TUT</i> 154
še-ba šà é kìn-kìn	<i>CT</i> III 9 f.
še-ba gemé uš-bar-e-ne é Kar-zi-da	<i>UET</i> III 1040
še-ba gîr-sè-ga é dingîr-ri-ne	<i>CT</i> III 6 vii, viii
gîr-sè-ga é dingîr-me šà NINA ^{KI}	<i>CT</i> IX 36
gîr-sè-ga é-gal é-kas ₄	<i>CT</i> III 6 viii
é Urú ^{KI}	<i>ITT</i> II/1, 3536
é Ba-gár	<i>ITT</i> II/1, 907
é ^d Ig-alîm	<i>ITT</i> II/1, 4192
é ^d Ba-û	pre-Sargonic Lagash, <i>passim</i>
IGI.GAR-ag gîr-sè-ga ANŠE.BAR.AN du(n)-ûr-ra	
^d Nin-gîr-su ù ^d En-sig-nun	<i>CT</i> I 6 f.

Part of the household personnel specializing in crafts is called *giš-kin-ti* (= Akkadian *kiškattûm*) in the pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, and rarely in the Ur III periods. In the pre-Sargonic ration texts (*Orient.* XXXIV 1–31; *AnOr* II 3–67) the following professions are listed under the *giš-kin-ti*, more or less in the following order: *simug*, "smith," *nagar*, "carpenter," *ašgab*, "leather-worker," *ad-kub_x* "reed-mat maker," TÚG.DU₈, "upholsterer(?)," *zadim*, "stone-cutter," *baḥar* (= "EDIN"), "potter," GIŠ.TÚG.PI.KAR.DU, "fuller," má-laḥ₄, "boat-maker" (not "sailor"), and three or four professions with unknown or uncertain meanings.

In households dedicated to the production of finished goods rather than to agriculture, large numbers of the *giš-kin-ti*, "craftsmen," worked in shops called *é simug*, "smithy," *é nagar*, "carpenters' shop," etc. The best examples of such *ergasteria* are to be found in an Ur III text from Ur, *UET* III 1498, which lists seven workshops with their products: *é dub-nagar*, "sculptors' shop," *é kug-dim*, "silversmiths' and goldsmiths' shop," *é zadim*, "stone-cutters' shop," *é nagar*, "carpenters' shop," *é simug*, "smithy," *é ašgab*, "leather-workers' shop," *é TÚG.DU₈*, "upholsterers' (?) shop," and *é ad-kub_x*, "reed-mat makers' shop."

The semi-free class of the *guruš* workers and the ration system dominated the socio-economic life of early Mesopotamia all through the periods from Fara through pre-Sargonic and Sargonic to Ur III. Beginning with the Old Babylonian period, the term

guruš for the semi-free class disappeared completely and was replaced by others. At the same time the ration system was slowly dying out in Babylonia proper, although it continued strongly in outlying regions, such as Mari and Chagar Bazar. After a brief revival in the Kassite period, the ration system seems to have died out in Mesopotamia by the end of the second millennium B.C.

These changes are the result of the radical evolution of the Mesopotamian socio-economic system, which began at the end of the Ur III period and reached a full form in Old Babylonian times. The growing urbanization of the country brought about a rise of industry and an increased number of artisans who were free to work for wages; and the redistribution of land as a result of Amorite invasions created a new class of small peasants who paid taxes and owed service to the palace. While in the older periods major productive forces were concentrated and controlled by the state (palace, king), temples, and large landholders, by the Old Babylonian period the major production seems to have been achieved by the small landholders and artisans.



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Source: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 87, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1967), pp. 1-8

Published by: [American Oriental Society](#)

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APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT SOCIETY¹

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THE FIRST QUESTION which I faced when the time came to think about the topic of my forthcoming address was, what to talk about?

Should I talk about the past, present, or the future of oriental studies, a traditional and well-worn topic, yet rather appropriate in these days when we have so much difficulty in agreeing on the meaning and range of the concepts "Orient" and "Orientalist"? This topic grew less and less attractive as I found myself bogged down from the start in the simple sphere of definitions.

Should I choose an *ad hoc* topic—less serious but appropriate for a post-banquet talk—like the address on "Sardanapalus," with its gory pictures, which I gave recently in Chicago? This, too, I rejected when it occurred to me that such a topic may have been appropriate in "rambunctious" Chicago, but not in staid, tradition-laden Philadelphia.

Or, should I talk to you about my present work on the structure of ancient society? Once I considered this topic, I had no doubt about its appropriateness. There are three good reasons for choosing the topic:

First, to share with you some ideas and conclusions which I have reached in the course of intensive work in the past six years in the field of ancient society. I have published very few studies in this field, but have many articles and several books in preparation or ready to be printed.

Secondly, to proselytize, especially among the younger people. History is not simply the history of kings or political history. There is a tremendous, untapped field—the social and economic history of ancient times. There is no reason why the field should be considered the reserved domain of Marxist scholars.

Finally, to keep you awake. This kind of paper, describing my personal work, my personal, exclusive, one-sided love cannot be dry; it must keep

you awake, allowing you to partake, by osmosis, in my enthusiasm.

I must preface my talk with a few further remarks about its title and contents. The first, rather obvious, remark is to make clear that I shall speak about the 'approaches to the study of ancient society' and not about 'the structure of ancient society.' Even so, some results and conclusions illustrative of the approaches will be presented here, especially towards the end of this paper.

The second, more serious remark revolves around the question over which I long pondered. Should the title be "Approaches to the Study of Ancient Mesopotamian Society" or simply "Approaches to the Study of Ancient Society"? I decided upon the latter title because I have in fact studied certain aspects of ancient society in general, some of them rather intensively, and because what can be said about approaches to the study of Mesopotamian society in particular can be applied easily to the study of ancient societies in general.

Nevertheless, in evaluating the ideas and conclusions presented here you must constantly keep in mind the distinction between the sphere of my competence in the core area, on the one hand, and the outlying areas and later periods, on the other.

The core area under investigation in this paper is mainly the southern part of ancient Mesopotamia, present-day Iraq, extending from the region on a line with Baghdad, where the Tigris and the Euphrates come closest to each other, in the north-west, down to the Persian Gulf, in the south-east. Within this area we distinguish Sumer in the south and Akkad in the north. The four provincial extensions of this core of Sumer and Akkad consist of the Diyala region around the city Ishnun near the Diyala River, of Assyria around Assur upon the Tigris, of the Mari region around Mari on the Euphrates, and of Elam around Susa in south-western Iran.

The time under consideration includes the whole third millennium B.C., extending from the oldest periods of written history down to the end of the

¹ Revised version of the Presidential address delivered April 20th, 1966, at the 176th annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Philadelphia.

Third Dynasty of Ur. Several major subdivisions are distinguished:

- Early periods, around 3000-2400 B. C.
- The Fara period, around 2400 B. C.
- The Pre-Sargonic period, middle 24th century B. C.
- The Sargonic period, about 2340-2159 B. C.
- The Ur III period, about 2117-2008 B. C.

For many years my interests in these areas and periods had been limited to publications of cuneiform texts and to philological works pertaining to the grammar and lexicon of the Sargonic language. To be sure, I had already noted some fourteen years ago that the Sargonic sources show signs of a thriving private economy, an observation which was at odds with the theories of the so-called "temple economy" and "state economy," according to which all land belonged to the temples or the state, generally posited by other scholars for the Pre-Sargonic and Ur III periods (see *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary* I [1952] p. xiii). This conclusion was further confirmed after a more extensive study of the so-called "ancient *kudurrus*," that is, stone inscriptions pertaining to the transfer of land property, which definitely attested the existence of privately-owned land from the earliest periods of Mesopotamian history down to the Sargonic period. However, it was not until about 1960, while working on the paper entitled "Social Stratification in the Old Akkadian Period" for the International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow, that I began to realize that the sources which I had been studying for years had not only form, but also content; and that their content was of fundamental importance for the correct understanding of the social history of the most ancient Mesopotamians, and with it, of ancient history in general.

Since 1960 my studies have been devoted almost exclusively to the elucidation of the social history which can be deduced from ancient sources. It soon became clear that the social history of the Akkadians cannot be treated apart from that of the Sumerians, and that the correct understanding of the Sargonic period cannot be attained without considering the preceding and succeeding periods.

This led me to the Fara, Pre-Sargonic, and Ur III sources, which I have investigated with various degrees of thoroughness. In spite of their archaic writing, the Fara texts offered relatively few diffi-

culties, because of their stereotyped character. The Pre-Sargonic texts of Lagash, larger in number than the Fara material, were fortunately available in A. Deimel's numerous publications. I faced the greatest difficulties in the coverage of the large mass of undigested Ur III material, and my work in that period is therefore less complete than in others.

The extension of my interest beyond the Sargonic period by necessity required the extension of linguistic coverage from Akkadian to Sumerian. Considering my limited knowledge of that language, this was no easy task. Fortunately, since the sources pertaining to social history are mainly administrative and economic in nature, they offered fewer problems in grammar and lexicography than, for instance, literary or religious texts. The greatest single obstacle in the study of Sumerian is the lack not only of a dictionary, but even of the most elementary glossary. Sign lists of the type presented by Deimel in his *Sumerisches Lexikon*, either in cuneiform or Latin transliteration, cannot take the place of dictionaries. My own Sumerian lexicon, collected at great sacrifice of time and effort, consists of entries from the original sources, but has very few references to the existing literature. The deplorable situation in the field results from the fact that Sumerologists would rather devote themselves to the resurrection of Tammuz than undertake the difficult and unrewarding but essential task of producing the elementary tools for the study of the language.

By training a philologist, my interests lie in history, especially ethno-linguistic history. Because of my lack of background in social sciences, I have been forced to go outside my field in search of concepts and ideas. In the past few years I have done extensive reading on any topic and in any area in which there was anything valuable to read. The topics mainly covered slavery and land tenure, but also so-called serfdom and feudalism. The areas extended from the Near East and the classical and post-classical world, to India and China, and even to the Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas. Most of these studies have been written by philologists, who, like myself, have a limited background in social sciences.

With the exception of works by Max Weber, who can be read easily and to whom I owe many fruitful ideas, I have neglected almost completely the works of theoretical social scientists who have no firm footing in any specific area. It is such bulky

studies as E. C. Welskopf, *Die Produktionsverhältnisse im Alten Orient und in der griechischen-römischen Antike* (Berlin, 1957), full of controversial issues and no evidence, that scares one away from theoretical investigations. Contrast that study, if you will, with that of F. Katz, *Die sozialökonomische Verhältnisse bei den Azteken im 15. und 16. Jahrh.* (Berlin, 1956), also published in East Germany, which is full of constructive ideas, all based on factual evidence.

The excerpts made from over one hundred of these studies in fields other than Mesopotamia are collected in my Common-Place Book, a term which I borrowed from Thomas Jefferson.

After these preliminary remarks I shall pass on to the main topic of this paper.

Approaches to the study of ancient society can be appropriately subsumed under three headings:

1. Collection of data.
2. Primary interpretation of data.
3. Secondary interpretation.

Note immediately the word "data" in these headings. As used here, "data" refer to original sources as preserved in ancient languages.

The three headings do not correspond rigidly to three consecutive stages. The process of collecting new data, as they become available, must go on in all stages, while both primary and secondary interpretation may take place at the moment of collecting original data.

1. *Collection of data.* In collecting data the first point to consider is the question of completeness versus selectivity; in other words, should every bit of information be collected automatically, or should the data be collected in selection and in accordance with subjective judgment as to the degree of their relevance or importance?

In considering that point, think if you will, of the amount of sources available for the study of ancient society in Egypt, Palestine, and the rest of the ancient oriental countries, on the one hand, and in Mesopotamia, on the other. Completeness is possible in the case of Egypt, Palestine, etc., with the relatively limited sources available for study; completeness is well-nigh impossible in the case of Mesopotamia with its immense amount of materials, some published, but largely undigested, and many more unpublished. How many persons

are aware of the extent to which the hundreds of thousands of cuneiform texts overshadow in number, and perhaps importance, everything comparable not only in the ancient Near East, but also in the classical world? Completeness is ideal, but in the case of Mesopotamia, it is unachievable.

The degree of relative completeness in collecting data depends largely on the stamina of the collector. The question of "how important or relevant" a certain bit of information is should not be considered, because what may or may not become important or relevant later on is unpredictable at the time of collecting the data.

Here is one example to illustrate the point. On the basis of my rather exhaustive collection of data on oils and fats in ancient Mesopotamia, it was relatively safe to conclude that from the earliest periods down to the Sargonic period animal fats (especially lard) were used extensively, while vegetable oils were very rare, and that what we normally call "sesame" (ŠE.GIŠ.Ī, Ī.GIŠ) first appeared in the Sargonic period but did not become the dominant oil of Mesopotamia until the Ur III period. This is relevant only for the immediate question of the daily diet of the people. But exhaustive as they are, the collected data are still insufficient to answer such detailed questions as exactly when and where sesame appeared for the first time (important for paleobotany), or when and where pork-fat fell into disuse (with its taboo implications important for the history of religions).

2. *Primary interpretation of data.* The approach here is mainly philological, because it involves the interpretation and ordering of lexical items, based on primary evaluation of the writing and grammar of the original sources. This is the stage in which a serious attempt must be made to arrive at some general, preliminary interpretations based on what may be called "the archival approach."

The archival approach is based on an intensive study of texts of one period and one site, and within them, if possible, of one archive. It is the archival approach that shows us, for example, that in the Ur III period the texts from Lagash deal mainly with the agricultural economy of the temples, those from Umma with both the state-run agriculture and the activities of the merchants, those from Drehem with the state-run animal husbandry, those from Ur mainly with the manufacture of products, and those from Nippur, the great

commercial and religious center, mainly with private economy.

Good applications of the archival approach are not lacking. It was, for example, a thorough study of the texts dealing with fish in the Pre-Sargonic archive of Lagash (such as was done by Deimel in *Orientalia XXI*) that enabled us to understand, fairly clearly, the process of collection and distribution of fish in that period; and it was a simple monograph (Jones and Snyder, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty*) that opened our eyes to an understanding of the function of the cattle-collecting center at Drehem.

The archival approach is crucial. Without it, one gets results of the kind found in the many confused works of N. Schneider. It is lack of understanding of the archival approach that led scholars to the theory that all land belonged to the state in the Ur III period. Little did the proponents of this theory realize the extent to which it was based on texts coming from state-(and temple)-run archives, such as Drehem, Umma, and Lagash, where one would expect to find evidence of state (and temple) activities. It was in places where private economy flourished, such as Nippur, and to a lesser degree, Ur, where one would expect to find and does find texts dealing with private ownership of land.

In the exploitation of the archival approach the deepest penetration and the most fertile results are achieved through prosopography, that is, the study of the careers of persons and personnel occurring in an archive, as revealed by their names, titles, professions, and functions. The task is slow and tedious, and very few scholars have either the will or the patience to devote their time to collecting on cards the thousands and thousands of pieces of information needed in a prosopographic study. Certain aspects of the study of ancient society, such as social mobility, are impossible without prosopography. Computer techniques hold great promise for future studies of this type.

3. *Secondary interpretation.* Based on primary interpretation of the data, which is predominantly philological, the secondary stage involves interpretations and conclusions far beyond the narrow scope of philological interpretations. Secondary interpretation is closely connected with the structural approach. The latter is based on the concept of *structure*, which in turn relies on support from the subsidiary concepts of typology and complementary distribution.

The concept of *structure* means—put as briefly as possible—that it is impossible to understand a part without relating it to the whole. This means that it is impossible to analyze and understand individual aspects of the society without placing them within the total framework of that society. Such terms, for instance, as “unfree” or “slave” are meaningless by themselves. They become meaningful only when contrasted with other terms involved in social stratification, such as “semi-free” and “free.” *Structure involves completeness.* In a study on social stratification, at the start, all classes of the society must be taken into account, even if only in a general, provisional way. Only after reaching a more or less thorough understanding of the whole structure of society can one consider its individual classes, possibly with a greater emphasis on one class than another, depending on the purpose of the study.

In a study of the diet of the people one cannot safely conclude that ancient Mesopotamians ate mainly grain, using the evidence furnished by numerous texts which deal with the distribution of grain, while overlooking the evidence which deals with such food-stuffs as fish and vegetables, which are meagerly represented in the texts. In a study of land tenure in the Pre-Sargonic period, it is wrong to draw the conclusion that all land belonged to the temples, applying the results of the study of one single archive of the temple of Bau at Lagash to the rest of the country, while neglecting all other sources which show a different type of land tenure.

To illustrate the concept of structure I may ask whether it is possible to describe correctly the roof of a building without relating it to other parts of the building. Obviously, it is not possible. Still, this is what has actually been done in many present-day treatments of ancient society and economy. Two examples should suffice to establish this point.

Several monographs on slavery in ancient Mesopotamia are available, but none exists on the other major labor force, the so-called *guruš* class of the semi-free workers. Since, in addition, no attempt has been made to consider the over-all structure of the labor class, there is an immense amount of misunderstanding on the relative contributions of the two classes to the productive effort of Mesopotamia.

Similarly, many monographs and studies on the Mesopotamian temple economy have been pub-

lished in the past four to five decades. Indicative of the present trend are the titles and contents of two articles: A. Falkenstein, "La cité-temple sumérienne," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* I (1954) pp. 784-814, and F. R. Kraus, "Le rôle des temples depuis la troisième dynastie d'Ur jusqu'à la première dynastie de Babylone," *op. cit.* pp. 518-545. Although they avoid the exaggerations of Deimel and others as to the exclusiveness of temple economy, and admit the existence of other forms of economy which may have existed side by side with temple economy, the authors of these two articles unwittingly have contributed to a distorted view of Mesopotamian economy by unduly stressing one of its forms at the expense of others, especially of private economy.

One of the best examples of a structural unit is represented by the range of the Sumerian word *é*, Akkadian *bîtum*, which I translate as "household," "manor," or "estate." The *é* or *bîtum*, in the contexts involved, is not simply a house or a temple, but a full socio-economic unit, largely self-contained and autarchic, which includes residential buildings, shelters for the labor force, storage buildings and animal pens, fields, orchards, gardens and pastures, as well as the owners (or managers), labor personnel, and domestic animals. Thus *é* ⁴*Ba-ú*, whenever occurring in the administrative-economic texts, does not mean simply "the temple of (the goddess) Bau," but denotes the household of Bau, the full economic unit needed to support the manifold activities of the temple.

The term "structure" is related to the term "Bedeutungsfeld" in the sphere of lexicography. A fruitful application of "Bedeutungsfeld" resulted in discovery of the Sumerian sign for "potter." While putting together charts of crafts and professions in ancient Mesopotamia, I noted with great astonishment that among the hundreds of occurrences of words for craftsmen, such as *nagar* "carpenter," *simug* "smith," or *ašgab* "leatherworker," there was not a single occurrence of *baḥar* "potter" in texts from the Fara period down to the end of the Ur III dynasty. This was apriori improbable in view of the widespread use of pottery in these periods and the frequent occurrence of the signs and words for potter in later periods. The solution of the problem came when it occurred to me that the sign EDIN, which was interpreted as "*ein Beruf; Tonnen-Töpfer*" by Deimel, *šumerisches Lexikon* 168, 10, is actually the BAḤAR sign. The evidence in favor of this

assumption can be found in the Old Babylonian period, where the sign EDIN in its use for *šêrum* "plain" is indistinguishable from the sign BAḤAR *paḥarum* "potter."

The concept of *typology* involves a rigorous segregation of data and their classification by types and subtypes. In working with a large number of data we must begin by grouping them first in large units, then in progressively smaller units, until the limits of typological subdivision are reached. *The main criterion in subdividing data is their mutual exclusiveness.* As aptly stated by the American linguist Pulgram in *Word* VII (1950) 20, "The faculty of the brain to classify numerous single items as members of a much smaller number of species . . . may well be the most humanly intelligent performance of the (human) brain."

The following two examples should help to illustrate the concept of typology.

We often hear of two kinds of social stratification, horizontal and vertical. Scholars use these terms in slightly diverging ways. To some, horizontal stratification is based mainly on social differentiations, as in those relating to ethnos, language, or religion, while vertical stratification is built mainly on economic differentiations, as those between the rich and the poor or the masters and the slaves. These are the meanings in which I used the two terms in 1960 at the *Rencontre Assyriologique* in Geneva (where I spoke of the horizontal stratification, as involved in the ethno-linguistic relations between the Sumerians and Akkadians) and at the International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow (where I spoke of the vertical stratification of the free, semi-free, and unfree classes in ancient Mesopotamia). Nonetheless, these differentiations are not quite adequate. What is "horizontal" in one situation is "vertical" in another. Thus in religion (church) all members are theoretically equal, though they may represent different economic classes, rich and poor; slaves may be socially unfree and lowly, but economically rich and politically powerful; in "democratic" Greece women had no vote; and among the Marsh Arabs of southern Iraq slaves ranked socially higher than the (infidel) Christian Mandaeans. Furthermore, as a result of deeper penetration into the problems of social stratification, I have been forced to conclude that there exists a classification of a higher order than that involved in the differentiation between "horizontal" and

"vertical." This is the classification which is involved in the typological differentiations which are a) biologically-conditioned, with characteristics inherent, and consequently *absolute* (as between male and female or adults and children) and b) non-biologically-conditioned, with characteristics acquired, and consequently *relative* (as in all socio-economic differentiations, "horizontal" and "vertical").

For some years now the vexing question of slavery has occupied the minds of many scholars, especially in the Marxist countries. Various definitions for slave, slavery, based on social, economic, and legal criteria have been offered, but none generally accepted. The most commonly given definition is based on a criterion of freedom: slaves are unfree, in contrast, for instance, to the nobles, priests or officials, who are free; but the relative degree of their freedom has never been analyzed, much less that of the masses of people who were neither fully free nor fully unfree. My own starting point is the differentiation of the labor force and the manner of its utilization. Thus I first differentiate the independent labor force (e.g. landowners working their own land) from the dependent labor force. The latter is subdivided into two main types, the service and the productive labor forces. The service labor is represented by unfree chattel slaves, limited both in numbers and in employment to the general domestic service. The productive labor force is represented by the semi-free class of people, the so-called *guruš* class, who constitute the major labor force of the large households involved in agricultural production and derivative processing.

The concept of *complementary distribution* can be fruitfully applied to the study of the structure of ancient society. What this means is that if certain data, let us say *x* and *y*, occur in situations which are mutually exclusive, these data are related or identical. On this basis it was possible to conclude that the Sumerian word *NI-ga* does not mean "sesame," as proposed e.g. by Deimel and others, but denotes a measure. When we compare contents with *NI-ga* in the Fara and Nippur texts and parallel contents without *NI-ga*, we can observe that while the surrounding data pertaining to the things measured (*še* "barley," *ziz* "emmer," *sum* "onions") remain constant, *gur*, the standard measure of capacity for solids, occurred in some instances and *NI-ga* in the others. Since *gur* and *NI-ga* were mutually exclusive, that is, when *gur*

occurred *NI-ga* did not occur, and vice versa, when *NI-ga* occurred *gur* did not occur, it was easy to draw the conclusion that both *gur* and *NI-ga* represented the same "class," in this case two kinds of dry measures of capacity. For a fuller discussion, see Gelb in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger* . . . (*Assyriological Studies* No. 16, Chicago, 1965) p. 58.

As attained up to now, the main results of my investigations of the ancient Mesopotamian society and economy pertain to social stratification and land tenure. Here are some of the results.

1. *Agriculture.* The ancient Mesopotamian economy was essentially agricultural. The term "agriculture" is used here in the widest sense and includes the primary work in field agriculture proper, in gardens and orchards, and animal husbandry, as well as derivative work in processing agricultural products.

2. *Household.* The basic unit of agricultural economy from the oldest periods down to and including the Ur III period was the *é* (in Sumerian) = *bitum* (in Akkadian), meaning "household," "estate," or "manor." A Sumerian or Akkadian household consisted of the real estate, the people, the animals, and all other movable property. This is the *oikos* of the Greeks, the meaning of which is indicative of the original meaning of the Greek *oikonomia* "economy."

3. *Types of households.* Two main kinds of households can be distinguished: a) public households belonging to the palace (king, state, crown) and temples, and b) private households belonging to the large land owners, who at the same time served as officials of the state.

4. *Specialized households.* Certain households specialized in the production of a certain commodity, such as cloth, flour, or oil. Among them was the *é-gemé*, which does not mean a woman's establishment in the sense of a harem, but a work establishment in the sense of the Greek *gynoiikeia*, composed of women and small children. The employment of women and children in certain separate establishments is one of the paramount features of ancient Mesopotamian economy.

5. *Classes.* Three classes of people lived in households: a) the free class, represented by the members of the family owning the household (or managers in the case of public households) and

some attached members of other free families, b) the semi-free *guruš* class, providing the main labor force for the household, and c) the small unfree class of slaves.

6. *Kinship.* Larger kinship units, such as the extended family and clan, were characteristic of the older periods, from the earliest times to the Sargonic period. In later times, the basic kinship unit was the nuclear family, with husband, wife, and unmarried children.

7. *The guruš class.* The main labor force was composed of semi-free people, who may be called "serfs," but for whom, for the time being, the term *guruš*, *per hypostasim* is preferable. The *guruš* class was composed of men, women, and children. They received rations as subsistence, and were considered as *glebae adscripti*, but could not be sold.

8. *Subsistence.* The term (*še*-)*ba* means "rations," not "wages." *še-ba* "barley rations," the related *sig-ba* "wool-rations," and *i-ba* "oil rations" were issued to personnel more or less permanently attached to a household, not to hired personnel working for wages. The institution of *hun-gá* "hired labor," working for *á* "wages" does not appear until the Ur III period.

9. *Chattel slaves.* The class of unfree chattel slaves is meagerly represented. They played a very minor role in the production effort of the country. They performed simple domestic tasks as *amanuenses* in a household. They were the personal property of the owners and as such could be sold freely.

10. *Chattel slavery.* An extensive study of chattel slavery both in earlier and later Mesopotamia, as well as in other areas of antiquity, has led me to the firm conclusion that while chattel slavery existed everywhere in general domestic employment, it did not begin to play a major role in production until the classical Greco-Roman period.

11. *Division of labor.* The extent to which division of labor was achieved is still debatable. Indicative of full division of labor is the existence of hundreds of terms for crafts and professions. However, sources which I have dubbed "everybody-works texts" show that even the highest classes of officials, such as stewards, scribes, merchants, and priests, participated in labor on public works such as canals and irrigation.

12. *Temple economy.* The reconstruction of temple economy ("*Tempelwirtschaft*") and the

conclusion that *all* land belonged to the temple in the Pre-Sargonic period is wrong because it was based on one single archive, that of the temple of Bau in Lagash, and neglected other contemporary sources, such as the Nippur material and ancient *kudurrus*.

13. *State economy.* The reconstruction of state economy ("*Staatswirtschaft, Etatismus*") and the conclusion that *all* land belonged to the state in the Ur III period is wrong because it was based on one single piece of evidence, namely *argumentum e silentio*. This was the argument deduced from the observation that since there are no land sale contracts, the land could not be sold; and since the land could not be sold, it all belonged to the state. This reconstruction neglected to take account of sites and archives which contained evidence of private ownership of land, and with it, of private economy.

14. *Types of economy.* It is impossible to speak of one type of economy to the exclusion of all others, be it temple or state or private. All three co-existed, with a shifting degree of emphasis on one type or another, depending on the prevailing socio-economic conditions in the country. This is true of the earlier phases of Mesopotamian history under scrutiny in this study, as well as of all the later phases.

The picture of the Mesopotamian society, as I see it, resembles little the theories prevalent today, both in the narrow Assyriological circles and in the secondary and tertiary literature on the subject. If my reconstructions are correct, then the picture evolving—so at variance with the prevalent theories—is not complimentary to Assyriology. That one-sided, and in my opinion, wrong theories, such as those pertaining to temple or state economies ever could have been proposed, is, as far as I am concerned, excusable. We all can make mistakes, and the proponents of such theories should not be held permanently responsible for the transgressions of our generation. What is not excusable is that these theories have been accepted and given wide credence in the field. That this has happened may very well be due to the fact that we have often shown little interest in such prosaic topics as grammar, lexicon, and material culture, preferring instead to follow such esoteric and often fruitless pursuits as the question of the resurrection of Tammuz and the Sumerian beliefs in the afterlife.

The time has come to wake up and take cognizance of the basic priorities in our field.

I have tried to convey to you some of my ideas about the approaches to the study of ancient society, as well as to give you some results attained on the basis of these approaches.

I have also tried to give you some impression of the magnitude of the field, its virgin-soil character, and its tremendous potentialities for the correct understanding of ancient history, on the one hand, and of the concomitant lacunae in our knowledge resulting from the lack or dearth of studies and students in the field, on the other.

In my talk two years ago at the Assyriological Rencontre in London, I symbolized the antithesis between studies dedicated to esoteric topics and those dedicated to material culture as "the strug-

gle between Tammuz and onions." What "Tammuz" means in this context, should be obvious to you by now. The word "onions" was introduced in that sentence as a result of my study of a group of texts in the Philadelphia Museum, which comprise a small archive dealing with the distribution of onions in the venerable city of Nippur. As a consequence of the London talk, the term "onionology" for the study of material culture has made its way into Assyriology.

I do not know how impressive or persuasive the present talk has been. If nothing else, I hope to have passed on some of my enthusiasm for study of ancient society and economy to a group of young men and women here present, who will be proud and happy to bear the title of "onionologist" in the future.

A NEO-BABYLONIAN TEMPLE REPORT¹

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THE LETTER PRESENTED HERE belongs to the category of texts which we may call "temple reports" in that they are generally addressed to someone having an important administrative position at the cult center. The person to whom the letter is addressed is absent from his post (probably having gone out on some temple business) and is kept informed about the progress of affairs during his absence. The opening references to the health of the recipient, and to the "bread, fine beer and the gods" are purely stock phrases meant to show that everything which the absent official is responsible for, or concerned about, is being done despite his absence. These phrases are not "news items" but are on the level of the phrases of the city governors in the Mari letters who introduce

their letters to the king with phrases which are meant to show that they are doing their duty.²

The real information to be conveyed begins with the detailed remarks which follow the stylized "heading." In our letter this information begins with the report about the goods donated to the temple by the king, perhaps for some festival.

The fact that the king has given foodstuffs and other items to the temple for a certain occasion is in line with the traditions in which the king makes votive offerings to the temples (perhaps in order to secure their political support). If our dating of the text is correct, the fact that the king presented these goods to the temple is of special importance, since it would indicate to the Babylonians that the Persian kings (probably Cyrus or Cambyses) were continuing their support for the local cults.

The contents of the letter can be summarized as follows: three officials report to a fourth, probably the Royal Commissioner of Eanna from 539-525 B. C., concerning the state of affairs at Eanna in the latter's absence. They send their formal

¹ The writer wishes to thank Professor I. J. Gelb, Curator of the Tablet Collection at the Oriental Institute, for permission to publish this text, A 5345 + 5364. He is also indebted to Professors A. L. Oppenheim and R. D. Biggs for their many helpful suggestions, and to Professor H. G. Güterbock, whose careful perusal of his copy has resulted in numerous improvements. Abbreviations used in this article are those of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, Volume B vif.

² Cf. e. g., *alum Mari ekallum u ḫalšum šalim ARM 6 14: 5 f., et passim.*



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Growth of a Herd of Cattle in Ten Years

Author(s): I. J. Gelb

Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 21, Special Volume Honoring Professor Albrecht Goetze (1967), pp. 64-69

Published by: [The American Schools of Oriental Research](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1359359>

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GROWTH OF A HERD OF CATTLE IN TEN YEARS

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This brief note, based on a single Ur III text of about 2000 B.C., is intended to substantiate and complement some of the conclusions on ancient Mesopotamian animal husbandry reached recently in the articles by J.-M. Kientz and M. Lambert, "L'élevage du gros bétail à Lagash au temps de Lugalanda et d'Urukagina," *RSO* XXX-VIII (1963) pp. 93-138, and by F. R. Kraus, *Staatliche Viehhaltung im altbabylonischen Lande Larsa, Mededelingen der K. Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. 29/5 (Amsterdam, 1966).

The text in question is unique in its genre. Although published many years ago by H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes de Drehem (TCL II; Paris, 1911) No. 5499*, it has — as far as I know — been completely overlooked in Assyriological literature. The text describes the growth of a herd of cattle from six to thirty-two, in the ten years from the fortieth to the forty-ninth, i.e. last, year of Šulgi. The Ur III dates given here follow A. Ungnad, *RLA* II pp. 142 f.; they should be lowered by one year according to F. R. Kraus, *Orient. n.s.* XX (1951) pp. 385-398.

Transliteration of *TCL* II 5499:

- i 1) [4 áb-AL]
- 2) [1 áb-amar-ga]
- 3) [1 gud-amar-ga]
- 4) [ì-nun-bi] 20(silà)
- 5) [ga-ḥar-bi] 30(silà)
- (space)
- 6) mu é PÛ.ŠA-iš-
 ^dDa-gan ba-dù
- 7) 4 áb-AL
- 8) 1 áb-mu-1
- 9) 1 áb-amar-ga
- 10) 1 gud-mu-1
- 11) 1 gud-amar-ga
- 12) ì-nun-bi 20(silà)
- 13) ga-ḥar-bi 30(silà)
- (space)
- 14) mu-uš-sa Ê-PÛ.
 ŠA-iš-^dDa-gan
 ba-dù

- 15) 4 áb-AL
- 16) 1 áb-mu-2
- 17) 1 áb-mu-1
- 18) 1 áb! (wr. gud)-amar-ga
- 19) 1 gud-mu-2
- 20) 1 gud-mu-1
- 21) 1 gud-amar-ga
- 22) ì-nun-bi 20(silà)
- 23) ga-ḥar-bi 30(silà)
- (space)
- 24) mu-uš-sa Ê-PÛ.
 ŠA-iš-^dDa-gan
 ba-dù mu-uš-sa-bi
- ii 1) [4] áb-AL
- 2) [1] áb-mu-3
- 3) [1] áb-mu-2
- 4) 1 áb-mu-1
- 5) 1 áb-amar-ga
- 6) 1 gud-mu-3
- 7) 1 gud-mu-2
- 8) 1 gud-mu-1
- 9) 1 gud-amar-ga
- 10) ì-nun-bi 20(silà)
- 11) ga-ḥar-bi 30(silà)
- (space)
- 12) mu Ša-aš-ru^{KI}
 ba-ḥul
- 13) 5 áb-AL
- 14) 1 áb-mu-3
- 15) 1 áb-mu-2
- 16) 1 áb-mu-1
- 17) 1 áb-amar-ga
- 18) 1 gud-gal
- 19) 1 gud-mu-3
- 20) 1 gud-mu-2
- 21) 1 gud-mu-1
- 22) 1 gud-amar-ga
- 23) ì-nun-bi 20(silà)
- 24) ga-ḥar-bi 30(silà)
- (space)
- 25) mu en ^dŠEŠ.KI
 máš-e ì-pà
- 26) 6 áb-AL
- iii 1) 1 áb-mu-3
- 2) 1 áb-mu-2

- 3) 1 áb-mu-1
 4) 1 áb-amar-ga
 5) 2 gud-gal
 6) 1 gud-mu-3
 7) 1 gud-mu-2
 8) 1 gud-mu-1
 9) 2 gud-amar-ga
 10) ì-nun-bi 25 silà
 11) ga-ḥar-bi 37½ silà
 (space)
 12) mu Si-mu-ru-um^{KI}
 ù Lu-lu-bu^{KI}
 a-rá 10-lá-1-kam-aš ba-ḥul
 13) 7 áb-AL
 14) 1 áb-mu-3
 15) 1 áb-mu-2
 16) 1 áb-mu-1
 17) 2 áb-amar-ga
 18) 3 gud-gal
 19) 1 gud-mu-3
 20) 1 gud-mu-2
 21) 2 gud-mu-1
 22) 1 gud-amar-ga
 23) ì-nun-bi 30(silà)
 24) ga-ḥar-bi 45 silà
 (space)
 25) mu Ur-bí-lum^{KI} ba-ḥul
- Rev. i 1) 8 áb-AL
 2) 1 áb-mu-3
 3) 1 áb-mu-2
 4) 2 áb-mu-1
 5) 1 áb-amar-ga
 6) 4 gud-gal
 7) 1 gud-mu-3
 8) 2 gud-mu-2
 9) 1 gud-mu-1
 10) 2 gud-amar-ga
 11) ì-nun-bi 35 silà
 12) ga-ḥar-bi 47½ silà
 (space)
 13) mu Ki-maš^{KI} ù
 Ḫu-mur-ti^{KI} ba-ḥul
 14) 10-lá-1 áb-AL
 15) 1 áb-mu-3
 16) 2 áb-mu-2
 17) 1 áb-mu-1
 18) 2 áb-amar-ga
 19) 5 gud-gal
 20) 2 gud-mu-3
 21) 1 gud-mu-2
 22) 2 gud-mu-1
- 23) 2 gud-amar-ga
 24) ì-nun-bi 40(silà)
 25) ga-ḥar-bi 1(pi)
 (space)
 26) mu-uš-sa Ki-maš^{KI}
 ù Ḫu-mur-ti^{KI} ba-ḥul
- ii 1) 10 áb-AL
 2) 2 áb-mu-3
 3) 1 áb-mu-2
 4) 2 áb-mu-1
 5) 3 áb-amar-ga
 6) 7 gud-gal
 7) 1 gud-mu-3
 8) 2 gud-mu-2
 9) 2 gud-mu-1
 10) 2 gud-amar-ga
 11) ì-nun-bi 45 silà
 12) ga-ḥar-bi 1(pi) 7½ silà
 (space)
 13) mu Ḫa-ar-ši^{KI}
 ù Ki-maš^{KI} ba-ḥul
 (large space)
- iii (large space)
 1) šu-niḡn 18 áb-ḫi-a
 2) šu-niḡn 14 gud-ḫi-a
 3) šu-niḡn 4(pi) 35 silà ì-nun
 4) šu-niḡn 1(gur) 1(pi) 52½ silà
 ga-ḥar gur
 5) kug ì-ba ⅓ ma-na
 7½ ḡn
 6) kug ga-ba 2⅔ ḡn
 15 še
 7) níḡ-ŠID-ag
 8) I-du-a dumu I-zu-
 a-rí-ik sanga ⁴KA.DI

The three-column text is well preserved and almost complete. The small missing portions at the beginning of columns i and ii of the Obverse can be easily reconstructed from the context.

The structure of the text is shown in the accompanying Fig. 1, where the order in which the data is presented has been changed slightly to enable the use of long slanting lines to show the year-to-year growth of the herd.

Structurally, the text can be divided into two parts. The first part gives the number of cattle and the amount of butter and cheese produced in ten successive years; the second part (Reverse column iii) gives résumés and the colophon.

TC II 5499	Year	Cattle										Produce		Date	
		Female					Male					Butter	Cheese		
		áb-amar-ga	áb-mu-1	áb-mu-2	áb-mu-3	áb-AL	gud-amar-ga	gud-mu-1	gud-mu-2	gud-mu-3	gud-gal				Total of animals
Column												i-nun-bi in silà	ga-ḥar-bi in silà	Šulgi	
i	1st	1				4	1				(6)	20	30	40	
i	2nd	1	1			4	1	1			(8)	20	30	41	
i	3rd	1	1	1		4	1	1	1		(10)	20	30	42	
ii	4th	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	(12)	20	30	43	
ii	5th	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	(14)	20	30	44	
ii-iii	6th	1	1	1	1	6	2	1	1	1	2	25	37½	45	
iii	7th	2	1	1	1	7	1	2	1	1	3	30	45	46	
Rev. i	8th	1	2	1	1	8	2	1	2	1	4	35	47½	47	
i	9th	2	1	2	1	9	2	2	1	2	5	40	60	48	
ii	10th	3	2	1	2	10	2	2	2	1	7	45	67½	49	
iii	Total (šunigín)	18 áb-ḥi-a					14 gud-ḥi-a					(32)	4(pi) 35 silà (= 275 silà)	1(gur) 1(pi) 52½ silà (= 412½ silà)	
iii	Value (kug)												⅓ ma-na 7½ gín	2⅔ gín 15 še	
iii	Colophon	níg-ŠID-ag I-du-a dumu I-zu-a-rí-ik sanga ^d KA.DI													

FIG. 1. Growth of a herd of cattle from 6 to 32 in 10 years

The entries for each of the ten years in the first part are given in the same regular sequence: first, the number of different classes of cattle, with females regularly preceding males, all listed in a descending order of age; next, their produce in butter and cheese; then, the year-date. Thus the first entry begins by listing 4 *áb-AL* "4 full-grown cows," 1 *áb-amar-ga* "1 suckling female calf," and 1 *gud-amar-ga* "1 suckling male calf;" this entry continues with a statement of their yearly produce, namely 20 *silà i-nun* "20 *silà* of butter" and 30 *silà ga-ḥar* "30 *silà* of cheese;" and ends with the year-date, in this case Šulgi 40. The entry of the second year lists the 4 *áb-AL* of the first year; 1 *áb-mu-1* "1 one-year cow" and 1 *gud-mu-1* "1 one-year bull," which correspond to the 1 *áb-amar-ga* and 1 *gud-amar-ga* of the previous year; and additionally, two new-born calves, namely 1 *áb-amar-ga* and 1 *gud-amar-ga*. The ten-year growth of the individual animals, from *áb-amar-ga* to *áb-AL* and from *gud-amar-ga* to *gud-gal*, is indicated on the chart by long slanting lines.

The text yields the following information about the terms used for different classes, sexes, and ages of cattle.

The terms for new-born female and male calves are *áb-amar-ga* and *gud-amar-ga*, respectively.

The next three years are denoted as *áb-mu-1*,

áb-mu-2, and *áb-mu-3* for cows, and similarly *gud-mu-1*, *gud-mu-2*, and *gud-mu-3* for bulls.

The full-grown cows are called *áb-AL*, and the full-grown bulls *gud-gal*.

For the best parallel terminology in the Ur III period, cf. the indices for the Ur texts as given in *UET III*. There the terms *áb-amar-ga* and *gud-amar-ga* are used for calves less than one year old. From the occurrence of *áb-mu-1*, *áb-mu-2*, *áb-mu-3* and *gud-mu-1*, *gud-mu-2*, *gud-mu-3* we can judge that the terms *áb-AL* and *gud-giš* must have designated cattle after the age of four years.

For parallels in the Old Babylonian period, cf. Kraus, *op. cit.* pp. 19 and 43; for the Pre-Sargonic period, cf. Kientz and Lambert, *op. cit.* pp. 94 f.

The totals in Reverse iii give (correctly) 18 *áb-ḥi-a* "18 female cattle" and 14 *gud-ḥi-a* "14 male cattle" for the number in the herd in the tenth, or last year. Thus from the original four cows and two calves the herd grew in ten years to thirty-two cattle. This includes regular deliveries to the authority minus the small deduction allowed for natural losses in dead animals. For the parallel German terms *Wurf*, *Abgang*, and *Fall* see Kraus *op. cit.* pp. 43-45 and 50-65.

We note immediately the relatively small number of new-born calves listed in a certain year. Thus in each year from the first to the fifth year two new-born calves are listed as born to four or

five cows; in the sixth year, three calves were born to six cows; and in the last, tenth, year, five calves were born to ten cows. Compared with modern practice, we find that under normal circumstances, one cow is expected to produce one calf a year.

It is important to note that the original small herd did not include a bull. It is apparent therefore that either a bull was brought to the cows from outside for stud purposes or that the cows were taken to a stud-house.

The production of *ì-nun* "butter" and *ga-ḥar* "cheese" is given for each year as well as for the total of ten years. Thus we find in our text, e.g., 20 *silà* of butter and 30 *silà* of cheese were produced by four grown cows in the first year, and 45 *silà* of butter and 67½ *silà* of cheese were produced by ten grown cows in the tenth year. For the time being, we assume that in the Ur III period one *silà* corresponded to about one dry quart.

Good parallels in respect to the production of butter and cheese are to be found in three Ur III texts from Ur (*UET* III 1214, 1215, and 1216), as shown in Fig. 2 marked "Production of Butter and Cheese."

Reference		Cows, number	Butter		Cheese	
			Total in silà	Per cow in silà	Total in silà	Per cow in silà
UET III 1214	i	26	130	5	130	5
	ii	[18]	90	[5]	90	[5]
	ii	16	80	5	80	5
	Rev. i	[2]	10	[5]	10	[5]
	Rev. i	27	135?	5	[135?]	[5]
UET III 1215	vi	14	70	5	105	7½
	vii	1	5	5	7½	7½
	vii	3	15	5	22½	7½
UET III 1216	iii	12	60	5	90	7½
	iii	117	585	5	875	7½
(should be 877½)						

FIG. 2. Production of butter and cheese

Our text, *TCL* II 5499, gives in the first four years the yearly produce of one cow as 5 *silà* of butter and 7½ *silà* of cheese, exactly the amount and proportion in the texts *UET* III 1215 and 1216 above. In the following six years the production decreases slightly, but the proportion of butter and cheese deliveries remains constant, namely 1 to 1½.

Much additional information can be culled from other Ur III texts. The text *CT* VII 34a (BM 18407) lists deliveries by six (goat)herds (*na-gada*) and one cowherd (*udul*) of even quantities of butter and cheese, without specifying the number of animals. Even quantities of butter and cheese, the produce of an unspecified number of cows, are listed in *CT* V 25 f. *MCS* VIII 88a (BM 105375) (of which only the reverse has been published) states in the résumé that 46 *gud-áb-ḥi-a* "46 cattle" produced 90 *silà* of butter and 135 *silà* of *ga-sig₇-a* cheese (a variety similar to *ga-ḥar*). *UET* III 1198 and 1514 list goatherds' (*sipa úz-da*) deliveries of butter and cheese, without specifying the number of animals, in more or less the same proportion as our *TCL* II 5499 text; that is, deliveries of butter are less than those of cheese. For other texts from Ur dealing with butter and cheese cf. especially *UET* III 1067, 1217, and 1220.

The yearly production of five dry quarts of butter per cow in ancient times is quite poor compared with modern yields. The best cows in Holland produce over 4,000 kilograms of milk in one year. But even a Brahman cow in India produces about 200 kilograms of milk and 5% butter-fat content, which corresponds to about 10 kilograms of butter yearly.

The question, however, is whether these deliveries represent the total production of butter and cheese or whether the cowherds and goatherds were allowed some small, set amounts for their own consumption.

The value of the butter and cheese produced in ten years is given in Reverse iii. It amounts to one shekel of silver = 10 *silà* of butter = 150 *silà* of cheese. Thus butter is fifteen times as expensive as cheese.

Note the following parallels elsewhere: one shekel of silver = 8 *silà* of goat butter (*UET* III 1198 and rev.; 1514 written *ì-nun-ḤA*) = 6 *silà* of butter from unspecified animals (Nies, *UDT* 179). One shekel of silver = 150 *silà* of goat cheese (*UET* III 1198 and rev.; 1514).

No information about prices of dairy products is to be found in the balanced accounts of the merchants; see John B. Curtis and William W. Hallo, "Money and Merchants in Ur III," *HUCA* XXX (1959) pp. 103-139. Apparently merchants did not handle quickly perishable goods.

For the abbreviations *ì* for *ì-nun* and *ga* for *ga-*

ḥar in Reverse iii, see also *CT* V 25 ff., *CT* VII 34a rev. 14, 15, etc. (*MAD* II² p. 23).

The measures used in our text for *ga-ḥar* and *ì-nun*, as well as in the parallel texts noted above (*CT* VII 34a; *MCS* VIII 88a; *UET* III 1198 and 1514; Nies, *UDT* 179; etc.) are *gur*, *pì*, *bán*, and *silà*, that is, dry, not liquid measures. This alone suffices to prove that — at least in these texts — *ì-nun* is “butter” and not “ghee” or “cream,” as often interpreted by other scholars. To judge from the value of *ga-ḥar*, which is one-fifteenth the price of butter, *ga-ḥar* must denote a very cheap milk product. Since dry measures are used for it, *ga-ḥar* is a solid, not a liquid. My suggestion is that *ga-ḥar* denotes some kind of a “natural,” unprocessed, soft cheese, such as “cottage cheese” (“curds” or “whey cheese”).

The text ends with a colophon, reading *níg-ŠID-ag I-du-a dumu I-zu-a-rí-ik sanga* ⁴KA.DI “the account of Idūa, son of Issu-arik, the ‘priest’ of Sataran.” Thus this text concerns a herd of cattle belonging to the household of Sataran, located in an unspecified place.

The text has no year date or month name. Since the last year for which the account of the herd was given is Šulgi 49, we may assume that the text was composed at the end of that year.

As shown by the inclusion of our text in the volume entitled *Tablettes de Drêhem*, its author, De Genouillac, assumed that this text originated at Drehem, apparently solely on the basis of its subject matter, dealing with cattle. In favor of this assumption note that our text deals with the ten-year growth of a herd, beginning with Šulgi 40, the date which is named after the year in which *é* PÛ.ŠA-*iš-⁴Da-gan ba-dù*, the manor of Puzriš-Dagan or Šilliš-Dagan or Šilluš-Dagan was established. It is likely that a text dealing with the growth of a herd from the first year of the establishment of the manor at Šilliš-Dagan would actually originate in the ancient Šilliš-Dagan, which corresponds to the present-day Drehem.

No clear decision as to the provenience of *TCL* II 5499 can be drawn from the mention of the personal names Idūa and Issu-arik, and of a divine name Sataran. Idūa apparently appears nowhere else. Issu-arik *maššugigi* “the diviner” is attested at Drehem (*Orient.* XXIII Nos. 1598, 1599, and 1601), but other persons so named are listed at Lagash (*ITT* IV 6847: 19) and elsewhere. The same indecision obtains in respect to the divinity

Sataran, who is at home mainly in Dêr, but is also attested in texts from Lagash and Drehem (*Anal. Orient.* XIX No. 234).

As shown clearly by the Ur III texts containing the information of butter and cheese production listed above on page 67 and in Fig. 2, all the texts deal with deliveries of these dairy products by cowherds and goatherds to the central authority of the household.

Conclusions

1. The text *TCL* II 5499 describes the growth of a herd of cattle from six to thirty-two in ten years.
2. Starting with two calves born to four or five cows each year in the first five years, the maximum increase is given as five calves born to ten cows in the last, tenth year.
3. The terms *ab-AL* for full-grown cows and *gud-gal* for full-grown bulls include adult animals after the age of four.
4. Since no bull is listed with the original herd, it is assumed that outside bulls were used for stud purposes.
5. The texts discussed in this article list deliveries of milk products by cowherds and goat-herds to the central authority of the household.
6. The deliveries consist of “natural” milk products, easily processable locally, such as butter (not ghee) and soft cottage cheese (not “hard” cheese).
7. Our text gives the yearly produce of a cow as 5 dry quarts of butter and 7½ dry quarts of (cottage) cheese. Identical or similar data is to be found in other Ur III texts.
8. The value of one dry quart of butter is 18 grains or 1/10 of a shekel of silver; that of one dry quart of cheese is 12½ grains or 1/150 of a shekel of silver. Thus butter is fifteen times as expensive as cheese.
9. Comparison between our and other Ur III texts shows that the value and amount of dairy products from cows are identical with those from goats.
10. The relatively low birth-rate of calves (No. 2) and of production of butter and cheese (No. 7) as given in our texts fits well the low production of wool in ancient Mesopotamia, which averaged roughly about one pound of wool per sheep yearly.
11. The general picture of Mesopotamian animal husbandry in the third millennium B.C. looks as follows: Cattle (with equids) were raised

mainly for use as draft animals, sheep and (to a much lesser degree) goats for their wool, and cattle, goats, and sheep for their skins. Mainly as a result of the spoilage factor, dairy products of cattle, goats, and sporadically sheep played a relatively limited role in ancient economy. Our

limited available data shows that slaughtered animals were consumed mainly by upper classes; extensive information exists that meat of animals deceased as a result of old age, sickness, or accident, presumably spoiled, was issued to the laboring class (especially *gemé-uš-bar*) and to dogs.



An Old Babylonian List of Amorites

Author(s): I. J. Gelb

Source: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (Jan. – Mar., 1968), pp. 39–46

Published by: [American Oriental Society](#)

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den Muršili." Ferner *ulišta* (unter Auslassung des unergiebigsten Beleges KUB VI 34, 20) im Telipinu-Mythus KUB XVII 10 I 12 f. *⁴Te-li-pi-nu-ša pa-it mar-mar-ri an-da-an* (13) *ú-li-iš-ta še-e-ra-aš-ši-ša-an ha-li-en-zu hu-ya-i-iš* "und Telipinu ging (und) schlüpfte (tauchte) in den Sumpf(?), und über ihm wucherte(n) (lief(en)) Wasserlinse(n)."⁸ Ferner in dem Mythus vom Königtum im Himmel (KUB XXXIII 120; Güterbock, Kumarbi S. 7), wo ein homoerotischer Akt zwischen Kumarbi und Anu in die Worte gefasst ist (Z. 25 f.) *LÚ-na-tar-še-it-kán A.NA ⁴Ku-mar-bi šà-ŠU an-da ZABAR*⁹ (26) *ma-a-an ú-li-iš-ta* "seine Mannheit (sein Sperma) schlüpfte in das Innere Kumarbis wie Erz." Dass das durch den Mund geschieht, ergibt sich aus dem Fol-

genden, wo Kumarbi das zu sich Genommene wieder ausspeit (Z. 39 f. nach Lesung und Ergänzung von Schulers *ha-at-ta-an-za LUGAL-uš KA x U-kán pa-ra-a al-la-pa-ah-ha-aš UŠ₁₂(!)*¹⁰ [*LÚ-na-tar-ra*] (40) [*a*]n[*-d*]a im-mi-ia-an "der kluge König spie aus dem Munde Speichel und Sperma vermischt aus"). Für das Verbum *uleš-* scheint nach den drei Belegstellen die Uebersetzung "schlüpfen, schleichen" angebracht.

Nachtrag zu 2:

Den Verbalstamm *šap-* wird H. G. Güterbock demnächst in der Revue Hittite behandeln und möchte ihm die Bedeutung "to hit, beat" geben. Ich habe meine Darstellung unverändert gelassen und überlasse dem Leser die Entscheidung zwischen Güterbock und mir.

⁸ Zur Bedeutung von *halenzu* s. Otten Baghdader Mitteilungen 3, 94 f.

⁹ Lesung von Goetze JAOS 69, 181.

¹⁰ Nach von Schuler Zeichen ŠL 17, 3, an der Bruchstelle beschädigt (in Boğazköy sonst anscheinend nicht belegt).

AN OLD BABYLONIAN LIST OF AMORITES

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Introduction

IT IS A WELL KNOWN FACT that in the Ur III period persons bearing the designation MAR.TU (= Amorite) have names which are frequently non-committal linguistically, such as names with the suffix *-ānum* in *Humrānum* or *Nukrānum*, while in the Old Babylonian period persons who bear good West Semitic names, such as *Šamšu-iluna* or *Jašma'-Haddu*, do not bear the designation MAR.TU in the great majority of cases. This has led some scholars to the assumption that only the names of the Ur III period are to be called "Amorite," while the names of the Old Babylonian period represent a different ethno-linguistic unit, which they have called "East Canaanite" because of its alleged close relationship to the "West Canaanites" of Palestine and parts of Syria.

In my article "The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples," *JCS* XV (1961) pp. 27-47, especially pp. 33 f., I not only expressed my conviction that the degree of linguistic relationship between the Ur III Amorites and the West Semites of the Old Babylonian period has been seriously

underestimated by all the scholars who have written on the subject, but also concluded that for all practical intents and purposes the two groups are identical and represent the same people, namely the Amorites. This conclusion was based to a large extent on the study of West Semitic names of persons bearing the designation MAR.TU in the early Old Babylonian texts from Isin (*BIN IX*) and from Tell Asmar (unpublished). For many of the problems discussed in this article, see also Giorgio Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples, 1966, issued at end of 1967).

Tablet TA 1930, 615

The aim of this brief note is to make known the unique and most important of these unpublished Tell Asmar texts, namely TA 1930, 615. This tablet belongs to the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, but is now, together with the other Tell Asmar tablets, on loan to the Oriental Institute, Chicago. The text lists the names of twenty-nine individuals, all bearing good West Semitic names

and the designation MAR.TU. The tablet was excavated at Tell Asmar, ancient Eshnunna, on February 6, 1931 at the locus P 31, 1, with the notation "burnt palace or beneath it." According to *OIP* XLIII Pl. II, the locus P 31, 1 was in the area of the southeastern corner of the so-called "Gimil-Sin temple." From *OIP* XLIII pp. 46 f., we learn that the great conflagration which destroyed the temple took place "in one of the reigns immediately succeeding that of Bilalama, probably that of Isharramashu." This would place our tablet about forty years after the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur. For the general

chronological situation see also *OIP* XLIII pp. 196 f.

The mottled, light to dark brown tablet, measuring $83 \times 61 \times 22$ millimeters, is well preserved, and the reading of the two-column text offers little difficulty. The small, destroyed portions of its top and left side can be easily reconstructed from the context; the only doubtful point concerns line 43 at the end of Reverse i, which could represent a line of writing or an empty space. Individual lines are separated by rulings, at times quite indistinct. Sections are separated by open space in three cases, after lines 43, 44, and 47.

Transliteration and Translation

i	1. [1 <i>dumu</i> ? <i>Ab-da-El</i>]	[1 son? of 'Abd-'El],
	2. [1 <i>dumu</i> ? PN]	[1 son? of PN],
	3. [1 <i>dumu</i> ? <i>X</i>]- ¹ <i>x</i> ^{1a} - <i>El</i>	[1 son? of . . . ¹ -'El,
	4. [1 <i>du</i>]mu <i>Mu-ti-me-El</i>	[1 s]on of Muti-me-'El,
	5. [1 <i>š</i>]eš <i>Šu-mu-um</i>	[1 br]other of Šumum,
	6. [1 <i>du</i>]mu <i>Ma-aš-da-kum</i>	[1 s]on of Mašdakum,
	7. [1 <i>š</i>]eš <i>Ī-lī-ma-da</i>	[1 br]other of 'Ilī-ma'da?,
	8. 7	7
	9. [ba-a]b-tum <i>Ab-da-El-me</i>	[the sec]tion of 'Abd-'El.
	10. 1 <i>dumu</i> <i>Ik-zu-El</i>	1 son of Jiksû-'El,
	11. 1 <i>dumu</i> <i>Na-ma-El</i>	1 son of Na'ma-'El,
	12. [1] <i>dumu</i> <i>I-me-ri-nu-um</i>	[1] son of 'Immerānum?,
	13. [1] <i>dumu</i> <i>Na-gi₄-a-nu-um</i>	[1] son of Nāgihānum,
	14. [1 <i>du</i>]mu <i>I-ba-um</i>	[1 s]on of Jibā'um,
	15. [1 <i>dumu</i>] 'Za?-i? b-nu-um	[1 son of] 'Zāji'num?,
ii	16. [1 <i>dumu</i> PN]	[1 son of PN],
	17. '1 <i>dumu</i> <i>Ku?-na¹?-e-[nu?-um]?</i>	'1 son of Kūnānum?],
	18. 1 <i>dumu</i> <i>Ĥu-na-nu-um</i>	1 son of Ĥunnānum,
	19. 9	9
	20. ba-ab-tum <i>Ik-zu-El-me</i>	the section of Jiksû-'El.
	21. 1 <i>dumu</i> <i>Mi-il-ki-la-El</i>	1 son of Milkī-la-'El,
	22. 1 <i>Ū-ga-zum</i>	1 'Ugāzum?,
	23. 1 <i>Ša-la-nu-um</i>	1 Ša'lānum
	24. 1 <i>Mu-ut-Ga-bi-id</i>	1 Mut-Kabid,
	25. 1 <i>dumu</i> <i>Ib-li-nu-um</i>	1 son of Jiblimum?,
	26. 1 <i>dumu</i> <i>Ba-lu-zum</i>	1 son of Palūsum,
	27. 1 <i>dumu</i> <i>I-la-n[u?-um]?</i>	1 son of 'Ilān[um]?,
	28. 1 <i>šeš</i> <i>Za-ma-[ra]-nu-[um]</i>	1 brother of Dama[rā]nu[m]?,

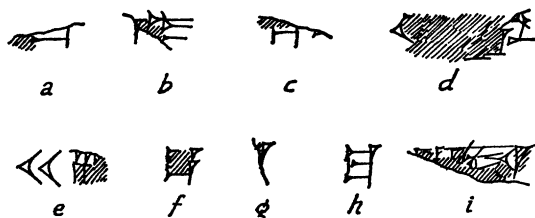
Rev. i	29. 1 <i>Ū-da-[ma]?</i> šeš NI-[...]	1 Hûdâ-[ma]? brother of NI-[...],
	30. 1 <i>dumu</i> E-[...]	1 son of E-[...],
	31. 10	10
	32. <i>ba-ab-tum</i> M[i-il-k]i- [la-E]l-me ^d	the section of M[ilk]i-[la-'E]l.
	33. <i>nigín-ba</i> 26 ^e MAR.TU	Total: 26 Amorites,
	34. <i>e^f-lu-tum-me</i>	deputies.
	35. 1 MAR.TU	1 Amorite,
	36. <i>ba-ab-tum</i> Ba-ša-nu-um	the section of Bâšānum,
	37. <i>a-ab-ba-ta</i>	from the Sea.
	38. <i>gîr^d Innin-e-ru-um-</i> <i>ma-za-ri</i>	Control of Innin-êrum-maššarî.
	39. 1 <i>dumu</i> Mu-ut-Na-nu-um	1 son of Mut-Nanum,
	40. 1 šeš Ma-ni-um	1 brother of Manijum,
	41. <i>ba-ab-tum</i> Ab-da- El-me	the section of 'Abd-'El.
	42. [...]	[from ...]
	43. [...]? (small space)	[...]?
Rev. ii	44. [<i>nigín-ba</i> 3] <i>daḥ-ḥu-me</i> (large space)	[Total: 3] supernumeraries.
	45. <i>šu-nigín</i> 30 lá 1 MAR.TU	(Grand) Total: 29 Amorites
	46. [<i>ur</i>]u? ^{gKI} <i>tuš-a-me</i>	residing in the [cit]y.
	47. [<i>gi</i>]r <i>Lú-ša-lim</i> (large space)	[Contr]ol of Lu-šalim.
	48. [<i>iti</i> N] <i>i-ig-mu-um</i> <i>ud</i> 22-kam	[Month of N]iqmum, 22nd day,
	49. [<i>mu</i> ...]. ⁱ	[the year when ...].
	50. [...]	[...]
	51. [...]	[...]

Photographs of TA 1930, 615 are reproduced on page 45.

The early Old Babylonian date of the text agrees well with its system of writing, in which signs with a voiced consonant stand for voiceless phonemes. Cf. *Mu-ut-Ga-bi-id* /*Mut-Kabid*/ (line 24), *Ba-lu-zum* /*Palūsum*/ (line 26), etc. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the single-consonant writing of *I-me-ri-nu-um* /*Immerānum*?/ (line 12), *Ḥu-na-nu-um* /*Ḥunnānum*/ (line 18),

e-lu-tum /*ellūtum*/ (line 34), and *-ma-za-ri* /*maššarî*/ (line 38).

The text is written in Sumerian, not Akkadian. This is clear from the occurrence of *a-ab-ba-ta* "from the Sea" (line 37) *nigín-ba* "its total" (lines 33 and [44]), [*ur*]u?^{gKI} *tuš-a-me* "(Amorites) residing in the city" (line 46), *ba-ab-tum* PN-me "(the men of) the section of PN" (lines 9, 20, 32, 36, and 41; instead of Akkadian *ba-ba-at* PN), and by the plural suffix



-me in the above cases as well as in *e-lu-tum-me* "deputies" (line 34) and *daḥ-ḫu-me* "super-numeraries" (line 44).

Contents

The whole text can be subdivided into four parts, as reconstructed just below:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 1) | 1 <i>dumu/šeš</i> | PNs |
| | 1 <i>dumu</i> | PNs |
| | 1 <i>dumu/šeš</i> | PNs; PN
<i>nigín-ba</i> |
| 2) | 1 MAR.TU | |
| | 1 <i>dumu/šeš</i> | PNs
<i>[nigín-ba]</i> |
| 3) | | <i>šu-nigín</i> |
| 4) | | |

The first part (lines 1-34) lists three groups of 7, 9, and 10 individuals, each group assigned to a *bābtum* "section." The family relationships of each individual are noted as *dumu* PN "son of PN," *šeš* PN "brother of PN," or simply as PN (only in lines 22-24). Instead of *dumu*, the reconstruction *šeš* is also possible in lines 1-3. A unique formulation is found in PN *šeš* PN (line 29). The individuals listed after the word *bābtum* are also the first ones named in each section.

All individuals listed in the three sections of the first part of the text are subsumed as 26 MAR.TU *e-lu-tum-me* (lines 33-34). The reading of the sign *e*, while partially shaded, is practically assured. For the interpretation of *e-lu-tum-me* see below.

The second part of the text (lines 35-44) lists three individuals assigned to two sections. One unnamed Amorite was assigned to the *bābtum* of *Bāšānum*. While MAR.TU is a common personal name in the Ur III texts, such an interpretation is impossible in our text, where all persons are Amorites. The Amorite or the section is said to come *a-ab-ba-ta* "from the Sea" and was under the control of the Akkadian *Innin-êrum-maššari*. Two individuals, designated as *dumu/šeš* PN, were assigned to the *bābtum* of 'Abd-El, who is also listed in line 9 of the first section. Line 42, with barely preserved traces of signs, and line 43,

now completely missing, may have contained a geographic term designating the origin of the individuals in the second section, parallel to *a-ab-ba-ta* "from the Sea," occurring within the first section.

All individuals in the two sections of the second

- | | | |
|----|---------------|---|
| 7 | <i>bābtum</i> | PN-me |
| 9 | <i>bābtum</i> | PN-me |
| 10 | <i>bābtum</i> | PN-me |
| 26 | MAR.TU | <i>e-lu-tum-me</i> |
| 1 | <i>bābtum</i> | PN <i>a-ab-ba-ta</i>
<i>gîr</i> PN |
| 2 | <i>bābtum</i> | PN [. . . - <i>ta</i>]? |
| 3] | | <i>daḥ-ḫu-me</i> |
| 29 | MAR.TU | [<i>ur</i>]u? ^{KI} -a <i>tuš-a-me</i>
[<i>gî</i>]r PN |
| | | Date |

part of the text are subsumed as [3] *daḥ-ḫu-me* " [3] supernumeraries" (line 44).

The first two lines of the third part (lines 45-46) read *šu-nigín 30 lá 1* MAR.TU [*ur*]u?^{KI}-a *tuš-a-me* "the (grand) total: 29 Amorites residing in the city." The broken sign at the beginning of line 46 is not longer (despite its appearance on the photo!) than the compound sign *šu-nigín* just above. The preserved traces of the sign fit the reading *uru* very well.

The assigning of all individuals listed in the text was done under the control of the Akkadian *Lu-šalim* (line 47).

The fourth part (lines 48-51) gives the date "22nd day of Niqumum," a well known month in the calendar of the Diyala Region in the Old Babylonian period. Unfortunately nothing is preserved of the year date except traces at the end of line 49, possibly to be read as *il*.

Of the twenty-nine individuals, only three are listed by their real names (lines 22-24), one man in addition to his name bears the connotation "brother of PN" (line 29), and one individual is called simply MAR.TU (line 35). All other individuals are simply connoted as *dumu* PN "son of PN" or *šeš* PN "brother of PN."

Of the twenty-nine Amorites, twenty-six are called MAR.TU *e-lu-tum-me* (lines 33-34) and three *daḥ-ḫu-me* (line 44).

The only attested meaning of *daḥ-ḥu* in Sumerian contexts known to me is "additional," "supplementary," or "supernumerary," not "replacement" or "substitute." Thus the 3 *māš daḥ-ḥu* ^a*Gu-la* "3 supplementary goats (for) Gula" (Jacobsen, *CTC* 8:11) are issued in addition to other animals destined for Gula (lines 9 f.). Cf. also 6 *udu* 2 *māš* which are *daḥ-ḥu lugal* (Lau, *OBTR* ii 8); *še-ba* "barley rations" and *še-ba daḥ-ḥu* (Contenau, *CHÉU* 28:1 f., and similarly *YOS* IV 284:1); and PNs *libir-ām* and *daḥ-ḥu-me* in a text listing rations for prisoners of war (*TCL* V 6039 *passim*, and similarly in *UET* III 1391 liii). The meaning "addition" or "reserve" was given to this word by Jacobsen, *OIC* 13 p. 57. This meaning is confirmed by the equation of Sumerian *daḥ* with Akkadian *ašābu* and *ruddū* "to add," found in lexical texts (*ŠL* 169, 2 and 6). It is, of course, possible that from the original meaning "additional," "supernumerary," a secondary meaning "substitute," "replacement" could have developed by the Old Babylonian period. This meaning, favored by Ungnad, *ZA* XXXI (1917/18) pp. 56-57, and, in later years, by Landsberger, *JCS* IX (1955) pp. 122 and 127, is supported by the equation of *daḥ* with *riābu* "to replace" in a lexical text (*ŠL* 169, 5). Even such a derived meaning as "assistant" is possible, to judge from the equation of *daḥ* with *rāšu* and *rišu* "help(er)" (*ŠL* 169, 7 and 8). The different classes of soldiers/workers are indicated by the sequence *erīn*, *daḥ*, and *SI* (*dirig*_x) often found in military rolls, such as *CT* VI 15-18, Grant, *Cuneiform Documents in the Smith College Library* No. 271, and in unpublished texts from Khafaje (see *OIC* 13 p. 57).

The word *e-lu-tum* appears to be Akkadian *ellūtum*, plural of *ellum*. The meanings of *ellum* given in the Akkadian dictionaries are: "clean," "pure," "holy," "sacred," "free of claims," "free man," and "noble." None of these meanings seem to fit our context. On the other hand, *ellum* together with *namrum* are frequent synonyms of *ebbum*. The latter word, translated as "trustworthy" (*CAD* E p. 4a) or "verlässlich" (von Soden, *AHWB* p. 180b), is used in a specialized sense, particularly in the Mari texts, for persons charged with taking census. This may very well be the meaning of *e-lu-tum-me* in our text. The translation "deputy" is based on my understanding of the semantic evolution of the word, from "pure" that is, purified in a sacred sense or

sworn in, to "trustworthy," "entrusted," or "deputized" to perform certain sensitive tasks which otherwise easily invited graft, such as census-taking for the purpose of taxation or conscription.

To judge from the meanings of the two words just discussed, our text deals probably with the appointment of twenty-six *ellūtum* and three *daḥḥu* delegated to perform certain duties involved in conscription and/or taxation, as amply illustrated by Mesopotamian texts from the Pre-Sargonic period on. It can be taken for granted that our Amorites performed or were to perform these duties among their own, that is, among the Amorite people living in certain unspecified parts of the country.

Three more points connected with the Amorites need stressing here:

The derivation of Amorite(s) *a-ab-ba-ta* "from the Sea" (line 37), that is, from the Sea-Land or from a land across the Sea, yields for the first time evidence for the Amorites originating not in the West but in the south-eastern part of Mesopotamia, near the Persian Gulf. This was the nomadic area par excellence throughout the whole of ancient Mesopotamian history.

As will be seen from the next sections, all the Amorites listed in our text bear good Amorite names (with the possible exception of *ī-lī-ma-da*). What that implies is that our Amorites represented an unassimilated ethno-linguistic unit, still uninfluenced by the dominant Babylonian ethnos.

These Amorites, assigned to five different *bābtum* (lines 9, 20, 32, 36, and 41), resided in the city (line 46), in this case probably Eshnunna. Since the five *bābtum* are named after individuals, the word *bābtum* cannot denote as large a section as "a quarter of a city" (as interpreted in *CAD* B p. 10a and von Soden, *AHWB* p. 94b), but small encampments, each probably restricted to individuals belonging to a certain tribal grouping.

Personal Names

Of our text's thirty-one personal names, twenty-nine are Amorite. The other two names, both following the term *gir* "under the control," are Akkadian, and thus represent the Akkadian ruling class.

The first of the Akkadian names, ^a*Innin-e-ru-um-ma-za-ri* (line 38) is to be interpreted as *Innin* + *êrum-mašsarî* "Innin + êrum is my guard(ian)," based on parallels of the type *ī-lī-*

ma-za-ri "my god is my guard(ian)" (Istanbul Museum 31172, Old Babylonian; A 21982, Old Babylonian). The compound divine name *Innin* + *êrum* is of the *Nintul-aršatum* type (*MAD* III p. 66). For names composed with the root 'WR "to be watchful" see *MAD* III p. 59 and von Soden, *AHWB* p. 247a. A PN *I-nin-e-ru-um* occurs on Iraq Museum 43613, Sargonic.

Lú-ša-lim, the second Akkadian name (line 47), written *Lú-ša-lim* and *Lú-sá-lim* in Old Akkadian, is to be interpreted as *Lu-šalim* "may he be well," similar to *Lu-damiq*, *Lu-dannat*, *Lu-dâri*, etc. (*MAD* III pp. 155 f.).

Twenty-six of the twenty-nine Amorite names are listed below. Not listed are two completely destroyed names (lines 2 and 16) and two names with only the first sign preserved (line 29). The notes following the list are limited to names whose interpretation requires further justification.

<i>Ab-da-El</i>	/ʾAbd-ʾEl/	(lines [1], 9, 41)
<i>Ba-lu-zum</i>	/Palūsum/	(line 26)
<i>Ba-ša-nu-um</i>	/Bâšānum/	(line 36)
<i>Hu-na-nu-um</i>	/Hunnānum/	(line 18)
<i>I-ba-um</i>	/Jibâʾum/	(line 14)
<i>Ib-li-nu-um</i>	/Jiblimum/?	(line 25)
<i>Ik-zu-El</i>	/Jiksû-ʾEl/	(lines 10, 20)
<i>I-la-n[u?-um]?</i>	/ʾIlānum/	(line 27)
<i>Ī-lī-ma-da</i>	/ʾIlī-ma-da/?	(line 7)
<i>I-me-ri-nu-um</i>	/ʾImmerānum/?	(line 12)
<i>ʾKu?-naʾ]-[nu?-um]?</i>	/Kûnānum/?	(line 17)
<i>Ma-ni-um</i>	/Manijum/	(line 40)
<i>Ma-aš-da-kum</i>	/Mašdakum/	(line 6)
<i>Mi-il-ki-la-El</i>	/Milkī-la-ʾEl/	(lines 21, 32)
<i>Mu-ut-Ga-bi-id</i>	/Mut-Kabid/	(line 24)
<i>Mu-ut-Na-nu-um</i>	/Mut-Nanum/	(line 39)
<i>Mu-ti-me-El</i>	/Mutī-me-ʾEl/	(line 4)
<i>Na-gi-a-nu-um</i>	/Nāgihānum/	(line 13)
<i>Na-ma-El</i>	/Naʾma-ʾEl/	(line 11)
<i>Ša-la-nu-um</i>	/Šaʾlānum/	(line 23)
<i>Šu-mu-um</i>	/Šumum/	(line 5)
<i>Ū-da-[ma]?</i>	/Hûdâ-ma/?	(line 29)
<i>Ū-ga-zum</i>	/ʾUgāzum/?	(line 22)
<i>ʾZa?-iʾ]-nu-um</i>	/Zājinum/?	(line 15)
<i>Za-ma-[ra]ʾ]-nu-[um]</i>	/Damarānum/?	(line 28)
<i>[X]-[xʾ]-El</i>	/...-ʾEl/	(line 3)

With the PN *Ab-da-El* /ʾAbd-ʾEl/ cf. *Ab-te-Il* /ʾAbd-Il/ MAR.TU at Isin (*BIN* IX 316:13).

With *Ba-lu-zum* /Palūsum/ cf. *Ia-ap-lu-zum* (*JCS* XIV 24 No. 49:4), *Pa-al-zu-um* (*JCS* IX 65:18), *Pu-ul-zu-na-dIM* /Pulsuna-Haddu/ (unpublished), and, for the root consonants, Ugaritic *Bil-zi-ia* = *PLSJ* (*MRS* VI p. 253), etc.

I know of no parallels to our *Ib-li-nu-um*, unless this is a scribal misunderstanding for *Ib-li-mu-um*, comparable with *Ja-ab-li-mu-um* (*CT* XLV 6:5+) and *Bu-ul-ma-na-dIM* (*ARM* I 41:18, 30). The root *BLM* or *PLM* is unknown to me.

Ik-zu-El MAR.TU occurs also in TA 1930, 244. My interpretation of the first element as *Jiksû* is based on the existence of *KSW* (besides *KSJ*) "to cover," "to bind" in other Semitic languages, such as South Arabic and Akkadian.

Ī-lī-ma-da is the only name in the list of twenty-nine Amorites which may be Akkadian. Cf. *MA.DA-i-lī* or *Ma-da-i-lī* among Ur III names in *MAD* III p. 169. Note, however, *DINGIR-ma-di* (*ARM* IX 291:42), *Ī-lī-ma-di* (*JCS* XIII p. 116 No. 33:19), *Ī-lī-ma-di-a-aḥ* (*RA* LII p. 214 No. 1:8), *Ī-lī-ma-da-ḥi* (*RA* LIII p. 83 No. 14:7), and *Ī-lī-ma-da-l-ḥa* (*VAS* VIII 14:4) occurring with many other Amorite names in the Old Babylonian period.

I do not know of a better interpretation of *I-me-ri-nu-um* than as /ʾImmerānum/, considering the writing with *ri* as a scribal error. Names based on this noun are common in Semitic languages.

Ma-ni-um MAR.TU and *Ma-ni-Il* MAR.TU are found in Ur III texts cited in *MAD* III p. 179.

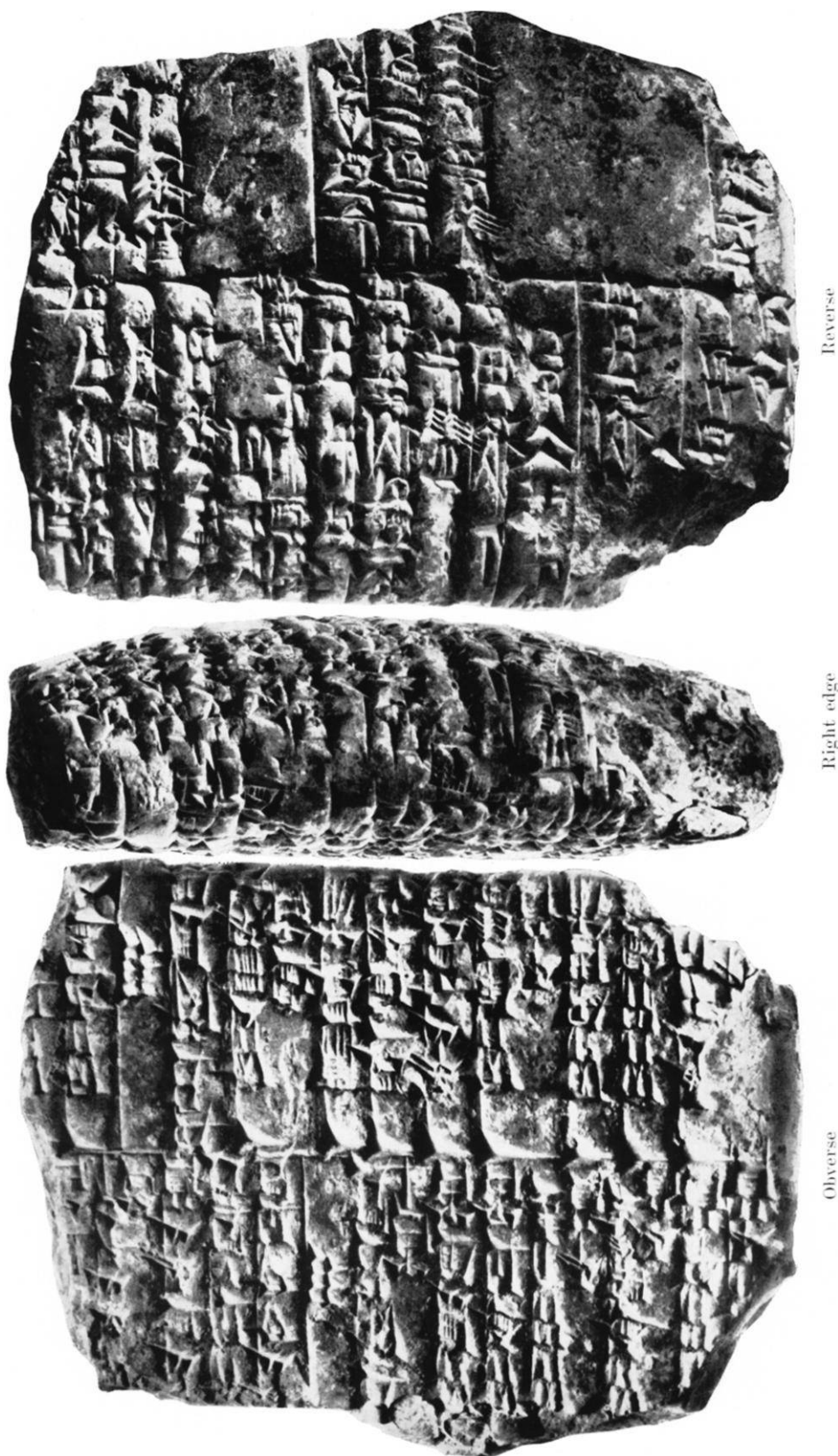
For the infix *-ak-* in *Ma-aš-da-kum* cf. *Ša-ap-ra-kum* at Mari (*RA* XLIX p. 18 v 11) and *Ša-ba-ar-kum* MAR.TU in Ur III (*PDTI* 335:7).

For the divine name *Kabid* in *Mu-ut-Ga-bi-id* /*Mut-Kabid*/ cf. *I-bi-iš-Ka-bi-id* /*Jibiš-Kabid*/ in an unpublished Old Babylonian text from Kisurra.

For the divine name *Nanum* in *Mu-ut-Na-nu-um* /*Mut-Nanum*/ cf. *Jâtir-Nanum* (*passim* at Mari), and, for the structure, *Mut-Kabid* (just above) or *Mut-Dagān* (*passim* at Mari).

I prefer to interpret *Na-gi-a-nu-um* as /*Nāgihānum*/ from the root *NGH* "to shine," because of the spelling with *Ḥ* in *Na-ki-ḥu-um* (*TIM* III 31:17+), *Na-ki-ḥi-im* (*TIM* III 77:5a), and *ʾNi-ig-ḥa-tum* (*ARM* II 66:3), rather than as /*Naqijānum*/ from the root *NQJ* "to be pure."

The reconstruction of *Ū-da-[...]* to *Ū-da-[ma]?* is based on comparison with *Ū-da-ma*



TA 1930-615. Reverse is inverted to show alignment with the Right edge.

MAR.TU in a text from Isin (BIN IX 414: 5). Very doubtful.

I know of no parallels to the name spelled *Ū-ga-zum*, perhaps */Juqāšum/*.

Language of Personal Names

The linguistic data deduced from the analysis of the Amorite personal names of TA 1930, 615 fit in every respect the interpretation of the Amorite language as presented in my brief study "La lingua degli Amoriti," *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* Serie VIII, volume XIII (1958) pp. 143-164. A much larger work on the Amorite language, prepared with the help of computers, is now in preparation. Note the following:

A before 'e is preserved in *Mi-il-ki-la-El* /*Milki-la-El*/, but is assimilated to *e* in *Mu-ti-me-El* /*Muti-me-El*/, as elsewhere in Amorite.

The careful differentiation of the two phonemes š and ś in Amorite areas, such as Mari or Chagar Bazar, is not followed regularly in Babylonian areas, as in our *Ša-la-nu-um* /*Ša'lānum*/, *Šu-mu-um* /*Šumum*/, and *Ba-ša-nu-um* /*Bāšānum*/.

As many as six names have the name of the god 'El as the second element: 'Abd-'El, *Jiksû-'El*, *Milki-la-'El*, *Muti-me-'El*, *Na'ma-'El*, and . . .-'El.

Other divine names occurring in our text are *Kabid* in *Mut-Kabid*, and *Nanum* in *Mut-Nanum*.

Nominal formation, *jaqtul* (hypocoristica): *Jibâ'um* and *Jiblimum*?

Nominal formation, -ān: *Bāšānum*, *Hunnānum*, *Ilānum*?, *Kūnānum*?, *Nāgihānum*, *Ša'lānum*, *Damarānum*?, and perhaps *Immerānum*.

Nominal formation, -ak-: *Mašdakum*.

Noun, active participle, *qātīl*: *Nāgihānum* and *Zājinum*?

Noun, passive participle, *qatūl*: *Palūsum*.

Noun, passive participle: *qatīl*: *Manijum*.

Noun, passive participle, *qatl*: *Bāšānum* and *Ša'lānum*.

Noun, nominative singular + mimation, -um: *passim*.

Noun, construct state, zero ending: 'Abd-'El, *Mut-Kabid*, and *Mut-Nanum*.

Noun, predicate state, -a: *Na'ma-'El* and perhaps *Ilī-ma'da*.

Noun, pronominal suffix first person singular, -i: *Milki-la-'El*, *Muti-me-'El*, and perhaps *Ilī-ma'da*.

Verb, prefix third person masculine singular, *ji*: *Jibâ'um*, *Jiblimum*?, and *Jiksû-'El*. The spelling with *ji*-, instead of *ja*-, is not an outcome of the Barth-Ungnad law, but due to the influence of the Akkadian milieu.

Particle -la-: *Milki-la-'El*.

Particle -ma-: *Muti-me-'El*.

Conclusion

In concluding I should like to comment on the fate of scholarship in our field, as due to the haphazards of discovery. As noted at the beginning of this article, it has been fashionable, until quite recently, to separate the Ur III Amorites, that is, the ethno-linguistic unit as reconstructed on the basis of names of persons bearing the designation "Amorite," from the so-called East Canaanites, that is, the West Semites of the Old Babylonian period, who generally do not bear the designation "Amorite." Now the tablet here published offers the missing link between the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, by providing us with a list of persons bearing good West Semitic names plus the designation "Amorite," thus proving beyond the shadow of any doubt that both the Ur III and Old Babylonian West Semites belonged to one and the same ethnic grouping, namely Amorites. I venture to say that had this unique text become known some forty years ago, the term "East Canaanite" would never have entered scholarly circles and the wasteful arguments and controversies of the ensuing years would have been avoided. It must be said to the credit of Édouard Dhorme that his clear-cut distinction between the Amorites of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, on the one hand, and the later Canaanites, on the other, was just as valid in his day as it is now. See Dhorme's "La langue de Canaan" and "Les Amorréens à propos d'un livre récent," first published in a series of articles in *Revue biblique* 1913, 1914, 1928, 1930, and 1931, later republished in *Recueil Édouard Dhorme* (Paris, 1951) pp. 81-165 and 405-487.



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Author(s): I. J. Gelb

Source: *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, 64e Volume, No. 1 (1970), pp. 1-8

Published by: [Presses Universitaires de France](#)

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REVUE D'ASSYRIOLOGIE ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

PUBLIÉE SOUS LA DIRECTION DE

ANDRÉ PARROT

MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT
DIRECTEUR DU MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

JEAN NOUGAYROL

MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT
PROFESSEUR A L'ÉCOLE PRATIQUE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES

Secrétaire de rédaction : **MAURICE LAMBERT**

LXIV^e Volume

N° 1

1970

MAKKAN AND MELUḪḪA IN EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN SOURCES

by I. J. GELB

For approximately two thousand years, beginning in the mid-third millennium B.C., ancient Sumerian and Akkadian cuneiform sources frequently mention two foreign lands, Makkan and MeluḪḪa. While generally the two names represent true historical and geographical entities, at times they assume a quasi-legendary aura of lands situated in far-away corners of the world. Their location, exact or approximate, has been the subject of many discussions in the past.

It has long been recognized that the degree of difficulty in locating Makkan and MeluḪḪa varies greatly, depending on the chronological attestation of relevant sources ; and that the location of these two countries in a certain area in one period may not be the same in another period. In recent years it has been generally assumed that in the later periods, beginning about the middle of the second millennium B.C., Makkan and MeluḪḪa stand for Egypt and Nubia respectively, while the generally favored location in the earlier periods, beginning about the middle of the third millennium B.C., is east of Mesopotamia in the area of the Persian Gulf and beyond.

Thus it came as quite a surprise to many participants of the Twenty-fifth International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in 1960 when, during the discussion following T. G. Bibby's report on the Danish archaeological expeditions to the Persian Gulf, three experts in the early Mesopotamian field, namely T. Jacobsen, V. V. Struve,

and S. N. Kramer, all agreed that there is no good reason to assume that Makkan and Meluḥḥa were differently located in the earlier periods than in the later periods, when the identification of Makkan with Egypt and of Meluḥḥa with Nubia (or Sudan or Ethiopia) admittedly rests on clear and firm evidence. The happy and total harmony in which the three scholars found themselves on this question was so stunning to the audience that no other participant had the heart to disturb it.

Of the three scholars mentioned, only the first two are listed as participating in the Moscow discussion according to the reports of the Congress, as noted in *Trudy dvadtsať piatogo mezhdunarodnogo kongresa vostokovedov* I (Moskva, 1962), p. 191. However, my strong recollection is that Kramer also took part in the discussion on Makkan and Meluḥḥa, if not during the official session, then immediately after it. Be it as it may, Kramer's views have been well publicized in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena* 9 (1959/60), p. 248; *Antiquity* 27 (1963), pp. 112 and 114; *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963), pp. 276-281, and in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 12 (1963), pp. 314 f. In these articles Kramer also proposes to locate Tilmun in the Indus Valley, a proposition which clashes hopelessly with the generally accepted — and as far as I am concerned — ironclad identification of Tilmun with classical Tylos and the modern Bahrein Islands. Jacobsen's views on the question also have been expressed in *Iraq* 22 (1960), p. 184, n. 18.

The purpose of this note is to present some of my ideas on the location of Makkan and Meluḥḥa in the early periods, ideas which I have freely expressed in classes and scholarly discussions and which are now beginning to appear in print. The immediate spur to write it was provided by my class on the historical geography of the Ancient Near East, based mainly on Greek and Roman evidence, which gave me the opportunity to consult directly all the classical sources bearing on the topic. A large monograph on the topic is now being prepared for publication.

A study of the location of Makkan and Meluḥḥa is based on evidence which can be classified mainly as historical-political or economic-commercial. In the first class of evidence we include sources referring to historical events, such as the late variant text of the Cruciform Monument, published recently by Sollberger in *CT* 44 1, which speaks of the defeat of the king of Anšan and Meluḥḥa by the Sargonic king Man-ištušu. This text implies, *a priori*, the geographic proximity of Meluḥḥa to Anšan, and of both to Mesopotamia. In the second class of evidence we include sources referring to data of economic character, such as the text which lists quantities of copper of Makkan (*ITT* 1 1422). This text implies, *a priori*, that the country of Makkan produced copper.

In both cases I use the qualifying term *a priori*, to warn that aprioristic conclusions need further support in order to become valid. From experience with ancient oriental historiography we know that historical events are not always depicted objectively, and that ancient kings often bragged about conquests of distant countries which they had no capacity of reaching; and the existence of what was known as "Makkan copper" may not mean that copper was mined in Makkan, but that Makkan was the transshipment area for copper which may have been mined elsewhere.

Even the evidence found in the best contemporary sources cannot be taken at face value. What guarantee is there that a bird called "chicken of MeluḪḪa" actually or originally came from MeluḪḪa? The difficulty we face in evaluating these questions can be easily visualized by recalling a few examples from our not so distant Western past. The Italian word *granturco*, French *blé de Turquie*, and German *türkischer Weizen*, all meaning "(Indian) corn" or "maize", imply a Turkish, or at least oriental, origin, while in reality maize came originally from the western hemisphere. Similarly, the English word "turkey", French *dinde (d'Inde)*, *dindon*, Polish (and generally Slavonic) *indyk*, and Austrian-German *Indian*, *Indianer*, all meaning "turkey", wrongly suggest Turkey or India as the country of origin for the bird which is actually at home in the western hemisphere. Then there is the case of Hebrew *tukkiyīm* coming from *Taršīš* in Spain (I Kings 10:22; II Chronicles 9:21), often translated as "peacocks", even though both the word and the bird are said to be of Dravidic Indian origin.

Since the historical-political sources pertaining to Makkan and MeluḪḪa are generally well-known, my study concentrates mainly on the economic-commercial evidence. This involves full discussion of the various commodities and produce, of imports and exports, and of trade and traffic, all connected, in one way or another, with Makkan and MeluḪḪa.

The following types of commodities are attested in connection with Makkan and MeluḪḪa: metals and metal objects, precious metals, stone and stone objects, semi-precious stones, trees and wooden objects, boats, reeds, plants and plant derivatives, and animals.

The forty-two commodities known to be connected with Makkan and MeluḪḪa can be subdivided into two classes, raw materials and manufactured (or processed) products.

We are probably right in assuming that most of the raw materials such as metals, precious metals, semi-precious metals, and trees, reached Mesopotamia as imports from the general area of Makkan and MeluḪḪa. We may also include the more doubtful and indirect evidence concerning (elephant) ivory and some

animals such as the chicken and the peacock. On the other hand, it may be difficult to assume that certain trees such as the date-palm, reeds, plants such as the onion or garlic, and domestic animals such as the dog, goat, hog, and bull, all of which are plentiful in Mesopotamia, were imported from foreign countries. It seems more plausible to assume that certain species or breeds of flora and fauna imported at one time in the past from Makkan and Meluḥḥa were known by their foreign designation even after they had become fully acclimatized in Mesopotamia.

We face greater difficulties in evaluating the origin of products manufactured from metal, stone, wood, and plants. We know of stone vases which Narâm-Sin received as booty from Makkan, of a stone statuette of a Meluḥḥa dog which Ibḫi-Sin received as booty, and of an oil perfume said to have come from Makkan. In most cases, however, the interpretation is doubtful. Thus a product such as a table or a chair may represent a foreign import or a product manufactured locally à la mode of Makkan or Meluḥḥa. An especially suspicious case appears in a text which lists 2 ^{GIS}*gu-za Má-gan* ^{GIS}*ḥašḥur* (MCS 8 85 iii) "2 Makkan chairs (made) of apple wood", since we know from numerous sources that apple trees and apple wood have been known in Mesopotamia from the earliest historical times.

Most of the forty-two entries for commodities connected with Makkan and Meluḥḥa can be translated without a question mark. However, scholars not versed in Assyriology should be forewarned that translations appearing without a question mark are not beyond doubt. Such translations generally favored at present are, e. g., "tin" (instead of "lead"), "diorite" (instead of "dolerite"), "carnelian" (instead of some other semi-precious stone), "ebony", "cat", or "chicken". Some of the difficulties in establishing the exact meaning of a certain commodity are due to confusions in ancient times. Note, e. g., the term "dolerite", derived from the Greek *doleros* "deceptive", so named because this stone is easily confused with diorite.

In order to provide a check for the statements found in Mesopotamian sources concerning the geographic origin of certain commodities, we must go into areas and disciplines outside the Mesopotamian and Assyriological fields.

Unfortunately, there are no non-Mesopotamian sources available to cover the areas east and south of Mesopotamia in the third and second millennia B.C. It is not until classical times that sources useful for comparison with the much earlier Mesopotamian evidence are found.

The classical and post-classical sources which can be utilized to cover our needs are quite extensive. Listed in chronological order they are : fragments of Megasthenes' *Indica* (early 3rd century B.C.), several works of Agatharchides, such as the one

concerning the Red Sea and Ethiopians (late 2nd century B.C.), Strabo's *Geography* (early 1st century A.D.), Pliny's *Natural History* (1st century A.D.), *Periplus of the Red Sea* by an anonymous merchant (1st century A.D.), Arrian's *Indica* = Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander* book VIII (2nd century A.D.), and Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Christian Topography* (6th century A.D.). Of these works, Arrian, Strabo, and the *Periplus* are the most useful for the geography of products, although in many instances statements concerning the names of these products must be checked and corrected in accordance with the judgments of the great Roman naturalist scholar, Pliny. *The Periplus of the Red Sea*, written by an anonymous merchant, is a revelation to anybody not well-acquainted with the classical and post-classical sources. It confirms, what I have suspected for a long time, that merchants are not only more democratically-minded and more literate, but also that they are more exact in reference to certain data than rulers and priests who are involved in pursuits of a different nature.

One of the greatest disappointments facing investigators of material culture is the almost total lack of basic tools to cover the distribution of oriental plants, animals, and minerals in modern times. Where, for instance, is one to find reliable information on the copper mines in Arabia or Iran? Chapter I on copper in R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 9 (Leiden, 1964), has nothing useful. And where is comprehensive information on the distribution of the sissoo-tree in the same areas? Hugo Bretzl's book, *Botanische Untersuchungen des Alexanderzuges* (Leipzig, 1903), is full of discussions of the mangrove and fig-tree, but has only one line about the sissoo-tree. One can always go hunting through the vast travel literature, but the information found there is too scattered and often unreliable.

In anticipation of the full discussion in my prospective monograph, these are my conclusions in respect to the location of Makkan and MeluḤḤa :

Makkan is the southern shore of the Persian Gulf and of the Arabian Sea ; it denotes Arabia, extending east of ancient Sumer up to and including Oman.

MeluḤḤa is the northern shore of the Persian Gulf and of the Arabian Sea ; it denotes Iran and India, extending east of ancient Elam and Anšan up to and including the Indus Valley.

In weighing the import of each piece of evidence bearing on the locations of Makkan and MeluḤḤa, one must constantly keep in mind two questions : "near or far ?" and "north or south ?" The first question refers to the distance from Mesopotamia, the second to the location "north or south" of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea.

Thus, weighing the evidence offered by the text according to which the Sargonic king Rīmuš conquered the countries of Paraḥšum, Zaḥar, Elam, [Ba]šin ?, and Meluḥḥa, the answer to the two questions can only be that Meluḥḥa was situated not too far from Mesopotamia and north of the Persian Gulf. The closeness to Mesopotamia is based on the logistic and military capabilities of the Mesopotamian kings; the location north of the Persian Gulf is clear from the mention of Meluḥḥa in conjunction with four countries, all situated in Iran, north-east and east of Mesopotamia.

Four pieces of evidence based on conquests place Maluḥḥa close to Mesopotamia, specifically in Iran east of Elam and Anšan. The evidence concerning the lapis lazuli, the sissoo-tree, and the black people of Meluḥḥa, corresponding to the *Aithiopes* of classical times, place Meluḥḥa between Iran and Afghanistan. The farthest extent of Meluḥḥa in India is indicated by the imports.

I know of no evidence favoring the location of Meluḥḥa in Arabia, south of the Persian Gulf.

As for Makkan, the evidence based on conquests by Sargonic kings also indicates the closeness of Makkan to Mesopotamia. The same must be said about the mining and exportation of diorite. Diorite is a cheap material, and it would be hard to visualize transporting it from far-away countries, braving the dangerous waters of the Hormuz Straits in light, insecure boats, perhaps of the stitched *madarata* type discussed by ancient writers. It is interesting to note that the unknown merchant who gave us the wonderful *Periplus of the Red Sea* mentions dozens and dozens of varied items of import and export, but is not interested in diorite or, for that matter, in any other building material. See the list of articles of trade in Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 284-288.

In its farthest provable extent, Makkan reaches Oman. In answer to the question "north or south", strong evidence concerning the mines and exportation of copper places Makkan in Oman. Equally strong is the classical evidence placing the Makai people mainly on the Oman Peninsula, partly on the opposite coast of Carmania; the same location is favored by the evidence based on *mes-Makanna* "the sissoo-tree".

For years I have been stressing in my classes the need to distinguish between the broader and the narrower aspects of geographic as well as ethno-linguistic terminology. Certain narrow terms can extend in the course of time, for example, as the result of conquest. Conversely, within some broad terms we can distinguish narrower terms for certain political or ethnic entities. Thus the country of the Elamites, in a broad sense, includes vast areas in the Zagros Mountains and the plains south-east of Mesopotamia, while the political unit called Elam at a certain period of its history

may have consisted only of the small area around Susa. Similarly, the territory of the Amorites denoted the West according to the Babylonians, but the political state of Amurru in the Amarna period covered a relatively small area east of Phoenicia. For other cases, relating to the Subarians and Šubria, the Saxons and Saxony, the Francs and Franconia, see the brief remarks in my *Hurrians and Subarians* (Chicago, 1944), p. 48.

The definitions of the locations of Makkan and MeluḪḪa given just above clearly apply to both their narrow and broad aspects. In a narrow sense, the term Makkan may have denoted smaller political units, for instance the areas corresponding to modern Kuwait in the west, or to Oman in the east, depending on the political configuration of the times. Similarly the term MeluḪḪa may once have denoted some political units centered around classical Persis in the west or the Indus Valley in the east.

In contrast to the location of Makkan and MeluḪḪa in the areas of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea in the early periods of Mesopotamian history, the location of these two lands in Egypt and Nubia beginning in the middle of the second millennium B.C. has long been a matter of general knowledge. It is obvious therefore that some kind of a shift in the location of Makkan and MeluḪḪa must have taken place between the earlier and later times. Jacobsen, *Iraq* 22 (1960), p. 184, n. 18, states that such a transfer of meanings from near to distant countries seems to have no verifiable basis in any fact. Similar objections against the assumption of a "toponymic shift" were expressed by Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963), p. 268, and in *Antiquity* 37 (1963), p. 114, n. 11. The fact is, however, that historical geography abounds with examples of changes and extensions of topographic meanings due to the extension of geographic knowledge. Some of the best examples are the terms used by the classical and post-classical authors for the Erythrean Sea, Ethiopia, India, and Ultima Thule. Similar extensions of meanings are found in the sphere of mythical geography in the biblical and post-biblical terms Gog and Magog, which wind up in the Arabic tradition as two geographic terms Yājūj and Mājūj, covering extreme stretches of north-west Asia, somewhere in the area close to modern Kamchatka.

Scholars who still are inclined to consider the location of Makkan and MeluḪḪa in Egypt and Nubia in the early periods of Mesopotamian history should stop and try to answer the following questions :

Can the conquests of Makkan and MeluḪḪa by early Mesopotamian rulers refer to conquests of Egypt and Nubia ?

Could copper be mined in, and imported from, Egypt and Nubia by the Mesopotamians ?

Can one conceive of diorite being mined in Egypt by the Mesopotamians and transported in flimsy boats over the treacherous waters surrounding the Arabian Peninsula all the way to Mesopotamia ?

Does Egypt have any timber suitable for ocean-going boats ?

Is the sissoo-tree known in Egypt and Nubia ?

Can one visualize barley imported to Egypt, the country famous for its exports of grain, "the granary of Rome" in classical times ?

Where are the famous mountains of Egypt which could be identified with the mountains of Makkan of the Mesopotamian sources ?



Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia

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Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1/2 (Jan. - Apr., 1973), pp. 70-98

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PRISONERS OF WAR IN EARLY MESOPOTAMIA

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THIS article represents a completely revised version of a paper read in 1967 at a meeting of the Twenty-sixth International Congress of Orientalists in Ann Arbor, Michigan. It also constitutes a part of a long-term project on the social and economic history of the ancient Near East, which is to be published in the form of a large monograph entitled *Between Freedom and Slavery*.

1. INTRODUCTION

In anticipation of the projected monograph, I published in 1972 a programmatic article in which five main possibilities as sources of dependent labor were postulated: (1) subject ethnos, derived from the native population of a country conquered by an alien people coming from outside; (2) foreign-born piracy slavery, which includes individuals (men, women, and children) who were abducted from their native land in order to be sold and utilized abroad; (3) house-born slavery, which includes individuals born of one or both slave parents and remaining in a slave status; (4) native impoverished classes, represented by native-born poor or impoverished people and their descendants who have lost, for one reason or another, their own means of livelihood and have been forced, directly or indirectly, full time or part time, as slaves or serfs, to labor for another household; and (5) foreign prisoners of war. See Gelb 1972b, pp. 84 f.

This article deals mainly with prisoners of war in early Mesopotamian times. For "prisoner(s) of war," I shall use the abbreviation POW(s) from now on. Under "early Mesopotamian times," I cover in this article Mesopotamia during the second half of the third millennium B.C., with its four main paleographic subdivisions: the Fara, Pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, and Ur III periods. Sources from later Mesopotamian times will be utilized only when needed to support conclusions reached on the basis of earlier evidence. Citations from non-Mesopotamian literature, omnipresent in this article, are witness to my firm belief in the value of the comparative approach in the study of ancient society and economy. Much on this topic will be found in the planned monograph. For the time being, see Gelb 1967, pp. 2 f.

Standard abbreviations are used throughout the article for Assyriological references, mainly sources. Abbreviations of another kind, by author's name and date of publication, employed here for general and non-Assyriological studies, are listed at the end of the article in the bibliography, which should also serve as a bibliographical guide to the study of POWs.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Miguel Civil for his constructive comments on a number of intricate points relating to Sumerian grammar and lexicon.

2. GENERAL REMARKS ON POWs

A POW is an individual (man, woman, or child) taken captive as a result of conflict (war). Throughout history, POWs are mainly of foreign, not native, origin.

We should constantly and carefully consider the important distinction between the act of taking POWs and their ultimate disposition, enslavement or freedom, full or relative. Cases of native populations being taken prisoner are attested; what is rare, perhaps very rare indeed, is their full and permanent enslavement.

The question of "foreign" and "native" in relation to POWs is intimately connected with the analysis of what may be considered foreign and what native in varying situations. "Foreign" means ethnically alien. I identify "ethnic" with "ethno-linguistic" because of my firm conviction that ethnic differentiations are based primarily on language.

The best recent treatment of the question "foreign:native" with respect to the POWs in the classical world may be found in Volkmann 1961. This is what he writes: "So war [die Versklavung des besiegten Gegners] nach Einsicht [der griechischen Theoretiker], die auch die Römer teilten, in Bürgerkriegen nicht zulässig, da ein Bürger im Rechtsgebiet seines Staates nicht Sklave sein durfte" (p. 186); "In der langer Reihe der Bürgerkriege, die Rom im ersten Jahrhundert v. Chr. erlebte, sind Versklavungen römischer Bürger durch römische Befehlshaber der Gegenseite nicht nachzuweisen" (p. 186); "die Bedenken, die sich gegen die Versklavung einer griechischen Gemeinde hier und da meldeten, fielen gegen fremdstämmigen Feinden wie selbstverständlich fort" (p. 189). The concept of what is non-Greek or barbarian underwent great changes in the Hellenistic period. Köpstein 1966, pp. 56 ff. first states that in Byzantine times, as earlier in the classical world, only *Barbaren (allophyloi)* were regularly taken prisoner, not *Stammesgenossen (homophyloi)*, and then proceeds to discuss the difficulties in determining what exactly is meant by *allophyloi* and *homophyloi* in Byzantine sources.

From the Old Testament we know that POWs taken in wars between Israel and Judah were sent home after the conclusion of the war (2 Chron. 28:8-15, cited in Winter 1886, p. 5, n. 1).

As already noted briefly in Gelb 1972*b*, pp. 84 f., POWs as a source of dependent labor may be considered in relation to three economic stages, which I shall simply define as (1) primitive, (2) semideveloped, and (3) developed.

In the primitive, subsistence economy of tribal and semitribal societies, POWs are normally killed. They are killed because on this low economic level there is no way to utilize them effectively, and because controls over unruly, foreign elements, normally exercised by the established state apparatus, are lacking. It is hard to visualize of what economic value masses of POW labor would be in such underdeveloped economies as those of the Bedouins, Eskimos, or American Plains Indians. I am aware of the sporadic existence of slavery derived from POWs among the so-called primitive societies, as among the African Dahomey and Ashanti and the Creeks of northeast America, where POW slaves were at times sacrificed, at times utilized as labor (see Thurnwald 1928; Rattray 1929, pp. 38-43, etc.; Siegel 1945, pp. 369, 372 f., and 389). But it is interesting to note that even among the Aztecs, whose economy was on a much higher level than that of the tribal, "primitive" societies, POWs were generally killed, if not on the battlefield, then in the temples, where they were sacrificed to the gods by the thousands.

See Katz 1969, pp. 302–15; also pp. 187 and 556 f. for sacrifices of POWs in the Inca area.

Thompson 1957 in Finley 1960, pp. 195 f. writes: "Some Germanic peoples killed off their prisoners, or at any rate, their adult male prisoners, after a campaign. Now it is an exceedingly common practice among primitive people to kill the warriors of a beaten enemy and to enslave the women-folk and the children."

In my reconstruction, the semideveloped, limited-surplus economy encompasses the ancient world, from the Mediterranean to China, except classical Greece and Rome. In comparison with the primitive economy, discussed just above, the economy of the ancient world progressed enough to enable it to utilize POW labor more effectively. At first, men were killed, and only women and children were taken captive. What that implies is that while it was relatively easy to exert control over foreign women and children, the state apparatus was still not strong enough to control the masses of unruly male captives. With the growing power of the state organization, also male POWs were taken captive, but they were often marked or branded, tied with ropes or kept in neck-stocks immediately after capture. Later they were generally freed and resettled or utilized for specialized purposes of the crown, such as the personal guard of the king, mercenaries, and a movable force.

In Homeric Greece, men were usually killed in battle; only women and children were carried off as booty. At times men were kept for ransom and women taken to serve as wives or concubines. Cf. Hasebroek 1931, p. 14; Micknat 1954, pp. 565 f., 574, 580 f., 588, 593, 601, and 611; Bolkestein 1958, pp. 74 f.; Finley 1965, p. 50; Leneman 1966, pp. 196, 248, and 256.

With respect to early China, I have noted the following: POWs were often sacrificed, sometimes colonized or used as slave labor (Pulleybank 1958, pp. 186, 188, and 194); "... wo man die männlichen Gefangenen in der Regel noch tötete oder als Opfer darbrachte, die Frauen bereits zu Sklavinnen, Konkubinen gemacht wurden" (Tökei 1959, p. 297). The statement in Eberhard 1969, p. 32 (and similarly p. 137), "the Chou [ca. 1028–257 B.C.] officially abolished human sacrifices, especially since, as former pastoralists, they knew of better means of employing prisoners of war [in agriculture] than did the more agrarian Shang [whom they conquered]," is incomprehensible to me; generally, "pastoralists" have no use for POWs.

In a developed, surplus economy, as in classical Greece and Rome, all kinds of POWs (men, women, and children) were taken captive and became and generally remained chattel slaves throughout their lifetime.

3. POWs IN EARLY MESOPOTAMIA

3.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the following pages I shall present some important sources referring to POWs in early Mesopotamian times. The Mesopotamian picture is partly obscured by great differences in reliability between the data found in the royal ("historical") sources, with their well-known exaggerations and even misinformation, and those derived from the administrative texts, giving straight, cool facts of accounting.

As Mesopotamia was making the transition to a literate society, the economy was undoubtedly expanding so that by the time of the first readable inscriptions the stage of

primitive economy (see section 2), when POWs were generally slain on the battlefield or sacrificed in temples, had probably long been superseded. Although our information for the early periods is rather sketchy, still it is interesting to note that Eannatum and Entemena, rulers of Lagash around 2500 B.C., write not of taking prisoners, but of piling up thousands of enemy corpses in large heaps (Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI* pp. 20, 24, 26, and 38). See also 3.2.

3.2. RĪMUŠ (CA. 2284–2275 B.C.)

Our information about POWs begins with Rīmuš, the second king of the Sargonic dynasty. He writes of the conquest of several cities in Babylonia (Ur, Kazallu, Lagaš, Adab, Zabalam, Umma, and KI.DINGIR) and in the Zagros Mountains (Parāšum and Zaḥara), of killing in each place of several thousand men (GURUŠ *šumqutum*), and of capturing of several thousand captives (LÚ + KÁR ŠU.DU₈.A). See Hirsch in *AOF* 20 pp. 52–63.

The meanings of the Sumerogram LÚ + KÁR (to be read *šaga* or *še_x*) “captive” are all connected with rope and binding, as in the corresponding words derived from the Akkadian verbs *kamûm*, *ḥabālum*, and *ḥanāqum*. The Sumerogram ŠU.DU₈.A is used in this context for Akkadian *ikmî* “he bound,” “he captured,” as first seen by Borger in *Or.* n.s. 26 pp. 4 f. and Edzard in *AOF* 19 pp. 25 f. Instead of LÚ + KÁR ŠU.DU₈.A of the Rīmuš inscriptions, we find x (over 800) LÚ *i-ik-mi* “he captured x persons” in a broken passage of a late copy of an inscription of Narām-Sin, as copied by Poebel in *PBS* 5 36 x + iii 2 ff. It may not be amiss to suggest the emendation of LÚ to LÚ + [KÁR].

The term LÚ + KÁR is also found in the inscriptions of Šu-Sin (3.4), Samsu-iluna (3.5), Ibbi-Sin (3.6), and Ur-Ninurta (3.6). For more examples of *kamājum* “to rope,” “to capture,” especially in reference to captured rulers, see *MAD* 3 pp. 146 f.

Captives were put in neckstocks (Sumerian ^{GIŠ}*si-gar*, Akkadian *šigarum*), as expressed by the sentence “(Sargon took captive Lugalzagesi, king of Uruk, and) brought him in a neckstock [Sumerian ^{GIŠ}*si-gar-ta e-tûm*, Akkadian *in si-gar-rîm u-ru-uš*] (to the gate of Enlil)” (*AOF* 20 pp. 35 and 41), and shown on the reliefs of Sargon (cf. E. Gordon in *Sumer* 12 pp. 80–84, with reference to *Sumer* 10 pp. 116–19 [= *Sumer* 13 p. 222]; cf. also Eva Strommenger, *The Art of Mesopotamia* [London, 1964], fig. 118); or were bound with ropes, as shown on the stela assigned to Sargon (*RA* 21 pp. 65–74; cf. Strommenger, op. cit. figs. 114 f.) and on the rock relief of Annubanini (Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, vol. 4, p. 161; cf. also Kraus in *AOF* 20 p. 154). The same relief, in its upper register, shows also a bound POW, with a nose rope held by a goddess standing in front of the victorious ruler.

As a matter of fact, Rīmuš, in describing his campaigns, writes not only of killing men in battle (*šumqutum*) and taking prisoners (LÚ + KÁR ŠU.DU₈.A), but also of a third form of disposing of enemy males. Its standard phraseology is x *eḫlûtim ušûšamma ana karāšim iškun* (*AOF* 20 pp. 53, 57, 59, and 60, and with variations p. 54). The natural translation offered for this sentence would be “he (Rīmuš) caused x men to go out (from the cities) and placed (them) in the camp.” In *MAD* 3 p. 151 I translated *karāšum* of our passages as “camp,” “destruction.” My secondary translation of *karāšum* as “destruction” was based on the realization that the sentence “he placed in the camp” should not be expressed by *ana karāšim iškun*, but by *in karāšim* in Old Akkadian or

ina *karāšim* in later Akkadian, and that the logogram KI.KAL.BAD, which could possibly be explained as *ki guruš ug_x* "the place where men are killed," is used not only for the Akkadian word *karāšum* with the meaning of "camp," but also for *karāšum* (and for later Akkadian *karāšû*, unless the latter is no more than a *plurale tantum* of *karāšum*) with the meanings of "catastrophy," "slaughter." This new interpretation is now reflected in the translation of *a-na ga-ra-si-im iš-kùn* of the Rîmuš inscriptions as "he slaughtered them" in *CAD K* p. 214a. Hirsch in *AOF* 20 pp. 57 ff. translates *karāšum* as "Feldlager," but in quotation marks. Von Soden, *AHWB* p. 448 follows the traditional translation of "camp," as do Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes* (Paris, 1971), pp. 101 f.

Our interpretation finds support in the passage of the Rîmuš inscriptions which relates the campaigns against Parahšum and Zaḥara (*AOF* 20 pp. 62 f. and 67). In the pertinent passage, Rîmuš writes that he slew *x* men in battle, took captive *x* men, and *birûtam* . . . *alšunu išpuk* "he heaped up a (burial) mound over them . . ." For this new interpretation of *birûtum*, see Borger in *JCS* 18 (1964) p. 54, Sollberger in *RA* 63 (1969) p. 40, n. 1, and Westenholz in *AOF* 23 (1970) pp. 27–31, especially p. 27.

Thus we may have to reckon with the possibility that in addition to killing enemy warriors in battle, the Mesopotamian rulers may have been in the habit of gathering enemy males and probably others and putting them to the sword at some place within the territory of the conquered cities. The piling of enemy corpses in heaps is, of course, one of the common features of ancient military campaigns. See, e.g., 3.1 and 3.6, and especially the above cited article of Westenholz.

Much of the information about the POWs given in the inscriptions of Rîmuš is suspicious. The very high numbers of POWs taken captive find no support in other contemporary sources (see 4.3) or even in the sources in the next thousand years. It is interesting to note that the same Rîmuš who boasted of capturing thousands of POWs could muster only six slaves and slave-girls as a gift to the temple of Enlil in Nippur (see Hirsch in *AOF* 20 p. 65). Equally baffling is the exclusive reference to male POWs, and none to women and children, and, above all, the report that masses of POWs were taken from native Babylonian cities. See 4.2 and 4.8.

3.3. BÛR-SIN (CA. 2052–2043 B.C.)

Two sets of three administrative texts each from the reign of Bûr-Sin, the third king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, offer exceedingly valuable information about the women and children POWs.

The first of these sources consists of a set of three Umma texts, *TCL* 5 6039, *Dok.* 2 329, and unpublished YBC 3666 (from Hallo).

The first of these three texts, dated to Bûr-Sin year 5, month 2, deals with the distribution of barley rations to POWs (*še-ba nam-ra-ag*), all listed by name. The text names 167 women, of whom 121 are alive and 46 dead, plus 28 children, of whom 5 are alive and 23 dead, plus 2 living old women. Of the 121 living women, 23 are denoted as sick, and of the 2 old women, 1 is sick; no children are listed as sick. In addition, 6 foremen are listed by their Sumerian names. Since they received no rations, we must assume that they had some special provisions at their disposal.

The second text, dated to Bûr-Sin year 5, month 7, deals with the distribution of

rations of flour and beer to women POWs (*ša-gal gemé nam-ra-a-ag*), and lists names of 39 women and 10 children, almost all of which appear also in the first text, dated a few months earlier. No individual in the second text is denoted as dead or sick.

The third text, dated to Bûr-Sin year 5, month 5, bears the colophon *še-ba nam-ra-ag*, like the first text, not the second, but in every other detail is identical with the second text.

The three POW texts pose several intriguing questions. The first question relates to the very high number of 69 dead and 24 sick out of a total of 197 individuals listed in the first text. Did they become sick or die during the transport between the time of their capture and the date of the first text? It is very difficult to grasp the reason why all the 10 *sag-dub* "10 head-women" and 12 *dumu-ugula* "12 children of the foremen" are listed as dead in the text (rev. iii). Of all the people in the list, it is these two classes that should have been capable of surviving the difficulties of transport or shortages of food. Were they slain for one reason or another? The rations received by the women and children in the first text are sufficient in quantity. They represent the standard rations received by women and children of all classes, from serfs to slaves and POWs. (See 4.6.) The rations of the second and third texts are even better, as the women and children received flour and beer, instead of grain, and the flour rations were greater than the barley rations of the first text. Still, the number of surviving women and children went down from 128 in the first text to 49 in the second and third texts. Some clue may be drawn from the fact that of 24 sick women in the first list, only 5 are listed in the second and third lists, allowing the suggestion that these 5 were the only women who survived the sickness, or the hunger, or the difficulties of the transport.

The information which can be gathered from these three texts tells us about the good rations which were offered to the POWs during certain months of the year. It tells us nothing about the months during which they may not have received rations and may have been starving because of logistic difficulties in providing them with subsistence on time.

The most important question which comes to mind in connection with these POW texts is this: where are the husbands and fathers of the women and children POWs? Were they slain on the battlefield or immediately following their capture? Or were they brutally separated from their kin and put to work elsewhere? We have no answers to these questions at the present time.

Of the 197 women and children listed in these three texts, only a few dozen bear Akkadian or Sumerian names, while all the rest bear names which are clearly non-Mesopotamian, reflecting the ethno-linguistic situation of the mountain regions east and north of Mesopotamia (Gelb, *HS* pp. 40 and 59 f.). Similar conclusions can be drawn about the second set of three POW texts, discussed just below, on the basis of geographical names there mentioned. The existence of Akkadian and Sumerian names among the POWs is evidence of name change, a very common feature among the lowest classes of the population, such as slaves and POWs. This point will be fully discussed in my forthcoming monograph.

The second important source on POWs in the administrative documents of the Ur III period consists of three texts, *RA* 24 p. 45, *YOS* 4 67, and *YBC* 128 (from Hallo), all of which date to Bûr-Sin year 9, month 8 (at Drehem) and are almost identical in content. The brief texts are receipts by Ur-Lisi, ensi of Umma, of 172 slaves (172 *sag-ši-a*),

consisting of 113 women and 59 children, who are said to be the booty of Šariphum which was offered ex-voto to the temple of Šara at Umma (*nam-ra-ag a-ru-a* ^dŠara-še ^{URU}Ša-ri-ip-*hu-um-ma*^{KI}). While the copy of the sign IP is slightly shaded in all three texts, it cannot be read as IT!, as suggested in Gelb, *HS* p. 59, on the basis of the spellings of Ša-ri-it-*hu-um*^{KI} (*TCL* 2 5500 ii 3) and Ša-ri-it-*hi*^{KI} (*JCS* 7 p. 106 i 5', etc.) and Šu-ru-ut-*hu-um*^{KI} (*RA* 10 p. 208 BM 103435 rev.; De Genouillac, *TD* 2 rev.; *TCL* 2 5545). Apparently the existence of three forms, Šariphum, Šarithum, and Šuruthum, testifies to the difficulties which the Akkadians and Sumerians experienced in expressing foreign names. The three texts in which Šuruthum occurs deal with animals taken as booty and are dated to the fourth year of Bûr-Sin, but, in addition, the first two texts carry an *ud* "when" date, reading "when Šašrum and Šuruthum were destroyed," while the third text refers to "the booty (*nam-ra-ag*) of Šašrum and Šuruthum." Because of the connection with Šašrum, Šuruthum is clearly located somewhere east of the Tigris.

The term *sag* "slave" is discussed in 3.4; the term *arua* "given ex-voto" in 4.4.

3.4. ŠU-SIN (CA. 2043–2034 B.C.)

King Šu-Sin of the Third Dynasty of Ur writes that he defeated Šīmanum and the surrounding districts, offered (the population) ex-voto to his "servitude" (*nam-arád-da-ni-še sag-še mu-ni-rig*₇), and settled (*ki mu-ne-gar*) the enemy "slaves," his booty (*sag erim-gál nam-ra-aš-ag-ni*, also *sag nam-ra-aš-ag-ni-ta*) in a town on the frontier of Nippur for (dedicated to?) Enlil and Ninlil (Civil in *JCS* 21 pp. 30 f.).

The term *nam-ra-aš-ag* and the more common *nam-ra-ag* (3.5–3.7) means "booty," "to take booty," and corresponds to the Akkadian *šallatum*, *šalālum* with the same meanings. Many other texts clearly indicate that under "booty" are included not only people, but also objects, such as vases, cups, maces, or gold, and animals, such as cattle, sheep, or equids.

The term *sag* "head" of the Šu-Sin text is often used for POWs, as in the list of 172 *sag-*hi*-a* in the three Umma texts (*RA* 24 p. 45 etc., discussed in 3.3), *TCL* 5 6039 rev. i 29 (discussed in 3.3), and in Legrain, *TRU* 326 (discussed in 3.7). The term can be applied to individuals of the slave class, as, e.g., in Falkenstein, *NSGU* 3 p. 154, or, more rarely, of the serf class, as in the two large and very important Ur III texts listing the *arua* "ex-voto" offerings to the temples of Lagash (discussed in Gelb 1972a). Instead of *gìr-sè-ga* ^dAMAR-^dEN.ZU *sag-me* (Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 pp. 29 f. and pl. 4), read most probably *gìr-sè-ga* ^dAMAR-^dEN.ZU-*ka-me* "personnel of Bûr-Sin."

The term *nam-arád-da* means normally "slavery." It has to be remembered, however, that all personnel in the employment of the crown can be and are called "slaves," and that can include not only slaves and serfs, but also officials of the highest rank, such as the governors.

We are fortunate in being able to observe the activities of the male POWs of Šīmanum in the years following the third year of Šu-Sin, during which, according to a date formula, Šīmanum was conquered. In a court record dated to the sixth year of Šu-Sin, *lu Si-man-*num**^{KI} "individuals of Šīmanum" frequently appear replacing, in some undetermined function, native workers/soldiers (*erín*) who were called to service, and other individuals, apparently acquired for a price (Falkenstein, *NSGU* No. 190). Anywhere from 29 to 52 *guruš-erín Šīmanum*, *erín Šīmanum*, or *á-1/2 erín Šīmanum* (that is, workers of Šīmanum

employed half time) are listed in five administrative texts dated between days 12 and 26 (or more) of the sixth Nippur month of the eighth year of Šu-Sin to do some agricultural work together with a number of native workers (*TMH* n.F. I/II Nos. 300–304).

Two other allusions to POWs in the inscriptions of Šu-Sin merit brief mention here: captured rulers are termed *LÚ + KÁR* “(roped) POWs” (Edzard in *AOF* 19 pp. 9–11 and 23); and, in a close connection with them, we find 6 *lú šu-du₃-a-me-eš* “6 (captive) hostages” and 6 *lú en-nu-un-bi* “their 6 guards” (pp. 12 f.).

3.5. SAMSU-ILUNA (CA. 1750–1712 B.C.)

Very informative on the whole question of the disposition of captives is the royal inscription of the Old Babylonian king Samsu-iluna, published by Poebel in *AOF* 9 pp. 241–92. Since the interpretation of the pertinent section (col. ii 11–17) is open to question, I am giving first a complete transliteration and translation as offered by Poebel: *ukù ma-da I-da-ma-ra-az-ka nam-ra-aš bi-in-ag-a ù erin Aš-nun-na^{KI}-me-eš-a LÚ + KÁR-a en-na bi-in-dab₅(Poebel:dib)-ba-aš šu mi-ni-in-bar-ra šu-nam-ti-la-ke₄ in-ne-ši-in-gar-ra* “(Samsu-iluna, der) der Bevölkerung des Idamaraz-Landes, die er als Beute weggeführt hatte, und den Krieger von Ašnunna, soviele(?) er deren als Gefangene weggeführt hatte, das Leben schenkte und sie frei liess” (Poebel in *AOF* 9 p. 243 and similarly pp. 266–75). Cf. also the translation offered recently in Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* p. 226: “qui accordea vie et liberté aux peuples du pays d’Idamaraz qu’il avait pris comme butin et à tous les guerriers d’Ešnuna qu’il avait faits prisonniers.”

As translated by Poebel and Sollberger and Kupper, the syntax of the inscription requires the linking of the statement “he freed and granted life” both to the (civilian) population (*ukù*) of Idamaras, who had been taken as booty (*nam-ra-ag*), and to the warriors (*erin*) of Ešnunna, as many as had been taken captive (*LÚ + KÁR dab₅*). However, because of the normal use of *šu-bar* with *erin* in other sources (see 4.11), it may be legitimate to suggest that the term *šu-bar*, applied correctly to the *erin* of Ešnunna, may have been extended to cover secondarily also the population of Idamaras.

3.6. MISCELLANEOUS ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

The following sources yield some information about the terminology relating to POWs, but not much else.

Gudea, ruler of Lagash (ca. 2150 B.C.), offers *nam-ra-ag* of Anšan to Ningirsu in the temple of Eninnu (Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI* p. 70 vi 66). The term *nam-ra-ag* “booty” can refer to humans, animals, or objects.

With reference to Susa, Adamdun, and the land of Awan, Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the Third Dynasty of Ur (ca. 2010 B.C.) writes that *en-bi LÚ + KÁR-a mi-ni-in-dab₅(dib)-ba-a* “he took captive their lord(s)” (*UET* 1 210, date). For the interpretation of this passage, see Poebel in *AOF* 9 pp. 248 and 267; Sollberger in *RA* 64 p. 174; and Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA* pp. 157 f.

In several late copies of a letter to Ibbi-Sin which refers to the activities of Išbi-Irra, king of Isin (ca. 2017–1985 B.C.), there is the statement that PN *en₅-si Su-bir₄^{KI}-a LÚ + KÁR-a in-dab₅ Ħa-ma-zi^{KI} nam-ra-aš im-mi-in-ag* (with variants) “he (Išbi-Irra) took captive PN, the ensi of Subartu, (and) carried off Ħamazi as booty” (F. Ali, *Sumerian Letters: Two Collections from the Old Babylonian Schools*, p. 43:35–6). In

discussing this passage, Edzard in *AOF* 19 p. 18 cites the textual variant *nam-ra-aš im-mi-in-du du(lah₄)* for *nam-ra-aš im-mi-in-ag* in the Oriental Institute tablet A 7475. However, the two lines in A 7475 (now baked and cleaned) actually read PN *en₅-si Su-bir₄^{KI}-a LÚ + KÁR-a i-ni-in-ag Ha-ma-zi^{KI} nam-ra-aš im-ma-an-lah₄*. Since the verb *lah₄* is normally used with animate objects, whereas the term *nam-ra* can include both animate and inanimate objects, it is quite plausible that the scribe erroneously transposed the verbs at the ends of the lines and the correct terminology is *LÚ + KÁR lah₄* and *nam-ra-aš-ag* (suggestion of Robert M. Whiting).

In a late copy of an inscription of Ur-Ninurta, another king of Isin (ca. 1923–1896 B.C.), we find the following sentence: *ukù-bi LÚ + KÁR-a um-mi-lah₄* “mögest du seine [des feindlichen Auslands] Bevölkerung gefangen wegführen” (*CT* 36 29 rev. 3 f., as interpreted by Poebel in *AOF* 9 p. 267).

Jahdun-Lim, king of Mari (ca. 1820 B.C.) reports, first, that he captured (*ikmî*) the kings of three neighboring states of Samānum, Tuttul, and Abattum, defeated their troops, and piled up their corpses in heaps (*gurun šalmātišunu iškun*; see 3.2) and, then, that he destroyed the city Ḫaman of the Haneans, captured (*ikmî*) its king, and carried off their (*sic*) land (*māssunu itbal*), that is, their booty (Dossin in *Syria* 32 pp. 14 f.).

3.7. MISCELLANEOUS ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS

Considering the tremendous number of administrative texts from the early Mesopotamian times, the number of ten references to POWs known to me is exceedingly small. Furthermore, in contrast to the administrative texts discussed earlier (3.3 and 3.4), which deal with large numbers of POWs, the scattered occurrences of POWs here listed name only a few individuals or leave the number unspecified.

The term used for POWs in scattered administrative texts is regularly *nam-ra-ag* or *nam-ra-aš-ag*, never *LÚ + KÁR*. The terms refer to men, women, and children. With the exception of one Sargonic text (*OIP* 14 119), all other texts date to the Ur III period.

An unspecified amount of grain is given to 2 *gemé ud-1-še šà-gal nam-ra-ag du₈-a* “2 women working 1 day, as ‘fodder’ (rations) of manumitted ‘booty’ (POWs)” (Chiera, *STA* 2 iii). For the term *du₈* “to manumit,” see 4.11.

30,825 quarts of beer and 659 quarts of flour are given to an unspecified number of *i-du₈ rá-gaba šà é-gal ù nam-ra-ag-me* “door-keepers (and) courriers in the palace and POWs” (Jacobsen, *CTC* 28).

2 *áb sag nam-ra-ag ba-ab-kú* “2 cows eaten by POW slaves” (Legrain, *TRU* 326 and p. 81).

In a broken passage, an unknown, but very small number of women, receiving standard rations of barley and wool, are subsumed as *gemé nam-ra-ag-me* “women POWs” (Reisner, *TUT* 159 v 7). According to the colophon, they are part of the personnel called *gemé uš-bar* “women weavers.”

3 *guruš Elam* “3 Elamite men,” defined as *Elam nam-ra-ag-me* “Elamite POWs,” receive standard rations of 60 quarts of bread(-flour) and 10 shekels of oil per month (*ITT* 3 6175).

3 *silà (i-šaḥ) nam-ra-ag Elam-ke₄ ib-še* “3 quarts of lard—used as ointment by the Elamite POW(s)” (*OIP* 14 119, Sargonic).

According to a broken passage, *uku-uš ù nam-ra-ag* “gendarmes and POWs” receive issues of beer (*ZA* 12 p. 127).

Of several Ur III texts from Ur which deal with booty (see *UET* 3 Index under *nam-ra-ag*), only three are concerned with POWs: No. 993, according to which 40 quarts of barley and 1 quart of oil (were received by) a shepherd *nam-ra-ag-ta gin-na* "going from the POW (camp?)"; No. 1391 iv, which deals, in a broken passage, with at least three individuals, two of them children and one a man, receiving standard rations of barley and wool, all of the individuals being subsumed as *nam-ra-aš-ag Mar-tu* "POWs of Amurru"; No. 1763, which deals with an unspecified number of pieces of cloth (lines 1 to rev. ? x + 1) (made by ?) [x] *gemé nam-ra-aš-ag [x]-bu-ki-na-ke₄-ne [é] ? uš-bar-ra-ke₄-ne-ta* "x women POWs of . . . (location?), (the pieces of cloth being) from the weaving establishments" (rev. ? 2-4).

4. MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF POWs

4.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

As shown in the chart just below, two main classes of POWs, characterized by distinctive terminology, can be recognized in early Mesopotamian sources. Since certain terms from one list occasionally occur with those from the other, the schematic arrangement given in the chart should serve as a general guide to terminology and practice, not as a hard and fast rule. Thus Ur-Ninurta writes of having carried off the (civilian) population (*ukù*) of the enemy land as captives (*LÚ + KÁR lah₄*; see 3.6); at times, not only warriors (*erín*), but even women and children were put in woodblocks (see 4.10); the term *šu-bar* "to free," normally applied to the warriors, is found also with other human classes (see 4.11); and *du₈* "to manumit" is the general term for manumitting slaves, and that includes some POWs, mainly women, who became slaves and were later freed (see 4.11). For certain parallels between early Mesopotamian and Anatolian practice, see Alp 1950-1951.

<i>nam-ra-ag</i> "booty"	<i>LÚ + KÁR</i> "captive"
<i>nam-ra-ag</i> "to take booty"	<i>LÚ + KÁR ŠU.DU₈.A</i> or <i>LÚ + KÁR dab₅</i> "to take captive"
(= <i>NAM.RA</i> in cun. Hittite	= <i>ŠU.DAB₅</i> in cun. Hittite)
<i>ukù, gemé, dumu</i> "people, women, children"	<i>erín</i> "warriors"
Captured civilians, mainly women and children	Captured warriors
Not bound	Roped or in woodblocks
<i>du₈</i> "to manumit"	<i>šu-bar</i> "to free"

4.2. POWs OF FOREIGN ORIGIN

According to the royal and administrative texts here discussed and many other sources from later periods, POWs generally come from countries which are ethno-linguistically different from the country of the captors. By far the greatest number of POWs occurring in our texts comes from regions in the mountains and lowlands east of the Tigris; the western regions of Amurru form a poor second. In the order discussed above, the

foreign countries from which these POWs are derived are:

- Paraḥšum and Zaḥara. Rīmuš (3.2).
- Šariphum. Bûr-Sin (3.3).
- Šīmanum. Šu-Sin (3.4).
- Idamaras. Samsu-iluna (3.5).
- Anšan. Gudea, perhaps not POWs (3.6).
- Susa, Adamdun, Awan. Ibbi-Sin (3.6).
- Ḥamazi. Išbi-Irra, perhaps not POWs (3.6).
- Enemy land. Ur-Ninurta (3.6).
- Elam. Two administrative texts (3.7).
- Amurru. One administrative text (3.7).

The women and children POWs of the two sets of three Ur III administrative texts each, discussed in 3.3, clearly come from the mountain regions east and north of Mesopotamia. The 12 blind individuals from Uruaz of the Pre-Sargonic text *DP* 339 probably represent Elamite captives (4.10). The Elamite and Amorite soldiers/workers and gendarmes treated in 5.3.3 originally may have been either captive POWs or voluntary emigres from economically disadvantaged areas.

In contrast to the multiple evidence which shows that the POWs were of foreign extraction, there are a few pieces of information indicating that POWs were taken at times from among peoples who may have been or were ethno-linguistically closely related to their captors. Thus Rīmuš writes of taking prisoners from the cities Ur, Kazallu, Lagaš, Adab, Zabalam, Umma, and KI.DINGIR, some of which may have been Akkadian, some Sumerian (3.2). Samsu-iluna refers to the deportation of the civilian population of Idamaras and of capturing the warriors of Ešnunna and then freeing them (3.5). And, finally, workers, booty (*šallatum*) of Isin, occur in an Old Babylonian administrative text, Speleers, *RIAA* 250, discussed in 4.9. In several Old Babylonian texts treated in Leemans 1961 pp. 57 ff. we find a number of POWs (*asirum*) said to be LÚ GN "persons of GN." Since the cities represented by the GNs are all in Babylonia, we may consider the possibility that the GNs refer not to the place of origin of the POWs, but their place of employment.

For the difficulties in circumscribing the concepts "foreign" and "native" in relation to POWs, see the discussion in section 2.

4.3. NUMBER OF POWS

The number of POWs given in the texts varies greatly, from several thousands in the royal inscriptions of Rīmuš to single occurrences in the administrative texts of the Ur III period.

We have had occasion to doubt the reliability of the Rīmuš inscriptions, according to which several thousand male POWs were taken from each of several cities in Babylonia and in non-Mesopotamian areas (3.2). From the time of Bûr-Sin, we have one set of administrative texts (*TCL* 5 6039, etc.), which list 197 women and children POWs plus 6 foremen, and another set (*RA* 24 p. 45, etc.), which enumerates 172 women and children POWs, both discussed in 3.3. From the time of Šu-Sin, there is information about 29 to 52 past POWs from Šīmanum who were engaged in agricultural activities (3.4).

All other ascertainable numbers of POWs are found in scattered administrative texts and are limited to 1 to 3 individuals (3.7).

Three more sources may contain information about the number of POWs even though they do not use specific terminology referring to POWs. A Pre-Sargonic text dealing with 12 blind individuals of Uruaz (4.10), an Ur III text dealing with 285 women engaged in the building of the palace of Bûr-Sin (4.8), and the Sargonic text *MDP* 14 71.

The last mentioned text specifies, first, exact barley rations for 1,034 men, women, and children of the serf class, and, then, in rev. iv, it lists in a lump sum 11,580 quarts of barley for the ARÁD É "slaves of the household." Averaging 40 quarts of barley per slave (men, women, and children) per month, the indicated amount of barley should cover rations for about 300 slaves. Since this text comes from a royal household of Susa in Elam, which was a military establishment of the Akkadian conquerors, it may be legitimate to assume that these slaves represented recently captured POWs. Also the fact that the rations were given in a lump sum supports to some extent the suggestion that these slaves were transient and mistreated POWs, and not full members of the household, such as the serfs, who normally received rations set in detail and in accordance with their sex and age.

The suggestion that two of the three sources just discussed may refer to POWs leads us to further considerations. Both the Ur III and the Sargonic texts deal with exceedingly high numbers of slaves: 285 in the Ur III text and about 300 in the Sargonic text. These are by far the highest numbers of slaves ever found in an administrative text of early Mesopotamian times. Furthermore, both texts refer to royal households and not to temple establishments, suggesting that it was the crown, and not the temple, that so often abused its labor force, easily obtained in wars and easily replaced whenever needed.

4.4. ASSIGNMENT OF POWs

POWs immediately after capture belonged to the state and most of them probably remained under the permanent control of the state (crown). There is information that many POWs, mainly women and children, were offered to the temple. Thus 5 women (out of a total of 197 women and children) are said to be *a-ru-a* "given ex-voto" to three temples at Umma, according to one text of the first set of three administrative texts (*TCL* 5 6039) discussed in 3.3, while according to the second set of three administrative texts (*RA* 24 p. 45, etc.), also discussed in 3.3, all of the 172 women and children are said to be *a-ru-a* ⁴*Šara* "given ex-voto to Šara." For the *arua* institution in ancient Mesopotamia and parallels elsewhere, see Gelb 1972a.

The context leaves us in doubt as to whether *nam-ra-ag* "booty" of Anšan offered by Gudea to Ningirsu in the temple of Eninnu (3.6) refers to humans, or other kinds of booty, or both. Though we have no tangible evidence that POWs were distributed to individuals, such as generals or nobles, we may take it for granted that such practice was followed in early Mesopotamian times, as it was throughout ancient history.

A careful analysis of the structure and prosopography of the ten miscellaneous administrative texts, briefly discussed in 3.7, should enable us to establish the type (crown or temple) and subtype (agricultural settlement, weaving establishment, etc.) of the public household to which the POWs belonged. See also the next section.

4.5. UTILIZATION OF POWS

There is little information about the form of utilization of POWs in early Mesopotamian times. Šu-Sin writes of settling the enemy people of Šimanum in a town near Nippur, and from the administrative texts of his time we know that these settlers were employed in agricultural pursuits (3.4). A certain number of women POWs were engaged in a weaving establishment (3.7, with reference to Reisner, *TUT* 159 v 7). The possibility that the 285 women employed in the building of the palace of Bûr-Sin were POWs is entertained in 4.8. For other possibilities, see the preceding section.

For the utilization of male POWs (*asirum*) in the Old Babylonian period, see Leemans 1961.

4.6. RATIONS FOR POWS

While the available information about the subsistence offered to POWs is not complete, we can easily assume that there must have been a great difference in the treatment of POWs between the time of their capture and early employment to their ultimate disposition.

The women and children POWs of the first set of three administrative texts (*TCL* 5 6039, etc.) discussed in 3.3 received adequate rations of barley, or even flour and beer; but the very large number of dead and sick individuals listed in the texts makes us suspicious that at other times they may have received scanty rations or no rations at all. The Sargonic text *MDP* 14 71, discussed in 4.3, deals with specified amounts of barley rations to 1,034 men, women, and children of the serf class and with a lump sum of barley to the "slaves of the household." It has been suggested there that this sum would have provided rations for about 300 slaves, who may have represented recently captured POWs. Both cases suggest that we are dealing here with transient POWs soon after their capture and before their final disposition to a permanent household.

Once in their more or less permanent place of employment, POWs probably received the same amount of rations as other dependent labor of the household. For standard rations of barley, oil, and wool to POWs, see 3.7, where also some evidence concerning nonstandard rations was collected.

The early Mesopotamian ration system was fully discussed in Gelb 1965. Three types of standard rations are distinguished: monthly rations of grain (mainly barley), yearly (or monthly) rations of oil (lard or sesame), and yearly rations of wool (or cloth). Men, women, and children received each, respectively 60, 30, 10–25 quarts of barley per month; 4, 4, 1–2 quarts of oil per year; and 4, 3, 1–2 pounds of wool per year. The amounts varied depending on the availability of the commodities which were to be distributed. At times, other commodities, such as emmer, flour, bread, fish, beer, and dates were offered in replacement for the three standard kinds of rations. Different from rations, are issues of various commodities, such as those listed above, as well as meat, legumes, fruit, and dairy products, which were offered at festivals and on special occasions.

We have ample information in the Ur III period about meat being issued to the lowest labor classes. See, e.g., *ITT* 2/1 2595, 2603, *ITT* 3 5417, *JCS* 10 p. 29 Nos. 7 and 8, Waetzoldt, *UNT* Nos. 55–61, etc., which deal with hundreds and even thousands of carcasses of sheep, cattle, and equids issued to women weavers and other serf classes (also to dogs and lions). Limited as meat consumption was in ancient times, as it is

generally around the Mediterranean even in modern times, we can interpret the widespread consumption of meat by the lower classes only by assuming that the meat issued to them was not the fresh meat of slaughtered animals, but that of animals which died of old age or sickness, most probably spoiled, considering the hot climate of the area and the slowness of transportation. We should probably view the information from the administrative text Legrain, *TRU* 326, discussed in 3.7, that some POW slaves ate 2 cows, in the light of the above conclusion.

4.7. CIVILIAN POPULATION

A royal inscription of Šu-Sin deals with the settling of the (population of the) defeated Šīmanum and surrounding districts in a town on the frontier of Nippur (3.4). The administrative sources of the time of Šu-Sin contain information about the men of Šīmanum assigned to work in agriculture (3.4). The Samsu-iluna inscription distinguishes between the captured civilian population (*ukù*) of Idamaras, whose ultimate disposition is unknown, and the captive warriors (*erīn*) of Ešnunna, who were later freed (3.5). Other occurrences of captured populations were collected in 3.6.

4.8. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Hundreds of women and children POWs are listed in the two sets of administrative texts of the time of Būr-Sin (3.3). According to an Ur III administrative text published in Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 p. 83, H 20, 285 *gemé* "women" were utilized in building the palace of Būr-Sin. Although nothing in the terminology of the text indicates that these women were POWs, it is reasonable to assume that they were captives since it is difficult to visualize that kind of hard work being performed by native women. For the meaning of the term *gemé*, covering all kinds of women of dependent status, from slaves to serfs, see 4.9.

4.9. WARRIORS, SOLDIERS/WORKERS

The terms for captured warriors in the sources discussed in section 3 are *GURUŠ* "men" in the inscriptions of Rīmuš (3.2) and *erīn* "warriors" in the inscription of Samsu-iluna (3.5). The males of the population of Šīmanum, which was deported and settled by Šu-Sin in Babylonia, are called either *guruš* or *erīn* in the administrative texts dealing with their agricultural employment (3.4). According to the administrative text *ITT* 3 6175 (3.7), 3 *guruš Elam* "3 Elamite men" are defined as *Elam nam-ra-ag-me* "Elamite POWs."

The primary meaning of the Sumerian term *guruš*, Akkadian *eḫlum*, is "man," in the sense of Latin *vir* or German *Mann*, not *homo* or *Mensch*. As such, it is the masculine counterpart to the Sumerian *gemé*, Akkadian *amtum*, "woman." In my reconstruction, the term *guruš* is used also for the over-all serf class of dependent native peasants and workers employed in the public households of the crown, temple, and nobility. See provisionally Gelb 1965, pp. 240 f. The term *gemé* denotes women of dependent status, from slaves to serfs, contrasting with the term *SAL*, which, generally, is used for women of, more or less, independent status, from wives of rulers and ladies of the court downward. All these points will be fully developed elsewhere.

The Sumerian term *erín*, like the Akkadian *šābum* (older *šabi³um*, see *MAD* 3 pp. 241 f.), is translated here as “warriors” when it refers to the enemy warriors at the time of their capture, and as “soldiers” or “workers” when it refers to them at the time of their employment in Babylonia. I have translated *erín* as “soldiers/workers” in all cases in which the exact meaning of the term is in doubt. The translation “soldiers/workers” indicates the double nature of their employment, as soldiers in time of war and as workers, mainly in agriculture, in time of peace. This dual usage of the term *erín* is reflected in the use of the terms for their officers, as in the following sources: *šagana erín-na* “general,” *nu-banda* “captain,” and *ugula* “sergeant,” applied to the army (Kramer in *AJA* 53 [1949] p. 10:102 f., Gilgameš and Agga); *šagana*, *nu-banda*, and *ugula* for either soldiers or workers (Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI* p. 68 iv 13 ff., Gudea); and *nu-banda* “overseer” and *ugula* “foreman” for workers (passim in administrative texts).

In place of my “soldiers/workers,” Deimel in *AnOr* 2 (1931) p. 21b defined *erín* as “Militär-Kolonen,” and Jacobsen in *AJA* 57 (1953) pp. 127a and 128, n. 7 as “serfs of the crown . . . under military rather than civil authority.” Both definitions are acceptable.

The terms *guruš* and *erín* are not quite coterminous within the long span of early Mesopotamian history. While the term *guruš* is known throughout the Fara, Pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, and Ur III periods, both in north and south Babylonia, the term *erín* appears occasionally in the Fara, Pre-Sargonic, and Sargonic periods, but only in the south, and it does not become popular in both the south and the north until the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

Personnel called *erín* is at times neatly distinguished from that called *guruš*, at times it is not. The term for the 5,400 men “who eat bread daily” before Sargon is *GURUŠ eṭlum* in the Akkadian version of the inscription (which represents the northern Babylonian tradition) and *erín* in the Sumerian version (southern tradition). Cf. Hirsch in *AOF* 20 pp. 38 and 50 for the text, and 5.3.3 for the discussion. In the Ur III period, the situation varied greatly. Thus *ITT* 2 3503 lists 50 *guruš* separately from the 20 and 10 *erín*. At times, *guruš* in one part of the text is equated with *erín* in another, as in *ITT* 2 4216 and Lau, *OBTR* 4 and 17; but the parallel texts *OBTR* 9 and 91 use only the term *erín* in all cases. Whether called *erín* or *guruš*, the individuals listed in the above sources, in the great majority of cases are *erín*; they can be called *guruš* because of the broader meanings of the latter term.

By the classical Old Babylonian period, the Sumerian terms *guruš* and Akkadian *eṭlum* lose their connotation for a class of dependent serf labor, being replaced by *MAŠ. EN. KAG* = *muškēnum*, which appears very rarely in earlier periods; and the Sumerian *erín* and Akkadian *šābum* in their connotation as military colonists are largely replaced by the *UKU. UŠ* = *rēdūm* and *ŠU. ḪA* = *bā³irum*, which in earlier periods had only the meanings of “gendarme” or “constable” and “fisherman,” respectively.

The main question which we face with the term *erín* is its ambivalent use for both foreign POWs after their settlement in Babylonia and for native colonists.

The application of the term *erín* to foreign POWs is supported by several considerations.

The sign *ERÍN* originally represents a yoke, a neckstock, as proposed by Deimel, *ŠL* 393, 1 (“Doppeljoch”) and in *Or.* 1 p. 64 (“Joch,” “Doppeljoch”), who further suggested that “Der Soldat war also den Keilschrifterfindern, der ‘Eingejochte’, ‘Einge-

spannte.’’ Deimel’s interpretation finds support in the meaning of *erín* (to read as *bir_x*?) as a “team (of animals),” as in the meaning of Latin *iugum* or English “yoke” for a pair of yoked animals, and of *giš-rin* as a “balance,” “scale,” where *rin* = (*e*)*rin*, made of *giš* “wood,” denotes apparently the crosspiece of a scale. The use of the yoke on human beings is attested in 3 *GURUŠ in erín* “3 men in yoke” (*MAD* 5 56 rev. 5, Sargonic) and in 1 *SAL in erín* “1 woman in yoke” (*RA* 46 p. 187 No. 1 f., early Mari). For the semantic change from “yoke” to “yoked” (warrior) in Sumerian, cf. the Persian word *bandaka* “subject,” “servant,” based on *banda* “bond,” “fetter.” For the practice of roping, binding, and putting in neckstocks or woodblocks of POWs immediately upon their capture, see section 4.10.

Another point favoring the meaning of *erín* as POWs is based on the use of the term *šà-gal* “fodder” for grain rations issued to POWs, in contrast to the *še-ba* “grain rations” for the native workers. The term *šà-gal* means primarily “fodder” issued for animals. This term is found in *šà-gal gemé nam-ra-ag* “‘fodder’ of the female POWs” in one of the three POW texts (*Dok.* 2 329), contrasting with *še-ba nam-ra-ag* “barley rations of the POWs” in the other two texts (*TCL* 5 6039, YBC 3666) from Umma, discussed in 3.3. The use of *šà-gal* with *erín* is amply attested in Ur III administrative texts, such as Reisner, *TUT* 168, 170, 171, 290, and 299 (but *še-ba* with *erín* in No. 172). For the use of *šà-gal:še-ba*, cf. also Gelb 1965, pp. 231 f.

Some time ago Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 pp. 17 f. noted that the *erín* frequently occur with a geographical name, as in *erín Ar-ma-an^{KI}* “*erín* of Arman,” in contrast to the native *guruš*, who normally are not designated by a geographical name. A list of *erín* occurring with 27 geographical names was put together by Goetze in *JCS* 17 (1963) pp. 4–6. What has not been sufficiently stressed is that the places with which the *erín* are connected are generally located not in Babylonia proper, but in outlying regions, mainly east of the Tigris.

CT 32 19–22 constitutes one of the most important sources of information on taxation in the Ur III period. The text deals with a total of 121 oxen and 1,110 sheep and goats collected as *gú ma-da* “tax of the provinces” from *nu-banda* “captains/overseers” and *erín* “soldiers/workers” of 13 towns and cities, such as Abibana, Kakkulātum, Išim-Šulgi, Tutub, and Maškan-abī, all situated in the Diyala River district. Here too we deal with the *erín* settled outside of the core area of Babylonia.

By contrast with the evidence presented above, there are sources, especially Ur III texts from Umma, which deal with large numbers of *erín* mainly from the central areas of Babylonia. Thus, of the 21,799 *erín* gathered in a certain place for the purpose of a harvest, 3,925 are from Gudua (Cuthah), 2,600 from Umma, 1,182 from Marad, 1,928 from Sippar, etc. (*TCL* 5 6041, treated by Goetze in *JCS* 17 [1963] pp. 1 ff.). Another Umma text, *TCL* 5 6166, lists small quantities of silver, normally 4 grains, in two instances 12 grains, which were issued to 3,611 *erín* of Umma. The natural conclusion which can be drawn from these and similar texts is that these sources deal with *erín* representing native colonists.

It would seem from the material collected above that the term *erín* was used for foreign warriors both immediately after their capture and after their settlement in Babylonia as colonists. In the course of time, the term was applied also to native colonists, so that by the time of the Ur III period it could be applied to both foreign and native elements.

Just as the freeing (*šu-bar*) of the *erín* was the function of the crown (see 4.11), so the caring for the *erín* remained a primary concern of the state. It is noteworthy that the Ur III *níg-ba lugal* "gift of the king" texts which deal with supplementary issues of commodities, such as grain and wool, to the *erín* (as in Barton, *HLC* 1 pl. 12, 52 rev.; *ITT* 2 3683; *BE* 3 36; Virolleaud and Lambert, *TÉL* 243) are much more numerous than the *níg-ba lugal* texts which deal with issues of such commodities to any other class of workers, such as the much abused *gemé uš-bar* "women weavers" (as in *ITT* 3 5419). For an Old Babylonian example of a NÍG.BA LUGAL "royal gift" to ERÍN.MEŠ *bi-ir-tim šà ša-la-at Ī-si-in* "the *erín* of the citadel, out of the booty of Isin," see Speleers, *RIAA* 250 (misinterpreted on p. 89).

There are several other points worthy of discussion in connection with the *erín*, but time and space prevent me from doing more than mentioning a few facts. We know very little about the family life of the *erín*. Wives of the fugitive *erín* are mentioned in several Ur III texts (Barton, *HLC* 1 29, etc.), discussed in 4.11; and the occurrence of men, women, and children of the captured ERÍN is known from a Middle Assyrian text, *KAJ* 180, discussed in 4.10. Our limited knowledge of the family life of the *erín* is rather surprising, considering that the *erín* were so often colonists, who were presumably married. The *erín* apparently were rarely designated by the name of a profession, which is natural, since colonists are mainly peasants, not craftsmen. The *erín* pay taxes (cf. *CT* 32 19–22, discussed above) and perform certain kinds of *bala* service which need further elucidation.

4.10. RESTRICTING THE MOBILITY OF MALE POWS

The use of the terms LÚ + KÁR ŠU.DU₈.A "he took captive" in respect to male POWs in the inscriptions of Rīmuš and elsewhere (3.2) indicates that male POWs were roped immediately after capture. Roped POWs are shown on the reliefs of Sargon and Annu-banini (3.2), and the custom of putting POWs in neckstock (Sumerian ^{GIS}*si-gar*, Akkadian *šigarum*) is known from the inscriptions and reliefs of Sargon (3.2).

Another expression for immobilizing POWs is the Sumerian *šu-giš-gar* "to put in woodblocks," used with reference to two generals of Tirigan, king of Gutium (*RA* 9 p. 116 iii 21 = *RA* 10 p. 100 iii 19), as well as to Tirigan himself and, according to the text, also to his wife and children (*RA* 9 p. 117 iv 25), captured by Utuḫegal, king of Uruk (ca. 2125 B.C.). Also fugitive workers, once returned, might be put in woodblocks. This is what must have happened to an individual named A + HA-*šu-giš gu-za-lá* "Zaḫšugiš, the 'throne'-bearer" who appears among the six witnesses in the Sargonic contract *ITT* 4 7449. He was apparently so named because he was once a fugitive (*zàḫ*) who was put in woodblocks (*šu-giš*) after capture. Being once a fugitive, apparently did not prevent Zaḫšugiš from rising to a relatively high position in the household hierarchy.

It is hard to judge how seriously we should take the statement in the inscription of Utuḫegal about putting the wife and children of Tirigan in woodblocks, the information in a late inscription of Ur-Ninurta, linking the term LÚ + KÁR "POW" with *ukù* "(civilian) population" (3.6), and the reference to a woman in yoke, according to an early Mari text (4.9).

For the use of the *erín* "yoke" in connection with warriors, etc., see the discussion in 4.9.

Although the Sumerian term *zag-šúš* “mark” (“brand,” “tattoo”) and the practice of marking (branding, tattooing) of animals and dependent labor, mostly slaves, at times also serfs, is quite widespread in early Mesopotamian times, I am not aware of any evidence indicating that the POWs were marked, either immediately after capture or later, during their employment in Babylonia. From Egypt we know of the practice of branding captives employed as soldiers and mercenaries (Bakir 1952, pp. 110 ff.; Helck 1962, pp. 360 ff.).

Blind individuals, in a very great majority males, are found everywhere as part of the labor force in ancient Mesopotamia. They were employed mainly as singers/musicians and millers. The oldest Sumerian term for “blind” is *igi-nu-du₈* of the Pre-Sargonic texts, written regularly with *-du₈*, never with *-tuku* or *-gál*, as in later periods. That *igi-nu-du₈* means “blind” is certain from three Pre-Sargonic texts (*VAS* 14 66 and 195; *Bab.* 4 p. 247b), which list bulls and equids (ANŠE.BAR.AN) with two good eyes (*igi silim*), one good eye (*igi 1*), and completely blind (*igi 2-na-bi nu-du₈*). In reference to human beings, the translation of *igi-nu-du₈* as “blind” was doubted by Deimel in *Or.* 34 p. 117, who preferred the translation “ungelernter” (“unskilled”), contrasted with *igi-du₈* “gelernter.” The *igi-nu-du₈* personnel of the Pre-Sargonic texts work mainly in orchards, presumably in irrigation. Some of these blind individuals may have been naturally blind (partially or fully), others may represent blinded POWs. For the latter, see the Pre-Sargonic text *DP* 339, which deals with 12 *igi-nu-du₈ dumu Uru-az^{KI}-ka-me* “12 blind individuals of Uruaz,” apparently representing captives from Uruaz (in Elam), who were blinded to inhibit their mobility. J. Bauer, *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch*, p. 611, translates *igi-nu-du₈*, without hesitation, as “Blinder.”

The custom of blinding (*nuppulu*) POWs is known best from the New Assyrian period. For Middle Assyrian, see the administrative text *KAJ* 180, which lists 9 LÚ.MEŠ IGI.NU.TU[KU].MEŠ “9 blind men” and 3 LÚ.MEŠ *da-gi-lu* “3 seeing men” among the 47 ERÍN.MEŠ *šal-lu-tu* “47 ERÍN (including men, women, and children), captured as booty” (lines 1 f. and 11), and, additionally, 15 LÚ.MEŠ IGI.NU.TU[KU.M]EŠ “15 blind men” of Amurru (lines 13 f.).

From the Old Testament we know of a number of cases of blinding POWs, as in the stories about Samson (Judges 17:21), Zedekiah (II Kings 25:7), and the men of Jabesh (2 Sam. 11:2). Herodotus IV 2 writes of the Scythian custom of blinding all POWs. Wittfogel 1931 p. 399 states that in the “feudal age” of China “die Masse der Kriegsgefangenen—häufig, ob immer, das erscheint uns zweifelhaft—nach . . . Abschneiden eines Ohres laufen gelassen worden sind.” This may be compared with the cutting off hands, noses, ears, etc. of captives (as well as of criminals) in the New Assyrian times (see, e.g., *CAD* under *appu* “nose” [p. 185b]).

4.11. FREEING AND MANUMITTING OF POWS

Among the sources listed and discussed in section 3, only two use terms referring to freeing or manumitting of POWs. Samsu-iluna writes of *šu-bar* “freeing” of the *erin* “warriors” of Ešnunna (3.5), and one Ur III administrative text (Chiera, *STA* 2 iii) deals with rations for 2 *gemé* “women,” defined as *nam-ra-ag du₈-a* “manumitted POWs” (3.7). As shown in greater detail below, the general conclusion which can be made about these two terms is that *šu-bar* is used for freeing male POWs and *erin* “soldiers/workers,”

while *du₈* or *du_h* (as well as *ama-ar-gi₄*) are used for manumitting chattel slaves, including some POWs.

Of the two usages, much the easier to deal with are the terms *du₈* or *du_h* and *ama-ar-gi₄*, previously discussed by Falkenstein, *NSGU* 3 pp. 91 and 100. Cf., e.g., *du₈-a* in (17) *sag-SAL kug-ta du₈-a* “(17) slave girls manumitted for silver (price)” (Reisner, *TUT* 164 end), interchanging with *du₈-ha* (or *du_h-ha*) in *ša-gal kug-ta du₈-ha* “rations (for slaves) manumitted for silver” (*CT* 3 46:115 and similarly an unpublished Ur III text BM 14871). Another unpublished Ur III text BM 13210 reads *5 še gur lugal ša-gal arád lú kug-ta du₈-a-še* “5 royal gur of barley, rations for slaves manumitted for silver.” In reference to slaves, but not to POWs, the term *ama-ar-gi₄* “to manumit” occurs in the Ur III court records (Falkenstein, *NSGU* 3 p. 91), a contract (*ZA* 53 p. 75 no. 15), and in the later Code of Lipit-Ištar (Falkenstein in *Or.* n.s. 19 p. 106). The meaning of the term *ama-ar-gi₄*, literally “to return to mother,” implies that slavery originally was represented by children of indebted individuals who were held as pawns or pledges, and not by foreign chattel slaves. For the expression *ama-ar-gi₄*, cf. also *guruš dab₅-ba úr ama-na-še hé-gi₄-gi₄* “let the seized man return to the bosom of his mother” (Kramer in *JCS* 1 p. 20:155 and 160, a Sumerian literary text).

For the meaning of *šu-bar* “to release,” especially in reference to *erín* “workers/soldiers,” see Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 p. 163, and similarly “freilassen” in Falkenstein, *NSGU* 3 pp. 163 f. The exact meaning of *šu-bar* cannot be ascertained in all cases. It is frequently, perhaps normally, impossible to judge which of the meanings of *šu-bar* is intended in a particular case when the term is attached to a name or occupation and no other information on the status of the individual exists. With reference to the captive *erín* “warriors,” as in the inscription of Samsui-luna (3.5), the term obviously must denote “freeing” from the state of slavery in which the prisoners found themselves after capture. But the Sumerian term *šu-bar*, like the corresponding Akkadian term *wuššurum*, can mean simply “to release,” “to let go,” said of persons, animals, or objects, or “to release” from certain duties, such as taxes or services. See, e.g., Sollberger, *TCS* 1 p. 104.

For Ur III sources referring to *erín šu-bar* individuals, cf. especially *ITT* 2 745, which deals with several *šu-bar-ra* “freed” and *ug_x* “dead” individuals, receiving standard barley rations, including *šu-bar-ra 1(pi) PN erín gi-zi* “freed PN, soldier/worker (collecting) dried reeds, (receiving) 60 quarts (of barley)” (line 7); *UET* 3 1161, which lists *guruš šu-bar-ra-me* “freed men” and *erín-gal-gal-me* “senior *erín*,” all receiving oil rations; and several texts in Barton, *HLC* discussed below, p. 89. In a few sources we find the term *šu-bar* applied to individuals who are not necessarily qualified as *erín*. The most important of these is the Ur III text *BRM* 4 5, according to which the king freed a certain woman, sister of a certain man (*ša₆-ga-mu nin₉ Šu-^aNin-šubur-ra lugal-e šu in-ni-in-ba*) as certified by the seal of the chancellor (*kišib sukal-mah*). For *šu-ba*, in place of *šu-bar*, see Falkenstein, *NSGU* 3 p. 163. Another important source is *ITT* 5 6902, which lists *uku-uš lugal šu-bar-ra-me* “freed gendarmes of the king.” Both examples indicate that the freeing process involved in the term *šu-bar* lay within the jurisdiction of the crown/state. See below.

The change of status involved in manumitting slaves or freeing the *erín* certainly did not involve the movement from the class of unfree to free. In fact, all the available information points to the conclusion that the manumitted or freed individuals remained in some state of dependency on their old master household. Several Ur III texts discussed

at the beginning of this section deal with *še-ba* or *ša-gal* "barley rations" for manumitted slaves and slave girls and for freed workers/soldiers, indicating that they all continued receiving rations even after obtaining their manumission or freedom. Similarly, according to an Old Babylonian text *TCL* 10 122, 1 *erīn šu-bar* "1 freed *erīn*" worked together with 12 *erīn a-si-rum* "12 captive *erīn*." Against Landsberger in *AOF* 10 (1935–1936) pp. 144 f., who translates *asīrum* as a criminal convict, not necessarily a captive prisoner, other scholars understand *asīrum* only as a POW. Cf., e.g., Feigin 1934, Leemans 1961, Klengel 1963 pp. 2 f. and 14 f., and Falkenstein in *Bagh. Mitt.* 2 (1963) pp. 39, 49, and 78 f. *CAD* interprets *asīrum* as "prisoner of war," "captive foreigner used as worker"; von Soden, *AHWB*, apparently following Landsberger, translates the word as "(Kriegs)-Gefangener."

An important group of three Ur III texts shows that the wives of the *erīn* were liable for service in place of their fugitive, even freed, husbands, as in: FN *dam MN erīn mu ba-zāh-še* "FN (= fem. name) wife of MN (= masc. name), the *erīn*, (in his place) because he ran away" (Barton, *HLC* 1 29 v 8–15, collated, copy wrong; five times with variants), all subsumed as *dam erīn zāh-me* "wives of the fugitive *erīn*" (line 16) and 5 *dam erīn šu-bar-ra* "5 wives of the freed *erīn*" (left edge). Barton, *HLC* 2 68 iii 2 and iv 2 has only FN *dam MN erīn mu ba-zāh-še* (collated). Barton, *HLC* 3 pl. 141, 374 iii 5–15 lists five times FN *mu MN dam-ni ba-zāh-še* "FN in place of MN her fugitive husband" (in one case *šeš-a-ni* "her brother"), all subsumed as *dam erīn zāh-me* "wives (*sic*, even though one of them is a sister) of the fugitive *erīn*" (line 16); the résumé in iv 3, listing 10 (*sic*, collated, not 20) *lá 1 gemé dumu-gi₇* (KU) "9 women (and) *dumu-gi₇*," includes *dumu-gi₇-me* "(4 women) *dumu-gi₇*" (of ii 20) plus *dam erīn zāh-me* "(5) wives of the fugitive workers/soldiers" (of iii 16), and is quite important for the meaning of *dumu-gi₇*, translated as "bedingt frei" by Falkenstein, *NSGU* 1 pp. 94 f. and 3 p. 103 and as "freier Bürger" or "freie Bürgerin" by Kraus, *Sumerer und Akkader* pp. 55–60. The many texts in which the *dumu-gi₇* occur (see Kraus for references) show that the *dumu-gi₇* were not completely independent but that they continued as part of the household and received from it regular rations. At times, they might be seized for work in the household, as in Barton, *HLC* 3 pl. 141, 374 (discussed just above), which lists the 4 *dumu-gi₇* women among the *giš-e dab₅-ba-me* "women and men seized with weapon (or: by force)" (iv 6); or they might serve as replacements for the men of the household, as in *UET* 3 179, which concerns MN *dumu-gi₇ mu sipa* ^d*Nanna-ka i-zāh* "MN *dumu-gi₇* (serving) for the shepherd (of the household) of Nanna (who) ran away."

Just as in ancient Mesopotamia, where freeing or manumitting of individuals did not lead to their moving directly into the class of freemen, also in ancient Greece and partly in Rome a freedman, that is, a freed slave, did not enjoy the rights and privileges of a freeman (see, e.g., *Oxford Classical Dictionary* under Freedmen). Similar conditions in medieval and post-medieval times obtained in Europe and the Americas (see Davis 1966, pp. 53 ff.); Contrast Sharma 1966, p. 36: "In the case of the manumission of a slave in India his social integration was complete, but this was not the case in Greece and Rome, where a manumitted slave was always branded as a freed man."

As we know from the inscription of Samsu-iluna (see 3.5 and beginning of this section), the freeing of *erīn* was apparently the function of the crown/state, in contrast to the manumission of chattel slaves, which may have been a private affair between the masters and the slaves. Cf. also the Ur III cases of a freed man, a woman, and royal gendarmes

(discussed above) and 5.3.1, with reference to "slave girls" and "slaves" of conquered cities given liberty by Ḫattušiliš I and to the freeing of thousands of POWs in Egypt. We may compare perhaps the situation of the Mesopotamian *erīn* with that of the Spartan helots who could be freed only by the state. Cf. Michell 1952, pp. 77 ff., Oliva 1961, p. 20, and Finley 1964, p. 240. Cf. also Bolkestein 1958, p. 34, who states that the serfs, including the Spartan helots and related classes in other parts of Greece outside Athens, "differed greatly from the slaves as the serfs were not at the absolute disposal of the proprietors, they could not be sold or liberated; only the ruling citizens as a whole possessed this right."

5. SOCIAL STATUS OF POWs

5.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

POWs when captured are completely at the mercy of the captor. They can be slain on the battlefield or sacrificed later in the temples; they can be assigned to work for the palace or given to the temples; women can be taken in marriage; kings and nobles can be kept for ransom or as hostages; individuals can be sold, given away, or set free, immediately after capture or later. Is it possible to turn POWs into slaves? The answer is theoretically, yes, practically, no!

In speaking of POWs we have in mind practically only foreign POWs, since the attestation for POWs derived from native sources is very limited. Again, as in section 2, we should emphasize here the important difference between the act of taking POWs and their ultimate disposition and utilization. For that reason, the topic will be treated here under two main time subdivisions: the time immediately following the capture of POWs and the time of their ultimate disposition.

5.2. POWs AFTER CAPTURE

POWs when captured are the property of the crown/state. It may be taken for granted that as long as POWs remained as slaves at the disposal of the crown, they were worked to death under the most inhumane conditions, or died because of sickness, or ran away whenever possible. We have discussed above (3.3) three POW texts with large numbers of dead and sick women and children. As a result of death and sickness, the number of 169 women and 28 children went down to 39 women and 10 children within the span of just a few months. Note also the very low proportion of children to women in these three texts, paralleled in three other POW texts (also discussed in 3.3), with their ratio of 59 children to 113 women. Further evidence of the mistreatment of recently captured POWs may be derived—if my interpretation is correct—from the Sargonic text *MDP* 14 71 (discussed in 4.3 and 4.6) and an Ur III text Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 p. 83, H 20 (discussed in 4.8).

With the exception of some Marxist scholars, such as Struve 1934 in Diakonoff 1969, p. 52, the demographic information which can be derived from the texts listing the living, dead, sick, and fugitive personnel of a household has hardly been utilized by Western scholars. The reason is partly due to the fact that the notation BE (=úš, *ug_x*) "dead," *tu* (or *tu-ra*) "sick," and *zāḫ* (rarely *zāḫ*) "fugitive," usually preceding the name, is difficult to recognize among other cuneiform signs also preceding the names. The sign

BE looks like and is lost among the signs for numbers; the sign *zāh* is often written in the form of a few cursively drawn wedges; and the use of the sign *tu* in this and similar situations looked so unusual to me (and perhaps to others) that I misinterpreted *tu A-šu-bar-bi* "sick Ašubarbi" of *TCL* 5 6039 i 1 as *Tu-a-šu-bar-bi* and Tũasubarbi in my *HS* pp. 40 and 127.

It has been repeatedly stated that the introduction of African slavery into the Americas was due to the fact that European masters, unable to utilize effectively the native Indian labor because of their alleged laziness and physical weakness, were forced to import masses of Negro slaves, supposedly strong, reliable, and accustomed to hard physical labor. What may not have been stressed, however, in this case is the fact that it may have been easier to subjugate to the will of the master the disorganized masses of debased, dehumanized, kin-shattered, multilingual Africans, uprooted from their far-away homeland, than the better united native Indians with their ethnic and linguistic solidarity and attachments to local kin and community.

I have read recently in an American weekly about the "culture shock" which can affect individuals suddenly transferred to unfamiliar surroundings. "Visitors to strange lands often find themselves off balance when they encounter unfamiliar foods, languages, and customs. In one extreme case, a Peace Corps volunteer arrived on an island in the Far East and within hours found herself unable to breathe, eat, or drink. She was shipped right back home" (*Time*, Aug. 3, 1970 p. 13). If culture shock can affect individuals to that extent under relatively favorable conditions in modern times, it is not difficult to imagine much more drastic effects with POWs in ancient times.

This "culture shock" described above may have been partly responsible for the judgment that "a man is bereft of half of his virility on the day he becomes slave" (*Odyssey* 17/322 f., cited in Welskopf 1964, p. 326; Bolkestein 1958, p. 90; the word for "virility" is *aretē* in Homer, etymologically comparable with Latin *vir-tus* "man-hood").

5.3. DISPOSITION OF POWs

Because foreign POWs uprooted from their homelands were incapable of producing effectively for their masters; because the state lacked the power to exert effective control over masses of unruly foreign elements; because the low-level economy, with an incipient surplus production, was still too weak to support and utilize to the best advantage masses of slave labor; it seems clear that full slavery based on POW labor was unfeasible in the productive effort of early Mesopotamia.

In order to utilize POWs to the best advantage, there was need to alleviate their poor living conditions and to improve their hopes for the future. This was accomplished by settling POWs on land, placing them in the service of the temples, utilizing them as king's bodyguard, mercenaries, and a movable soldier/worker force, and, above all, by changing their status from unfree to semifree.

5.3.1. Settlement of POWs

The earliest information about the settlement of captured populations of foreign countries in Babylonia is found in the historical report of Šu-Sin of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who wrote of defeating and settling (the people) of Šimānum and surrounding districts in a town near Nippur (3.4). These are the same people who are attested as taking

part in some agricultural activities according to several administrative texts from the reign of Šu-Sin (3.4). We also know of deportations of foreign populations by Samsu-iluna (3.5), Ur-Ninurta (3.6), and possibly other Mesopotamian rulers (3.6), but not of their settlement. The practice of settling foreign populations grows greatly in later times, until it reaches its acme in the New Assyrian period, with the deportations of tens of thousands of captives and their settlement throughout the empire.

Many parallels to the practice of settling foreign POWs are to be found in areas outside of Mesopotamia. The conquered populations (NAM.RA) were settled and given land, seed grain, and animals or were assigned to the temples in the land of the Hittites (Alp 1950–1951, pp. 113, 117, and 119). A large number of NAM.RA individuals, mainly women and children, were offered to the goddess Lelwani by the Hittite queen Puduhepa (Otten and Souček, *Das Gelübde der Königin Puduhepa an die Göttin Lelwani*, pp. 42 ff.); among them there was one individual termed “slave” (pp. 24 and 46), thus clearly differentiating him from the other NAM.RA, who were not slaves. Hattušiliš I writes of giving liberty to the “slave girls” and “slaves” of conquered cities and of allotting them to the temple of Arinna (Otten in *MDOG* 91 [1958] p. 83). Many Egyptian sources refer to thousands of captives freed and settled in Egypt, mainly in temple households (Bakir 1952, p. 110; Helck 1962, pp. 361 ff.). In early China, large numbers of captives were resettled on royal estates and kept as serfs (Hsu 1965, p. 61). Wilbur 1943, pp. 102 ff. writes of the sharp differentiation in treatment between surrendered and captured enemy in China, and cites (p. 109), among other examples, the case of 40,000 POWs transported and settled; similarly, Pulleybank 1958, p. 188 refers to “colonized captured prisoners in the more sparsely settled parts of [Ch’u] territory.” Among the Incas, subjected tribes were at times deported and settled in outlying regions (Katz 1969, pp. 504 f.).

5.3.2. Ex-voto Offerings of Women and Children POWs to the Temple

Beside native individuals, in great majority women and children, offered ex-voto by other individuals to the temple, we have evidence of foreign POWs offered ex-voto, presumably by the king. The most important sources are the three Ur III texts dated to Bûr-Sin (*RA* 24 p. 45, etc.), which list 113 women and 59 children as *arua* of the temple of Šara at Umma (3.3) and an Ur III text also dated to Bûr-Sin (*TCL* 5 6039 rev. i 30–ii 5), which lists 5 individuals, all dead or sick (out of a total of 197 women and children) as *arua* of three temples of Umma (3.3). For the *arua* institution, see Gelb 1972a.

5.3.3. Use of POWs as King’s Bodyguard, Mercenaries, and a Movable Soldier/Worker Force

One of the most common phenomena in the history of the ancient Near East is the utilization of foreign POWs by the king and state. Rulers, in their continuous competition with mighty nobles who try to usurp their power, find it to their advantage to employ foreigners as a lever against native usurpers and insurrections. By granting life to the captive warriors, then freeing and even coddling them as an elite royal bodyguard, the king can assure their loyalty to him and can enjoy greater security than by employing natives for the same purpose.

The most cited example for the existence of a king’s guard or “standing army” in early Mesopotamian times is the passage in a royal inscription of Sargon of Akkad, in

which it is reported that "5,400 *erīn* (*erīn* of the Sumerian text corresponds to GURUŠ *etlum* "man" of the Akkadian version) eat bread daily before him (namely Sargon)." For the text, see Hirsch in *AOF* 20 pp. 38 and 50 (discussed also in 4.9), and for the interpretation as "ein stehendes Heer," see, e.g., Meissner, *BuA* 1 p. 84 and A. von Pawlikowski-Cholewa, *Die Heere des Morgenlandes* (Berlin, 1940) p. 89. Unfortunately, nothing in the text implies that the 5,400 *erīn* represented a permanent military unit, rather than soldiers/workers, of foreign or native origin, who were employed in the royal household.

Foreigners, either captive POWs or voluntary emigres from economically disadvantaged areas, formed a movable force which the king could transfer rapidly from one corner of the kingdom to another. See the numerous examples of the *erīn* connected with places in outlying regions of the Ur III empire, as discussed in 4.9. A certain kind of movable troops is represented by the Elamites, who appear in hundreds of Ur III texts in various localities situated between the Tigris and the Zagros Mountains; see the discussion in Jones and Snyder, *SET* pp. 299 ff. A similar employment has been noted for a few Amorites in the Ur III period; see Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period*, pp. 342 ff. The defining terms which accompany the references to Elamites and Amorites in the Ur III texts are mainly *erīn* "soldiers/workers" and, more rarely, *uku-uš* "gendarme," "constable," or the like.

The use of the POWs (*asīrū*) by the king and the state in the Old Babylonian period is discussed by Leemans 1961. The use of foreigners as king's bodyguard and mercenaries is well-known in the New Assyrian period (Meissner *BuA* 1 pp. 90 and 98); see especially, "there was also a central standing army, which included units drawn from conquered territory, maintained by the king as a safeguard against over-ambitious satraps" (Saggs in *Iraq* 25 [1963] p. 145).

We find a number of parallels outside of Mesopotamia. According to a Hittite source, 3,000 NAM.RA captives were made into foot-troops and charioteers (Alp 1950-1951, p. 115). In Egypt, POWs (with their wives and children) were branded and turned into soldiers (Helck 1962, pp. 360 ff.; and similarly, Bakir 1952, pp. 110 ff.). David used the foreign Cherethites, Pelethites, and Gittites as his personal bodyguard (2 Sam. 15:18), and they remained loyal to him during Absalom's rebellion. Well-known is the case of the Roman Praetorian Guard. Cf. the instructive remarks of Goitein 1967, p. 132 in reference to medieval Islam: "The rulers, always distrustful of their own people, used to surround themselves with persons brought from distant regions, who knew no other attachment except to their masters, but who very often became the masters of their masters. Immediately before the Fatimid conquest, Egypt was ruled by a black eunuch, an extremely capable man. The Fatimids and Ayyubids made copious use of European, Turkish, and other slaves for the highest posts of confidence, and, under their successors, the Mamluks, what had been a practice became a principle: the ruling oligarchy admitted to its ranks solely persons who had been slaves." Similarly, "coloured people of Ethiopian origin . . . must have formed the nucleus of the Aḥābīsh, the Meccan militia" (Brunschvig 1960, p. 24, for pre-Islamic Arabia) and "enormous slave-militias, black and white" (Brunschvig 1960, p. 33, for Islamic Arabia). Cf., finally, "the Norman Kings in England [maintained] a Saxon militia as a counterweight to their own nobility" (Kiernan 1965, p. 23).

Among the Incas, there was a standing professional unit composed of members of the

Cañari nationality, and the king favored the aliens over his relatives as guards and advisors (Murra 1956, pp. 261 f.). Katz 1969, p. 543 writes of one of the last Inca rulers, who created a personal bodyguard composed not of members of his own kinship group, but of members of a subjugated tribe, the Cañari. Similarly, Murra 1962, p. 717: "The king was confronted with a rebellion of his relatives who resented the unprecedented gifts and privileges granted to the Kañari, an incipient standing army." A very instructive parallel to the movable force of the *erín* of the Ur III period, are the *mitima* colonists of the Incas who were moved from place to place in accordance with the needs of the state, with the ensuing loss of tribal affiliations (Murra 1956, pp. 270 and 288 ff.).

5.3.4. Change of Status of POWs

With the exception of a handful of occurrences, nothing in the terminology or contents of the sources indicates that POWs were slaves. Slave terms *nam-arád* "slavery" and *sag* "slaves" are used for the POWs of Šīmanum in the inscription of Šu-Sin (3.4). The 113 women and 59 children POWs given ex-voto to the temple of Šara of Umma according to the second set of three POW texts (*RA* 24 p. 45, etc.) are subsumed as 172 *sag-ḫi-a* (3.3). The term *sag* is found in one of the POW texts (*TCL* 5 6039 rev. ii 29, discussed in 3.3) and *sag nam-ra-ag* "POW slaves" occurs in an administrative text (Legrain, *TRU* 326, discussed in 3.7). The use of the terminology *nam-ra-ag du₈-a* "manumitted POWs" in another administrative text (Chiera, *STA* 2 iii, discussed in 3.7) implies that these women were slaves before their manumission. Finally, as noted in 5.3.1, the mention of one individual termed as "slave" among the *NAM.RA* "POWs" offered to the goddess Lelwani by the Hittite queen Puduḫepa implies that the rest of the offered *NAM.RA* were not slaves.

Perhaps nothing illustrates better the difference in the status of the POWs between the time immediately following their capture and the time of their ultimate disposition and utilization than the terminology used in respect to the POWs of Šīmanum at the time of Šu-Sin (3.4). This difference comes to the fore in the use of the terms *nam-arád* "slavery," *sag* "slaves," as well as *nam-ra-aš-ag* "booty" for the captives of Šīmanum immediately after their capture, according to the royal inscription; and of the terms *lú Šīmanum* "persons of Š.," *guruš-erín Š.*, *erín Š.* "workers/soldiers of Š.," and *á-1/2 Š.* "half-workers (that is, half-time workers) of Š." for the same people of Šīmanum after their settlement in Babylonia, according to a court record and several administrative texts.

As noted in 3.7 and 4.10, the term *LÚ + KÁB*, which is used in the royal inscriptions for roped POWs at the time of their capture, is never applied to the POWs occurring in the administrative texts, indicating that, once established in Babylonia, the POWs could have been relieved of their bonds.

The terms for freeing and manumitting of POWs are found in two early Mesopotamian sources discussed in 4.11. They are *šu-bar* "to free" used in respect to the *erín* "warriors" of Ešnunna and others (3.5 and 4.11) and *du₈* "to manumit" applied to two women POWs (Chiera, *STA* 2 iii, discussed in 3.7 and 4.11).

The difference between the status of *erín* "soldier/worker" and that of *arád* "slave" is neatly established by the court record treated in Falkenstein, *NSGU* No. 212 passim.

Falkenstein in *Bagh. Mitt.* 2 (1963) pp. 49 and 78 f. identified *x SAG.NITA.ME.EŠ* "x

slaves" of line 1 of his text with [x] ERÍN *a-si-ru-um* "POW soldiers/workers" of line 2. The interpretation of *CAD* A/2 p. 331b, according to which the x slaves are distinguished from the x POWs, seems more likely to me.

Consonant with the above conclusion that, generally, POWs are not slaves, are the observations of Klengel 1963, pp. 2 ff. and 14 f. in respect to the situation in the Alalakh texts of the Middle Babylonian period. He noted that the *asirū* "POWs" are listed separately, and consequently are different, from the *ARÁD* and *GEMÉ* "slaves" and "slave girls" in the ration texts of the royal archive at Alalakh (Wiseman in *JCS* 13 pp. 21 ff. nos. 243, 247, 248, etc.); and that the *šallatu* "POWs" ("booty") who escaped to a foreign country did not have to be extradited by the ruler of that country, in contrast to fugitive slaves and slave girls, who should be arrested and returned to their rightful owner, according to a treaty concluded between the rulers of Mukiš and Tunip (Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, no. 2: 20 ff.).

The change of status of POWs represents the main factor in the creation of the second most important source (after the native impoverished classes) of productive labor in Mesopotamia. Strange as it may seem, neither this factor nor the high importance of the freed POWs in the productive labor of ancient Mesopotamia has ever been stressed or even briefly alluded to in Assyriological literature. Stranger still, I have found no discussion of these two important points in reference to areas and times outside of ancient Mesopotamia.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Early Mesopotamia is characterized by a relatively low agricultural economy, with incipient surplus production. In such an economy, captured warriors were usually slain, women and children were taken prisoner, or whole civilian populations were deported. When warriors were taken prisoner, they often were roped or put in woodblocks immediately after capture. See 4.7 to 4.10.

The evidence concerning the foreign derivation of POWs, both in early Mesopotamia and elsewhere in ancient times, is so overwhelming as to allow the conclusion that the ethnic factor that spoke unequivocally against the native debt slavery and the enslavement of native impoverished classes must have operated with the same force in respect to the permanent enslavement of native POWs. See 4.2 and my forthcoming monograph.

As repeatedly emphasized in this article, one must continuously keep in mind the important difference between the act of taking prisoners and their ultimate disposition, enslavement or freedom, full or relative. This is shown best in the treatment and terminology affecting POWs. See 2, 4.6, 5.1, and 5.3.4.

Immediately upon their capture, POWs are slave property of the crown/state. As such, they are abused and exploited in the extreme. They may be worked to death on monumental projects of the crown. They may receive inadequate rations resulting in sickness and starvation. Male POWs might be roped or put in woodblocks to inhibit their mobility. See 4.3, 4.6, 4.8, and 5.2.

In order to utilize POW slave labor to best advantage, certain steps were taken to improve its living standards and hopes for survival. This was accomplished by settling POWs on land, placing them in temple households, utilizing them as king's bodyguard, mercenaries, and a movable soldier/worker force, and, above all, by freeing them and

changing their status from unfree to semifree. With the ensuing alleviation of conditions, the POWs, while still remaining under the control of the state or temple, were given the opportunity at least partially to work for themselves and their families and guide their own destinies. See 5.3.

The new situation is reflected in the terminology for the POWs, as in the old terms *sag* "slave" and *arád* "slave," used for the POWs immediately after their capture, being largely replaced by new terms, such as *erín* "worker/soldier" and *guruš* "man," used for them after their final disposition. Also the fact that the term *lú + kár*, used in the royal inscriptions for roped POWs immediately after their capture, is never attested in administrative texts indicates not only a change in terminology, but also a change in treatment. See 3.7, 4.10, and 5.3.4.

Full slavery based on POW labor was unfeasible and unpractical in the productive effort of early Mesopotamia. Disregarding the high figures of POWs given in certain administrative texts which may refer to POWs soon after their capture, but before their final disposition, one can almost count on the fingers of two hands all the occurrences of individuals termed as "POWs" in the administrative texts which deal with POWs newly established in public households. See 3.7, 4.3, and 5.3.

It is interesting to note that even in the New Assyrian period, at the height of Assyrian military power, captured populations were not enslaved, but deported and resettled throughout the empire. Also the fact that slave rebellions are not attested for ancient Mesopotamia speaks against the widespread application of slavery in that country, or for that matter anywhere else in the ancient Near East, as well as India and China, by contrast, e.g., with classical Greece and Rome, where the existence of masses of slave labor led to frequent rebellions, sometimes on a catastrophic scale. See 5.3.1.

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Author(s): I. J. Gelb and R. M. Whiting

Source: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 2 (1975), pp. 95-104

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25203647>

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METHODS OF DECIPHERMENT¹

By I. J. GELB

Assisted by R. M. WHITING

THERE ARE MANY STORIES CONNECTED with the decipherment of ancient writings and the recovery of forgotten languages, but these stories need not be retold here. Furthermore, they usually deal only with the discovery of the key, that brief moment of insight when some datum is arrived at, which when inserted causes the rest of the puzzle to fall into place. But what we are interested in here is the tremendous amount of work, routine but necessary, which precedes that moment and makes the decipherment possible, and the even more tremendous amount of work which follows that moment and results in the recovery of the language.

There is a clear connexion between the decipherment of extinct writings and languages used for the purpose of normal communication and cryptanalysis, which deals with the decipherment of writings used for the purpose of secret communication. For this reason, it is frequently convenient to use the terminology of cryptology when referring to the problems encountered by the decipherer of ancient writings. However, one important difference should be stressed. Cryptography or secret writing attempts to lay obstacles in the path of the non-intended reader which will hopefully make the interpretation of the message impossible, while the writing systems used by the ancients were meant for direct communication with the reader. This is important because of a linguistic feature known as redundancy which the designers of cryptographic systems try to eliminate to the greatest extent possible.

In spoken language, redundancy allows us to understand what has been said even if some of the sounds are not heard or are badly distorted, because of the fact that certain sequences of sounds are more frequent than others while some sequences do not occur at all. Thus if several phonemes of an utterance are missed, our knowledge of the sound patterns of the language allows us to eliminate very quickly the sound sequences which are not allowed and to reconstruct one which is. If more than one sequence is allowable, context usually permits us to make the final decision.

This same feature of redundancy is also present in writing systems: certain combinations of signs are more frequent than others, while some do not occur at all. Most of the methods of decipherment make use of this fact, and the degree of difficulty or ease with which a writing system can be deciphered depends in large measure on the extent to which this feature can be recognized and exploited.

Normal writing systems can express language on two levels, morphological (logography) or phonetic (phonography). This gives rise to three basic types of full writing systems: logo-syllabic, syllabic, and alphabetic. The latter two types are phonetic while the first combines morphological elements (logograms) and phonetic elements (syllabograms).

¹ The London paper forms part of a larger paper entitled "Records, writing, and decipherment" which was delivered at the Symposium organized by the Center for Co-ordination of Ancient and Modern Studies at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in March 1974. Permission was granted to publish the Michigan paper in *Visible Language*, VIII, 1974, 293-318, prior to the decision to publish the Michigan Symposium in Herbert H. Paper (ed.), *Language and texts: The nature of linguistic evidence* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1975). Subsequently and independently, it was decided to publish the London Symposium.

Even so, the syllabic and alphabetic systems usually contain morphemic elements to a greater or lesser degree. In cryptography, coding at the phonetic level is called cipher, while replacement of morphemes is known as code. There are two basic types of cipher, substitution and transposition.

Redundancy is present at the morphemic level but since the number of morphemes in a language is so much greater than the number of phonemes, the effect of redundant morphemes is not as great as that of phonetic redundancy. For this reason, a code is generally harder to break than a cipher, and a writing system based mainly on logograms will be more difficult to decipher than one based on phonograms, given the same degree of availability of materials and of knowledge of the underlying language.

The preceding statement implies that the degree to which the underlying language of a writing system is known affects the decipherment of the writing system. This can be stated more strongly: Provided sufficient text is available, a phonetic writing can and ultimately must be deciphered if the underlying language is known. It should be noted, however, that the converse is not true. Interpretation of a language is a matter of linguistic analysis which determines the morphological and syntactic rules governing it. These rules are much more extensive and complicated than the phonological ones; hence it is much more difficult to deduce the former from the latter than vice versa.

In view of this, we should really speak of decipherment in connexion with writing systems and speak of the recovery or interpretation of languages. In popular usage, however, the term decipherment is also used in connexion with languages as one speaks of "the decipherment of Etruscan".

Using the term decipherment in its wider sense we can classify decipherments into several types based on the extent of our knowledge of the two elements involved, the writing system and the language. There are four possible situations, only three of which present problems to the decipherer.

The four categories are:

Type O: known writing and known language

Type I: unknown writing and known language

Type II: known writing and unknown language

Type III: unknown writing and unknown language.

It must be pointed out here that "known" and "unknown" in this application are not absolutes but shade into each other in a manner which cannot be expressed quantitatively. This is especially true of languages, where we can speak of a well-known one such as Latin, or a less known one such as Sumerian or Hurrian, or a virtually unknown one such as Etruscan. Furthermore, a language may be unknown itself but be more or less closely related to a known language or group of languages, a fact which, once established, moves it closer to the category of a known language.

Keeping this in mind, we shall return to our four types of decipherments. Type O (zero), a known language written in a known writing system, is generally considered trivial and requires little discussion. However, despite the fact that this type offers no difficulty in decipherment, examples of it can provide us with valuable information, especially if the writing system is other than the one normally used for the language.

I am thinking here of the inscriptions written in the Phoenician (Punic) language but using the Greek or Latin alphabet, which furnish useful information for the vocalization of that language, not expressed by its normal writing system; and of the limited amount of Sumerian and Akkadian material written in the Greek alphabet which not only increases our phonological knowledge of these languages, but also serves as a convenient check on the validity of the decipherment of cuneiform.

Type O corresponds to what is known in cryptography as plaintext, that is, an uncoded and unenciphered message.

Decipherments of Type I, an unknown writing system used for a known language, vary in degree of difficulty depending on the nature of the writing system. We have already seen that there are three basic types of writing systems: alphabetic, syllabic, and logosyllabic. Deciphering these writings makes extensive use of the techniques of cryptanalysis.

If the writing system is alphabetic, the problem resembles that of a simple substitution cipher and, provided sufficient text is available, is very easy to solve utilizing the redundancy features of the known language.

If the writing is syllabic, the problem is slightly more complex because of the larger number of graphemes and their more complex phonetic structure. However, syllabaries have their own redundancy features and such a system will eventually fall to analysis. It should be noted that the amount of text required to guarantee a unique solution of such a system is considerably larger than for an alphabetic system. It is for this reason that the Phaistos syllabary, which probably hides a known language, remains undeciphered. There is just not enough text available to provide an unambiguous solution.

If the writing is logo-syllabic, the problem can become quite complex. It amounts to code mixed with polygraphic encipherment. It has already been noted that code is considerably harder to break than cipher. For this reason the proper cryptanalytical procedure would be to attack the cipher (syllabograms) first and then deduce the code (logograms) from the knowledge of the morphohexical structure of the language. On the practical level, other factors often intervene which simplify this process, as we shall see when we discuss methodology.

The history of Type I decipherments bears out this general picture. Thus of the writings in this category, the most easily deciphered have been the Phoenician and Ugaritic writings, which consist of only 22 to 30 signs. (Although syllabic in nature, from the point of view of cryptology these systems behave like alphabets.) More difficult problems were posed by the Old Persian, Cypriote, and Linear B systems, all of the class of syllabaries, with the number of signs varying from approximately 40 to 80. Much more difficult was the decipherment of logo-syllabic systems such as Egyptian hieroglyphic, Akkadian cuneiform, and Hittite hieroglyphic, involving hundreds of signs.

Type II decipherments are, as we have already noted, not, strictly speaking, decipherments, but linguistic analyses. The category of an unknown language corresponds in cryptography to code, which involves the substitution of an unknown linguistic element for a known one. Such systems are extremely difficult to break, and a language which is truly unknown is virtually impossible to reconstruct using cryptanalytic methods because of the tremendous amount of text required. This is not to deny the possibility of reconstructing an unknown language, but only to indicate the very low probability of recovering a significant

part of it by internal means alone. In every case of a Type II decipherment, external sources of information have played a large role. Even if a language cannot easily be reconstructed by internal means, it is still possible to construct a formal (descriptive) grammar of such a language by making a catalogue of short repetitive elements and classifying them as affixes or function words (as opposed to content words), even though their meaning or use may be unknown. This describes our present state of knowledge about the Etruscan language, for example.

Type III decipherments, involving an unknown writing system and an unknown language, are clearly the most difficult of all. If such a case occurs in cultural isolation where no outside information can be brought to bear, it can be considered undecipherable. External sources can sometimes provide clues which can reduce it to a Type I or Type II problem. If the language is truly unknown, reduction to Type II is not a significant improvement in understandability. As we have seen, our knowledge of the phonetic shape of Etruscan does little to reduce its obscurity.

Type III situations have been compared by some authors to the cryptographic category of enciphered code, but this is not quite true. Cryptographic codes have no phonological shape since the code words are usually series of unrelated symbols. An unknown language is code whether it can be read or not. The purpose of enciphering code is further to reduce redundancy by making frequently-used code words appear differently at different places in the text. In Type III, these repetitive morphemes are clearly visible and can be collected to form a preliminary grammar of the language in exactly the same manner as described for Type II.

Having outlined the types of decipherment which may be encountered and having assessed their relative difficulty, let us consider some of the methods involved in decipherment.

The approaches to the recovery of extinct and unknown writings and languages have in the past been almost uniformly characterized by haphazard touch-and-go procedures. With very few laudable exceptions, the would-be decipherers have approached their task without any idea of cryptanalytic techniques. In the light of this almost total lack of systematic methodology, it is astonishing to note how frequently the tenacious efforts of scholars have led to a successful decipherment.

From a cryptanalytic point of view, we can distinguish two broad areas of methodology. These deal with the utilization of external information, or what can be determined about the probable contents of the cryptogram from outside sources; and internal information, or what can be learned from an analysis of the cryptogram itself.

Every cryptogram has a certain *a priori* probability of containing a given message. If the cryptanalyst can guess what the message is, the solution of the cryptogram will be much easier. Even having only a general idea about what the message might be will facilitate decipherment.

In considering the application of this concept to ancient writings, it is interesting to note that frequently the key to a decipherment has been provided by a source external to the writing under study. In most cases, this has been one or more proper names known traditionally, such as the Persian royal names found in Herodotus, or provided by a bilingual inscription, such as the Rosetta Stone, to name just two of the best known examples.

Therefore, before doing any work on the decipherment of a specific writing or language, a would-be decipherer must become acquainted with the historical-geographical background of the area from which it comes. One should remember Champollion, who spent years in familiarizing himself with the history, geography, religion, and languages of Egypt as preserved in the classical sources or by tradition, before he dared even to suggest the reading of a single sign of the Egyptian writing.

It is generally considered that a bilingual text is a type of external information which will immediately produce a unique solution of an ancient writing or language. The reasons why this is not true will become apparent if we remember the cryptological analogies which we have established. If a cryptanalyst has both the plain and enciphered text of a message, his problem is solved since ciphering is a linear and reversible transformation of one writing system into another. Furthermore, this information allows him to determine the key, that is, the rules under which the transformation was made. But we have already established that the only class of decipherment which corresponds to cryptographic cipher is Type I, a known language written in an unknown writing, and that this corresponds to simple substitution cipher. It can easily be shown that for substitution cipher, the choice of the cipher alphabet does not affect the general appearance of the cipher text, or in other words, all substitution encipherments of a given message are equivalent and all that is significant is the pattern of letter repetition. But the patterns of letter repetition are generated by the language, or, more specifically, by the redundancy features of the language. The immediate conclusion is that, provided there is sufficient text for these redundancy features to assert themselves, the only key necessary for the solution of a substitution cryptogram is the language in which it is written!

The reason that having a bilingual text is not equivalent to a cryptanalyst having the plain and enciphered text of a message is the simple fact that the two parts of the bilingual *are not written in the same language*. Hence we are not dealing with an enciphered version of the same text, but rather with an encoded version of it. While encipherment is a linear reversible process, translation is not, as anyone who has given any thought to the problem of machine translation quickly realizes. Translation of a passage of moderate length into another language and then back into the original by another translator would almost never result in exactly the same text as the original. If a cryptanalyst has the plaintext and encoded version of a message, he cannot guarantee a unique solution for each code group, and even if by chance he could, knowledge of a hundred or so code groups would hardly make a dent in a code consisting of ten thousand groups.

Of what value, then, are bilingual texts to the decipherer of ancient writings and languages? Let us consider this in the light of the possible types of decipherments. Since the known language of the bilingual represents a coded version of the unknown one, for Type II and III decipherments, which represent code, this means that we now have the same text encoded in two different systems, one of which is known. This allows us to determine some, if not all, of the unknown code groups. As we have seen, unless this number is quite large, no significant increase in our knowledge is gained. Thus for Type II decipherments our understanding of Sumerian has been advanced quite far by the tremendous amount of Akkadian Sumerian bilingual material available, while the relatively short Etruscan-Punic bilingual recently discovered at Pyrgi in Italy has added little to our knowledge of Etruscan.

For Type III decipherments the situation is similar. But there is an important extra. Apparent Type III situations frequently hide a less difficult decipherment, usually Type I, and a bilingual sometimes allows us to break a code group which makes this apparent. This is exactly what happened during the decipherment of the Cypriote syllabary using a Cypriote-Phoenician bilingual. The language turned out to be Greek, but because the redundancy features were altered by the writing conventions of the syllabic script from those expected of classical Greek, it was unrecognizable as such.

Another feature of bilingual inscriptions which requires discussion brings us back to our original reason for rejecting the bilingual as an immediate solution, namely that it represents code, not cipher. Cryptographic codes always have groups for a syllabary and an alphabet so that words not included in the code can be spelled out. The most frequent need for these groups is to express proper names. Proper names are usually not translated into another language, but are simply transcribed. Thus if a bilingual text has a proper name in one version and the exact position of this name can be located in the other, one can consider the two occurrences as one phonological sequence expressed in two writing systems, or cipher. Since the plaintext is known, the phonetic values of the signs used to encipher it are established. If enough such occurrences could be found, a Type III situation could be reduced to Type II, and if during the process enough information about the language was found to indicate that the language was known, it would quickly reduce to Type O.

Finally, a bilingual can be useful as a check on a decipherment made by other means. It should be noted here, however, that not all bilingual inscriptions are well suited to this use, since the two sections might be either very reliable, verbatim translations, or one might be simply a loose paraphrase of the other.

Although other sources of external information may come to bear on the decipherment, it is best to shift at this point to internal analysis and see what preliminary steps should be taken.

Equally as important as a thorough study of the area from which the writing to be deciphered comes, is a sound acquaintance with the field of grammatology, specifically the structure and typology of writing. This will enable scholars to answer preliminary questions as to whether the texts to be deciphered represent real writing or no writing, original writing or forgeries, and will indicate the type of writing system to which the particular writing belongs: alphabetic, syllabic, or logo-syllabic.

It may sound preposterous to ask a scholar to take a stand on the question of whether the texts he is working on do or do not represent writing, especially since many systems have so many of the obvious characteristics of writing that it need not be stated. But this is not always the case, and all too often scholars have failed to provide such evidence when it was required. I have in mind primarily the rongo-rongo boards of Easter Island which are generally taken to be composed in a real writing system, an assertion which I deny, characterizing them in the light of grammatology as a series of pictorial representations concocted for magical purposes.

The question as to whether certain written remains are original or modern forgeries can often be answered with the help of grammatology.

Knowledge of grammatology appears most useful to scholars in the definition of the type of writing on which they are working. A count of the distinctive graphemes of the

writing will tell whether the writing system is alphabetic, syllabic, or logo-syllabic, and usually whether a syllabary is of the simple Aegean type representing only single vowels and consonant + vowel signs, or of a more complicated type.

From a consideration of the writing system as a whole, we move to graphotactics, or the evaluation of such graphic characteristics as the position, sequence, arrangement, and direction of signs, and word division. The sequence of signs in a sign group may be orderly (as in the classical Latin writing) or disorderly (as in the earliest Sumerian writing). The sequence of signs may be from left to right, from right to left, or both, or from top to bottom, or from top to bottom in the sequence of individual signs but from right to left or left to right in the sequence of columns or rows of signs. Word division may not be indicated at all in the writing, or it may be indicated by special marks in the form of dots or strokes, or by a space.

More information about the probable content of the inscription can be deduced from repetitive schematic arrangements within the text. Such a repetitive sequence is known as a "routine". Routines offer exceedingly valuable information of a quasi-bilingual nature and are usually easy to detect without any elaborate statistical analysis. For example, if the last line of a text includes a fairly low number, it is a reasonable assumption that it is a date routine, and one should expect the word "year" and perhaps a royal name. Similarly, if there are numbers throughout the text and the last line includes a higher number with a word before it, it is almost certain that the word is "total" or "sum".

Still another source of information about the probable content of an inscription can be utilized if the script is logo-syllabic. This source is the interpretation of logograms.

It was pointed out earlier that an unknown logo-syllabic system could be considered as a mixture of enciphered text and code. While the comparison is typologically valid, no cryptographer would ever use such a system. Because even a small amount of context can be extremely valuable in solving a cryptogram, there is an absolute prohibition in cryptography against plaintext appearing in the body of an encrypted message. For the same reason, no cryptographer would risk having code groups recognized among the enciphered text, and would insert the code groups at the plaintext level and then encipher both. But ancient writing systems did not strive for secrecy and the logograms are in full view of the decipherer.

If a logo-syllabic writing appears in a Type II situation (known writing, unknown language), the interpretation of all logograms may be known, a situation which generates numerous context clues. The key to cuneiform Hittite was actually discovered in this manner.

If a logo-syllabic system is unknown but largely pictographic, it may be possible to deduce the interpretation of some logograms from their pictorial representations. This is more often true of logograms denoting nouns than of those denoting verbs. But there are pitfalls in this approach because in a logo-syllabic system, syllabograms have usually developed from logograms by means of phonetic transfer, and one must be certain that he is not trying to interpret a syllabic sign as a logogram.

There are several other ways of distinguishing and interpreting logograms. Logograms are at times distinguished from syllabograms by a special mark. In a sign group composed of several signs, it is frequently possible to assume that the first or sometimes the first two signs represent the logogram, and the rest of the signs denote the syllabic complement. Finally,

the use of semantic indicators or determinatives preceding or following a logogram helps in distinguishing logograms and at the same time, because they are logograms themselves, helps in ascertaining the sphere of meaning to which they belong.

The limitations involved in the understanding of logograms without being able to read them, form no great obstacle to the understanding of the texts. There are well-known and fully developed writing systems, such as Sumerian and cuneiform Hittite, which abound in logograms with clear meaning but unknown reading. If we can interpret all the logograms of a logo-syllabic system, the residue is obviously a syllabic system with plaintext clues scattered through it. Such a system would *a priori* be easier to solve than a normal syllabic system.

Once one has exhausted all sources of information about the probable content of the text, if the system still remains undeciphered, the next step is a systematic application of statistics to determine the redundancy characteristics of the writing or the language.

Statistical analysis involves making frequency lists of the individual signs, of sequences of signs, and of signs which appear more frequently in initial or final position in a word than others. These statistics about the frequency with which certain signs appear in combinations or in certain positions are in fact the redundancy features of the language which generated them, perhaps modified by the limitations and orthographic conventions of the writing system employed. Thus, for example, an orthography which does not express double consonants will distort the redundancy features of a language that does. This is a problem which has to be resolved by outside information, since the distortion of the redundancy features will make the enciphered language appear to be different, or, more likely, unknown. However, if some phonetic values can be established, the language will soon be recognized, even with the reduced redundancy, because redundancy is merely a measure of how much of a transmitted message can be omitted without impairing its intelligibility.

Another useful outcome of statistics, especially for syllabic systems of the Aegean type, is the possibility of constructing a grid system which limits the phonetic values which may be assigned to a given sign by grouping the signs which interchange under certain circumstances together. By this method it is possible to group together signs which should have the same consonant but a different vowel, or alternatively, the same vowel but a different consonant. These groupings may be arranged to form a grid with the consonant as one co-ordinate, and the vowel as the other. All this may be accomplished without being able to read a single sign. The usefulness of the grid stems from the fact that once a few phonetic values are determined, the rest fall into place almost automatically.

I think that during the discussion of statistics is the proper place to mention the application of computers to decipherment. The compilation of the statistical analyses I have described can be a very laborious process, especially if the amount of textual material available is large. In accomplishing this work, computers can be utilized most profitably. I estimate that the use of a computer in my work on Amorite has saved me several man-years of tedious, repetitive labour.

While the computer is very useful for collecting, sorting, and counting, analysis should, at least at present, be left to the human mind. The computer has the same problems with ancient languages as with modern ones, and the same limitations which at present make computer translations unreliable (except for very narrow purposes), hinder their usefulness in analysing ancient languages.

The first attempt to decipher an ancient writing with the help of computers was the so-called "Siberian" decipherment of the Maya writing. While the results are disappointing the method is sound and may hold promise for the future. The first step was the collection of both linguistic and graphic data from available sources. Next, the redundancy features of both the linguistic and graphic data were determined by computer. Finally, the output of the linguistic and graphic data was correlated in order to reach certain conclusions as to the reading or meaning of the Maya signs on the basis of comparable frequencies and distribution within the Maya linguistic material of modern times.

It is my belief that the failure of the decipherment is not due primarily to flaws of methodology, but to the fact that Mayan glyphs do not represent a full phonetic writing system. The decipherment is apparently of Type I (unknown writing, known language), and we have already shown that for this category, provided sufficient text is available, a phonetic writing can, and ultimately must, be deciphered if the underlying language is known. Since there is plenty of Mayan text available and the language is known, the fact that the writing has defied even the most sophisticated attempts at decipherment leads me to the conclusion that it is not a phonetic writing system. Therefore the lack of success by the computer does not diminish its potential for this type of decipherment.

I have left the discussion of the assumption of an underlying language until late in my talk because it is involved in the test of a decipherment. But I have tried to stress, both in my discussion of the types of decipherments and elsewhere, that the extent to which the underlying language is known, or can be recognized as known, governs almost completely the difficulty of the decipherment. Hence the assumption of an underlying language is one of the most basic premises of the decipherment. If the assumption of the underlying language is wrong, then the decipherment is wrong. Note, however, that the decipherment may progress up to a point even if the assumption of the language is wrong. A good example is Linear B, where a grid structure for many of the signs had been worked out, but which remained undeciphered as long as it was assumed that its underlying language was Etruscan.

A preliminary assumption of an underlying language is the result of logical deductions about the linguistic situation of the area from which the writing or the language to be deciphered comes. The assumption is more or less self-evident in the great majority of cases. Thus it was logical to assume that ancient Egyptian would be a language ancestral to Coptic, spoken in Egypt until quite recently, just as it was plausible to start with the presupposition that the language of the Ugaritic texts would be a Semitic one, closely related to the other Semitic languages known from the general area, such as Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew. The probabilities as to the underlying language had to be weighed in varying degrees in the case of other decipherments, such as hieroglyphic Hittite, Linear B, Cypriote, and Iberian.

The assumption of an underlying language may be plausible or even probable, but no decipherment is possible if the assumed language has no parallels in any known group of languages. This may be the case for Cretan hieroglyphic, which may be written for Minoan, a native Mediterranean language unrelated to any other known language.

As a test of a decipherment, we should insist on the translation of a full text, not simply excerpts. It is frequently possible to provide a persuasive interpretation for a small portion of the text, such as a phrase or even a sentence, but this cannot be a decipherment if the rest of the text is gibberish.

The translation of the text must be consonant with the preliminary expectations about the contents of the text. It is reasonable to assume that Proto-Elamite texts, full of numbers and measures, would represent simple administrative accounts dealing with the day-by-day routine of running a household, such as the listing of incoming and outgoing commodities. A decipherment that would read magic conjurations into these texts would be highly suspect.

But perhaps the best test of a decipherment is repeatability. That is, it should be possible to decipher another text, preferably one the original decipherer has not seen, using the decipherer's methods. Perhaps the most spectacular example of this was conclusive proof of the correctness of the decipherment of Linear B provided by the discovery of the famous "tripod" text, which not only was deciphered into good Greek words, but also had pictographic representations which showed exactly the objects which those words represented.

I doubt that any of the points I have raised in my discussion are unfamiliar to any of you, but I have collected and generalized them because there is nothing in our field which serves as a general introduction to the problems of decipherment. On the other hand, there seem to be only two basic things which a successful decipherer needs. One is logic or good common sense, from which all of the points I have discussed stem, and the second, which all of you who have listened to this paper obviously have, is an exceptional amount of patience.



Measures of Dry and Liquid Capacity

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Source: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 102, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1982), pp. 585-590

Published by: [American Oriental Society](#)

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MEASURES OF DRY AND LIQUID CAPACITY

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This paper develops methodologies for establishing exact capacities for dry and liquid measures and discusses the benefits which accrue from such an enterprise.

AS IS GENERALLY KNOWN, THE STUDY OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY is based almost exclusively on administrative texts, full of numbers and measures. The correct understanding of administrative texts is based on counting—counting of all the figures in the body of the text and checking them against the summations usually found at the end of the text. And there is no counting without a thorough knowledge of contemporary metrology.

When I first began working productively on the administrative texts of the third millennium B.C., I relied on the metrological studies and charts provided by Thureau-Dangin and Deimel. I soon realized that the charts give “idealized” data and do not take account of the tremendous amount of variation which takes place from period to period, from area to area, and even from one city to another. I was forced, therefore, to start collecting metrological data *ab ovo*, with the result that I can now cite my own charts for the measures utilized in third-millennium B.C. Mesopotamia. These I hope to publish in the foreseeable future.

Study of ancient measures involves two approaches, relational and absolute. The relational approach involves the establishing of the quantitative relations among the different measures within a given set of measures, for instance, the number of *ul* in the *gursag-gál* or the number of *sila* in the *ul* among the measures of dry capacity in Pre-Sargonic Lagash. The absolute approach involves the establishing of the exact capacity of one of these measures, for instance, *sila*.

While the relational values of all the measures of the third millennium B.C. are well under control, the absolute values are not. We know tolerably well the absolute values of measures of weight from the numerous ancient stone weights which have been preserved and can be weighed on modern scales. Also our knowledge of the measures of length, area, and

cubic contents is fairly good at least for the period of Gudea, from which we have a cubit drawn on a statue (F), which served as the basis for other measures of length and, indirectly, measures of area and volume, the latter used predominantly in measuring the cubic volume of the earth excavated in the digging and cleaning of canals.

Measures for which we have very few data of absolute value are measures of dry and liquid capacity. While we have at our disposal a respectable number of vessels with measures of their contents written on the vessel's surface, the nature of the evidence, widely dispersed both in space and time, makes it highly vulnerable when applied to the third millennium B.C.

Considering the dearth of evidence, the addition to our corpus of an Ur III vessel with written measures of capacity should, theoretically, be welcome. Unfortunately, the vessel is not fully preserved, and all attempted projections of its volume from its preserved part must, therefore, be regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

According to the field records of the Joint Expedition to Nippur of the University Museum of Philadelphia and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago for the year 1951 (now housed in Chicago), several large fragments of a vessel were found at “TB 234 V 1,” that is, the locus Tablet Hill B (also described as scribal quarter) room 234, level V, floor 1. The vessel was then mended, recorded in the catalogue under the number 3 P 193, that is, 3rd season, pot no. 193, and discarded in the field.

In the original manuscript of Donald E. McCown, the vessel is described as follows: “Tan; buff slip, moderately common, large, vegetal temper. Probably wheel(-made), but many scraping marks inside.”

Subsequently, the vessel was partially studied and published in Donald E. McCown and Richard C. Haines, assisted by Donald P. Hansen, *Nippur I. . .* (OIP 78, Chicago, 1967). A drawing of the vessel,

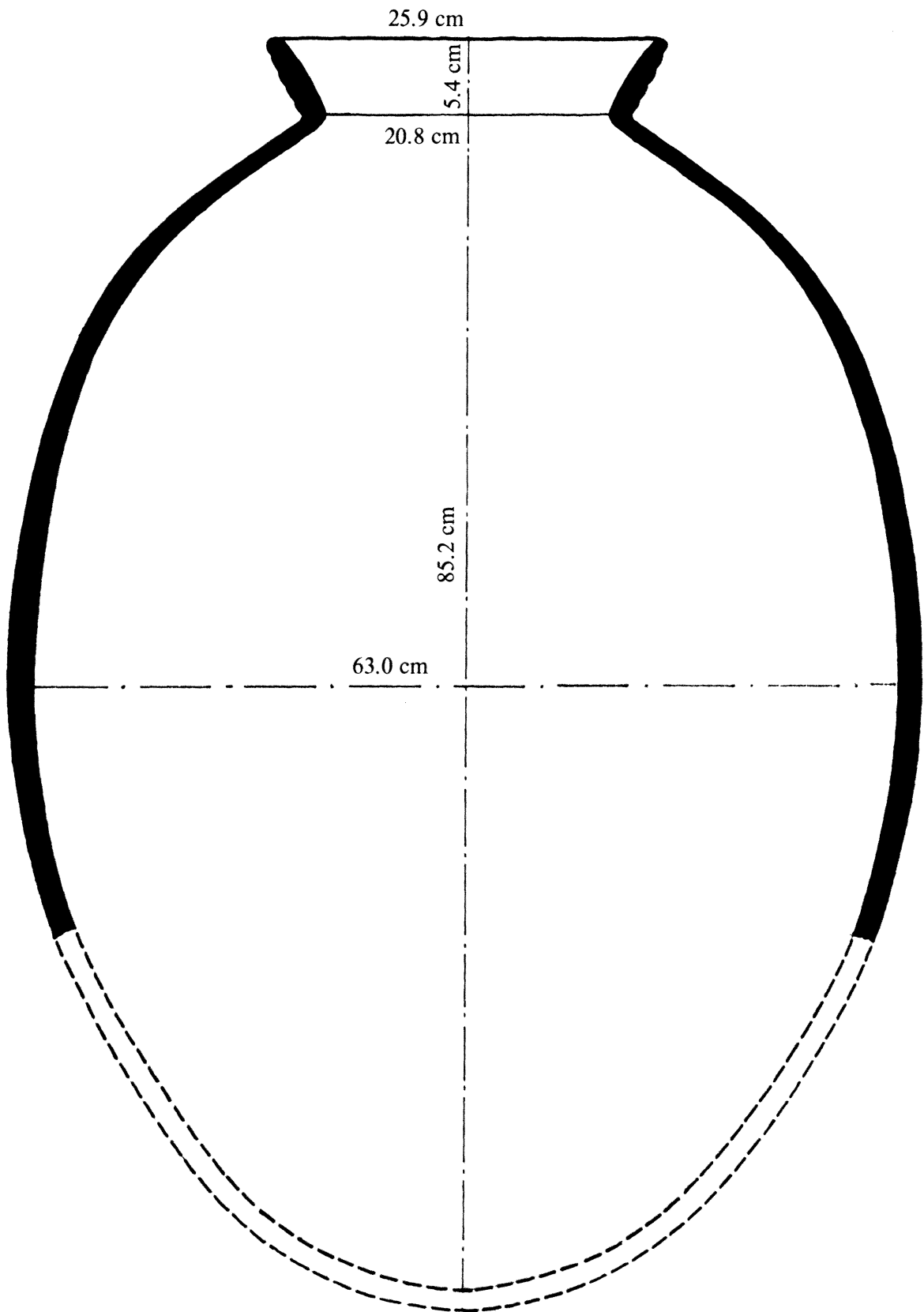


Figure 1



Figure 2

reduced 1:10, was reproduced on pl. 87, no. 14, with the description on the opposite plate, which gives the same details as those reported by McCown (above), and an addition reading: "bears cuneiform inscription: $175 \frac{5}{6}$ sila." A photo showing the inscription written once on the rim and once on the shoulder of the vessel is reproduced on pl. 148, no. 2. The location of room 234, and of level V in which the vessel was found is shown on pl. 58 and p. 77, respectively. According to the latter, level V, as part of levels IX-IV, was assigned to the Ur III period. Although both the expedition's Daybook and Pottery Catalogue describe level V 1 as a fill, the Ur III date of the vessel is assured, according to the oral information received from Carl Haines, by the fact that level V is situated between levels VI and IV, both safely assigned to the Ur III period.

When in May 1967 I decided to restudy the Nippur vessel and its inscription, I discovered to my great surprise that the vessel was not available anywhere, as it was discarded in the field. I then consulted Carl

Haines, one of the excavators of Nippur, about the possibility of reconstructing the volume of the vessel on the basis of its preserved portion. He then prepared the drawing of the vessel (shown here in fig. 1 in 1:4 reduction) from Donald E. McCown's original manuscript, resulting in a slight correction over the drawing shown in 1:10 reduction in *OIP* 78, pl. 87, no. 14. The main measurements of the inside of the vessel, are: maximum diameter of the vessel, 63 centimeters, at the top of the neck, 25.9 centimeters, at the bottom of the neck, 20.8 centimeters; depth of the vessel from the bottom of the neck to the bottom of the vessel, 85.2 centimeters, from the top of the neck to the bottom of the vessel, 90.6 centimeters. Using these figures, Haines calculated that the volume of the vessel, excluding the neck, was 179,474 cubic centimeters or 179.474 liters.

The well-preserved cuneiform inscription, written twice, gives the volume of the vessel as $2(\text{pi} = \text{bariga}) 5(\text{bàn}) 5 \frac{5}{6}$ sila or $175 \frac{5}{6}$ sila. (See fig. 2.) The measurements are those of dry, not liquid, capacity.

Dividing the modern by the ancient measurements of the volume of the vessel, we have 179.474 liters by 175 5/6 sila, or 1 sila = 1.0207 liters = 0.9269 dry quarts (or = 1.0786 liquid quarts).

Using the data provided in *OIP* 73, Postgate, *Iraq* 40 (1978), 74f., with the assistance of Mr. Christopher Watkins, estimated that the volume of the Nippur vessel, including the neck, was between 180.3 and 183.1 liters or 1 sila = 1.0337 liters. Thus, by using slightly different linear measurements, Postgate and Watkins arrived at a figure which is very close to our 1 sila = 1.0207 liters.

In 1977 (in a letter to Mrs. Rosemary Ellison in England) I put together the information about the various estimates of the capacity of 1 sila that were made in the past. Included in it, were four estimates made by Thureau-Dangin up to 1937 and three made by others up to 1977. In the meantime, two more items of information have come to light. All nine items are summed up or discussed on the following pages.

- a) 1 sila = 0.415 or 0.471 liters. Pre-Sargonic Lagash. Vase of Entemena. Thureau-Dangin, *ZA* 17 (1903), 95; *JA* 1909, 91. Because of the small capacity of 1 sila, he suggested, *RA* 18 (1921), 129, "qu'il n'y a peut-être pas lieu d'attribuer au vase d'argent [d'Entemena] la valeur d'une véritable mesure de capacité." Cf. also *RA* 29 (1932), 189 and 34 (1937), 86.
- b) 1 sila = 1.02 liters. Ur III. Nippur. Large pot, upper two-thirds preserved. Discussed above.
- c) 1 sila = 0.97 liters. Old Babylonian. Mathematical problem giving relations between the dry capacity (grain) to the circumference and depth of the vessel. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 29 (1932), 189f. and 34 (1937), 85f.
- d) 1 sila = 0.807 liters. Old Babylonian. Tell al-Rimah (Assyria). Large pot. On pages 71–73 of the same article in which he discussed the Ur III vessel from Nippur (under b), Postgate restudied the vessel from Tell al-Rimah published in S. Dalley, C. B. F. Walker and J. D. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah* (London, 1976) no. 274. Its inscription reads: 1 ANŠE 5(BÂN) 1/3 SILA i-na GIŠ.BÂN UTU "1 homer 5 sûtû 1/3 qû, (measured) by the sûtû of (the temple of) Šamaš." This corresponds to 150 1/3 sila. With the volume of the vessel containing 121± liters when measured from the top of the rim, 1 sila is the equivalent of c. 0.807 liters. Note that these dry-capacity measures

were used at Tell al-Rimah situated in Assyria, not Babylonia.

- e) New Assyrian. Nimrud. No account may be taken at the present time of several very large "wine jars" discovered at Nimrud which bear a cuneiform inscription, with measures in ANŠE, BÂN, and SILA. Even the first estimates of 1 sila = 1.842 or 1.83 liters were completely out of kilter with what we know about sila; and matters were further aggravated by such statements as "all the jars varied considerably in size and it has not yet been possible to obtain a constant for the homer which at present in three separate estimates fluctuates between about 183 liters and 223" (Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* [London, 1966], 408; cf. also 91f. and 168). See provisionally Postgate, *Iraq* 40, 73f.
- f) 1 sila = 0.842 liters. New Babylonian. Ritual giving relations between measures of dry capacity (grain) to the weight of water. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 18 (1921), 131f. and 29 (1932), 189.
- g) 1 sila = 0.81 liters. New Babylonian. Susa. Bottle, upper two-thirds preserved. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 9 (1912), 24, 18 (1921), 128, 29 (1932), 189, and 34 (1937), 86. His conclusion that 1 sila = 0.81 liters has to be revised in accordance with Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis II* (= *OIP* 69, 1957), p. 109 n. 13: "approximately the lower third of the bottle was missing, and Thureau-Dangin's estimate of the qa equivalent (slightly more than 0.81 liters) based on the restored bottle is too low, to judge by the results of our study."
- h) 1 sila = 0.92 to 0.945 liters. Dated to New Babylonian, an almost complete cosmetic bottle was found at Persepolis. Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis II* (= *OIP* 69, 1957) pp. 108f. describes it as "Achaemenian or earlier, most probably Neo-Babylonian." Its inscription reads clearly 8 1/3 ninda and the volume of the reconstructed vessel is given as 787.4 (± 0.9) milliliters. Accordingly, 1 ninda is 94.49 (± 1) milliliters and 1 sila is 944.9 (± 1) milliliters or 0.9449 liters. Please note that while the volume of the Susa bottle (g) is 3 1/3 ninda and is thus smaller than the 8 1/3 ninda of the Persepolis bottle, both of them are very probably of the same date and serve the same function.
- i) A photograph of an alabaster bottle of the New Babylonian period was published by Essad Nassouhi, *AOF* 3 (1926), 65. The bottle bearing field no. 3049, was unearthed at Babylon and is now housed in the Istanbul Museum bearing no. 7854. Its inscription reads clearly 7 ninda or 0.7 sila, but it cannot be correlated with the measurements of the bottle because none were given in the article. With the data

of the Persepolis, Susa, and Babylon alabaster bottles fully ascertained, we may yet arrive at the conclusion that all of them give, for the first time, a standard measure of liquid capacity in the New Babylonian period, built around 1 sila = 0.933 liters.

In concluding this survey, I would like to point out some problems and possibilities in ascertaining the absolute value of the measures of capacity in ancient Mesopotamia.

The data collected above under entries *a-i* contain almost no information as to whether the measures recorded on the vessels or reconstructed from the texts refer to dry or liquid capacity. Scholars tacitly have taken it for granted that one dry sila is equal to one liquid sila. Still, there is an important difference between the set of ancient measures of dry capacity, for instance, sila, bán, bariga, and gur, and of liquid capacity, for instance, sila, kúr, nigin, and dug. A similar discrepancy exists between the modern measures of dry and liquid capacity in the United States where one dry quart equals 1.012 liters, but one liquid quart equals 0.9463 liters.

When the writing of the measure does not clearly indicate whether it refers to dry or liquid capacity, as in the case of sila, it is still possible to ascertain it by a study of the vessel on which the measure was recorded. This can be done simply by filling the vessel with water and noting whether the vessel is porous and therefore could not contain liquids or is not porous and therefore could. A more elaborate method of determining the function of a vessel involves a microscopic investigation of the organic traces inside the vessel, such as grains (dry) or oils (liquid).

The value of a dry-capacity sila may possibly be found by observing the frequency of occurrence of small vessels of about one liter in volume which were recovered in the excavations and measured exactly. Such one-sila vessels must have been mass-produced since they were used daily in measuring of grain, especially for rationing purposes. This suggestion of mine of a few years back was picked up by Hans Nissen who applied it to the size of the beveled-rim bowls and their successors in proto-historical times. Although this suggestion found some opposition among archeologists, it is still defended by Nissen, as may be judged from his brief remarks in *L'archéologie de l'Iraq* [Colloque International du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris, 1980)], 95f. That one-sila vessels were mass-produced in ancient times, can be easily deduced from the Ur III administrative sources, such as Waetzoldt, *WdO* 6 (1971), 7-41, especially p. 19 and plate opposite p. 12, according to

which the production of 75,652 one-sila vessels overshadows completely the number of 1,088 five-sila vessels, 630 fifteen-sila vessels, and of other kinds of vessels. Similarly, two texts published in Vrololeaud and Lambert, *TÉL*, provide evidence for mass-produced one-sila vessels which were carried on two boats (no. 16) and one boat (no. 18), each of 60 gur capacity ("tonnage") or 18,000 sila vessels per boat.

Another potential approach to the determination of the absolute value of a sila lies in a study of the relations between measures of dry capacity and weight of the commodities for which prices are listed in the Ur III merchants' accounts. Of several possibilities, I will discuss here briefly only two texts dealing with the price of esir-ḫád "dry bitumen" ("asphalt," "pitch"), namely, TCL V 5680 and 6037. According to TCL V 5680 iii 26f. and vi 20f., 600 ma-na "pounds" of dry bitumen cost 1 gín "shekel" of silver, while according to vi 5f., 600 sila "liters," "quarts" cost 1 shekel of silver. Dry bitumen is normally measured by weight; dry-capacity measure for dry bitumen occurs only here and in TCL V 6037 (see below). The price of one shekel of silver for 600 pounds of dry bitumen of our text is generally standardized in merchants' records, although small variations, up to 720 pounds, occur occasionally. The first conclusion that we can draw from TCL V 5680 is that one sila of dry bitumen weighs one ma-na. This conclusion was completely unexpected, since we normally take one sila to be one liter, which should weigh one kilogram or two metric pounds when referring to commodities with the density of water. There are therefore, several possibilities to consider, among them, that the density of dry bitumen was only one half that of water or that the price of dry bitumen fluctuated much more than suspected. We face similar problems with TCL V 6037, according to which either 655 ma-na (ix 32f.) or 720 sila of dry bitumen (ii 11f.) cost one shekel of silver. These and other kinds of problems abound in the investigation of prices of še.li and šim-ḫi(-a), two kinds of resins, and of im-ud.ud, a kind of powder, which are given either in volume or weight.

The nine entries, listed above on pp. 588-89, come from different periods and areas and give various estimates for the volume of 1 sila. There is no reason to select one of these estimates and apply it to all the periods of Mesopotamian history, as is done by scholars who use the figure 1 sila = 0.81 (entry g) or 0.842 (entry f) liters of the New Babylonian sources and apply it to much older periods. As a matter of fact, there are some reasons for suggesting that the absolute value of a dry sila varied by as much as one-third or one-fourth between one period and another. See also

Pettinato and Waetzoldt, *Salonen Festschrift* (SO 46), 289 n. 50. This suggestion is based on the fact that the average monthly barley ration issued to members of the dependent class was only 48 or 36 sila for a man and 24 or 18 for a woman in the Pre-Sargonic period, but was 60 sila for a man and 30 sila for a woman in the Sargonic, Ur III, and Old Babylonian periods. The smaller number of sila issued to the workers in the Pre-Sargonic period does not indicate that they received smaller rations than the workers in the ensuing periods. The amount of ration given to the labor personnel is generally standardized: a person received no less and no more than was necessary to enable him to produce effectively for the masters.

Note, for instance, that the daily ration for a slave was two *choinikes* (= two liters) of barley in ancient Greece, which corresponds almost exactly to 2 sila of barley per day or 60 sila per man in ancient Mesopotamia.

Apparently there is no such thing as a standard sila of a definite size that would be applicable to all the periods from the Pre-Sargonic to the New Babylonian. Either we use, therefore, the ascertained figures for each period, for instance, 1 dry sila = 1.02 liters in the Ur III period (entry *b*) or 1 liquid sila = 0.933 liters in the New Babylonian period (entry *h*); or use a non-committal approximation such as one quart or one liter for one sila.